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PREFACE WHY do so many people take an interest in history? It is, I think, because we know that we are the products of the past—that everything we know, everything we see, and everything we imagine is rooted in our history. It is not surprising that there have been historians throughout almost all of recorded time. It is only natural that we are interested in what the past was like. Whether we study academic history or not, we all are connected to the past. Americans have always had a love of their own history. It is a daunting task to attempt to convey the long and remarkable story of America in a single book, but that is what this volume attempts to do. The subtitle of this book, "Connecting with the Past," describes this edition's focus on encouraging readers to be aware of the ways in which our everyday experiences are rooted in our history. Like any history, this book is a product of its time. It reflects the views of the past that historians continue to develop. A comparable book published decades from now will likely seem as different from this one as this book appears different from histories written a generation or more ago. The writing of history changes constantly—not, of course, because the past changes, but because of shifts in the way historians, and the publics they serve, ask and answer questions about the past. There have always been critics of changes in historical understanding. Many people argue that history is a collection of facts and should not be subject to "interpretation" or "revision." But historians insist that history is not and cannot be simply a collection of facts. They are only the beginning of historical understanding. It is up to the writers and readers of history to try to interpret the evidence before them; and in doing so, they will inevitably bring to the task their own questions, concerns, and experiences. Our history examines the experience of the many different peoples and ideas that have shaped American society. But it also requires us to understand that the United States is a nation whose people share many things: a common political system, a connection to an integrated national (and now international) economy, and a familiarity with a shared and enormously powerful mass culture. To understand the American past, it is necessary to understand both the forces that divide Americans and the forces that draw them together. It is not only the writing of history that changes with time—the tools and technologies through which information is delivered change as well. Created as

an integral part of the content of this fifteenth edition are an array of valuable learning resources that will aid instructors in teaching and students in learning about American history. These resources include:

- Smartbook®-an online version of this book that adapts to each student's reading experience by offering self-quizzing and highlighting material that the student is struggling with.
- Connect History®-homework and quizzing exercises including map understanding, primary source analysis, image exploration, key terms, and review and writing questions.
- Insight®-a first-of-its-kind analytics tool for Connect assignments that provides instructors with vital information about how students are performing and which assignments are the most effective.
- Interactive maps-more than thirty maps in the ebook and Connect can be manipulated by students to encourage better geographical understanding.
- Critical Missions®-an activity that immerses students in pivotal moments in history. As students study primary sources and maps, they advise a key historical figure on an issue of vital importance-for example, should President Truman drop the atomic bomb on Japan?
- A Primary Source Primer-a video exercise with multiple-choice questions teaches students the importance of primary sources and how to analyze them.

This online "Introduction to Primary Sources" is designed for use at the beginning of the course, to save valuable class time. In addition to content and scholarship updates throughout, we have added 4 new "Consider the Source" boxed features that explore the topics of family time; wartime oratory; black history; and race, gender, and military service. Our concluding chapter, "The Age of Globalization," now brings American History up-to-date through the summer of 2014 and includes coverage of the 2008 financial crisis, the rise of the Tea Party, the 2012 election, the Affordable Care Act, and the ongoing federal gridlock. I am grateful to many people for their help on this book-especially the people at McGraw-Hill who have supported and sustained it so well for many years. I am grateful to Laura Wilk, Rhona Robbin, Art Pomponio, April Cole, Stacy Ruel, Emily Kline, and Carrie Burger. I am grateful, too, to Deborah Bull for her help with photographs. I also appreciate the many suggestions I have received from students over the last several years, as well as the reviews provided by a group of talented scholars and teachers. Alan Brinkley Columbia University New York, NY iiiiii

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A GUIDED TOUR OF AMERICAN HISTORY AMERICAN HISTORY CONNECTS STUDENTS TO THE RELEVANCE OF HISTORY THROUGH A SERIES OF ENGAGING FEATURES hasobal diamonds at d organs ja ca. The o ■ . c ga^as ' prison tamps. gamos on Eht Wh\* House law iwtm Unie- soldiers \*)■« aemeli > v\*s or : tj wore somenr-es 4V;.\*' od 5y gunfire arc cor v:i ■ i ■' t. astoi-^ ahi u tndlfetrY a pernor can become is danger' a « wrote ho-'!\*' :o Ohno -ir Ist L! The report of musketry haard1 bui, 4 tar;, Irrtk distant® Ftcw us. y« over ifwre an the- other ade of die raid moat &■ sur pompan-, play -l. ia Bali - tin mush n ~re-as, irafw J w a named that, n atkhc 1 to casu' '«is company had lorn onky basobal m -lamina. Te cas 1 Far ;\*om agmq bos-:: all mk'-aty . j- -j i:l- ;:-and 'he (IS Sar :u-, Caunraafln ite 'JrsOT army 3 mad\*\* irth— acftaly encoti i^ed the •w-j- 2 cL- wig 1 he war 1 wc.Jd "Toy believed, hCL ksep ut the sc\* > crs morale Awa > frar\* Ns MdeMi basobal commued to flojish. In York C\*\* gam&a betwee-i local Itane 2 : owds d few or u-;y;. tk\_c.v d. The tauora Asttcdton tf Baoohai in E5LI. had r\*cru«sd mnety-ans clubs n an nonharr stales by Baseball and the Civil War 1 j were he great irban stadiums. b ■\_ cofora the bghis and (he cumaras arc ihe \* 'L-krmi loi-oda?' share 3, 1o% oof ore Ldc ^aagmes and the n»p school and cofcge 1 — aose-zdi was the - >oa papula- game n America And during It Cwf War n waft a measured paslanc same ranm ; oohnd Ihe mas r her L> >T and South, tted by Abner Djublcdaj;. whe .roba:- . newer ewer saw ihe palrio&c sparsi^goods 'Krkjfaclurer eager la stow than ihe 3.-~ \_ , \_ \_x , \_ \_ \_ ^ \_id to (kpr dee > >oiion that 1: onrn^am England. Ir Cact. basefca# .-. as dc ved From a variety of car\*? games especially the English of cncrei arc rounders. American oasehed :oo>t «s mr dstmcti\* term beginning n it IB 40s\* when Atensnd^ ^ ship >-ty dor-, For ' :k Ycrk Rmovcrtocken bd cl. a rtamorc-shoped Fiufd win rou cases, arc declaimed ihai bailor's -siih d i-t sexes \*we oj and :i -s »irf :hree outs as e 1 . ed Cartwr-ghi -ov&c «es m seafer. of gold n 1849. ult- ■ ate\*? grew nch 2nd sc-tjid ViaHv m Hawaj 1 wh#rt k brought r\*e game to Amar-c^ns <1 [he Pacific I. But the game ne: b- gjish m he afcaerce Her . Cha : ■ ar Ei'-ghsh-bc n journals spent ■ ■ jeh of "-t "dSOs .c-jubhing :k game lure 'eyuJr !\_• ig ns rules; iy 1^60 bucesoap was be« .-Saved by college aiuderts

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PATTERNS OF  
POPULAR CULTURE

# BASEBALL AND THE CIVIL WAR

**LONG** before the great urban stadiums, long before the lights and the cameras and the multimillion-dollar salaries, long before the Little Leagues and the high school and college teams, baseball was the most popular game in America. And during the Civil War, it was a treasured pastime for soldiers, and for thousands of men (and some women) behind the lines, in both North and South.

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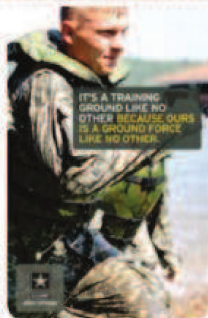
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## WARTIME POSTERS



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## ARMY RECRUITMENT AND MARKETING



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stabilizing capitalism.



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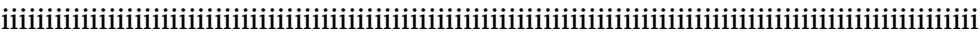
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AMERICAN HISTORY



Connecting with the Past

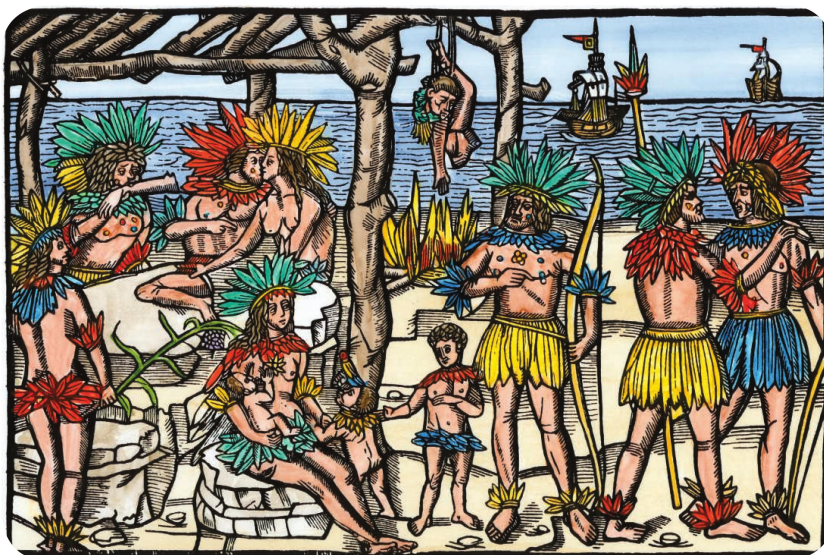
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1 | THE COLLISION OF CULTURES FIRST ENCOUNTERS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS This 1505 engraving is one of the earliest European images of the way Native Americans lived in the early Americas. It also represents some of the ways in which white Europeans would view the people they called Indians for many generations. Native Americans here were portrayed by Europeans as exotic savages, whose sexuality was not contained within stable families and whose savagery was evidenced in their practice of eating the flesh of their slain enemies. In the background are the ships that have brought the European visitors who recorded these images. (© North Wind Picture Archives) LOOKING AHEAD

1. How did the societies of native peoples in South America differ from those in North America in the precontact period (before the arrival of the Europeans)? 2. What effects did the arrival of Europeans have on the native peoples of the Americas? 3. How did patterns of settlement differ among the Spanish, English, French, and Dutch immigrants to the Americas?



## SETTING THE STAGE

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAS did not begin with Christopher Columbus in 1492. It began many thousands of years earlier when human beings first crossed into the American continents and began to people them. By the end of the fifteenth century CE, when the first important contact with Europeans occurred, the Americas were the home of millions of men and women. These ancient civilizations experienced many changes and many catastrophes during their long history. But none of these experiences was likely as tragically transforming as the arrival of Europeans. In the short term— in the first violent years of Spanish and Portuguese exploration and conquest— the impact of the new arrivals was profound. Europeans brought with them diseases (most notably smallpox) to which natives, unlike the invaders, had no immunity. The result was a great demographic catastrophe that killed millions of people, weakened existing societies, and greatly aided the Spanish and Portuguese in their rapid and devastating conquest of the existing American empires. Although in the long term European settlers came to dominate most areas of the Americas, the Europeans were never able to eliminate the influence of the existing peoples (whom they came to call "Indians"). Battles between natives and Europeans continued into the late nineteenth century and beyond. But there were also productive interactions through which these very different civilizations shaped one another. They learned from one another and changed each other permanently and profoundly.

AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS We still know relatively little about the first peoples in the Americas. What we do know comes from scattered archaeological discoveries— new evidence from artifacts that have survived over many millennia. The Peoples of the Precontact Americas For many decades, scholars believed that all early migrations into the Americas came from humans crossing an ancient land bridge over the Bering Strait into what is now Alaska, approximately 11,000 years ago. These migrants then traveled from the glacial north, through an unfrozen corridor between two great ice sheets, until they reached the nonglacial lands to the south. The migrators "Clovis" were probably a result of the development of new stone tools— spears and other hunting implements— with which

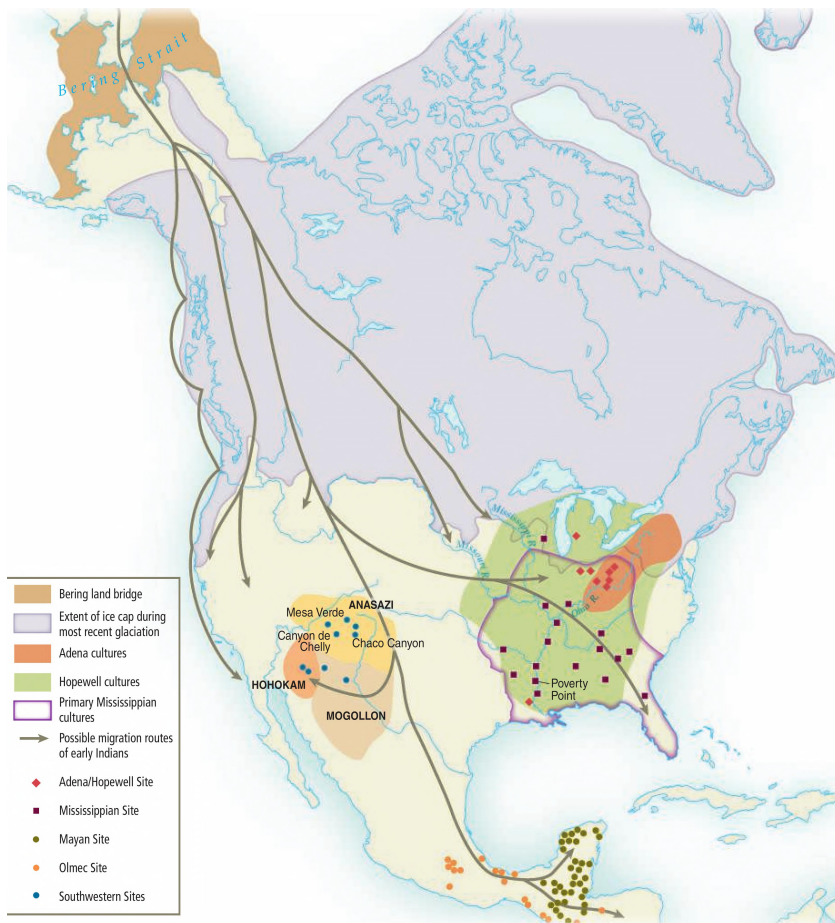
migrating people could pursue the . large animals that regularly crossed between Asia and North America. All of these land-based migrants are thought to have come from a Mongolian stock related to that of modern-day Siberia. They are known to scholars as the "Clovis" people, named for a town in New Mexico. The Clovis people established one of the first civilizations in the Americas. Archaeologists believe that they lived about 13,000 years ago. They were among the first people to make tools and to eat other animals. The Clovis are believed to have migrated from Siberia across the Bering land bridge into Alaska. From there, they moved southward to warmer regions, including New Mexico. More recent archaeological evidence, however, suggests that not all the early migrants came across the Bering Strait. Some migrants from Asia appear to have settled as far south as Chile and \_ Peru even before people began moving into North America by land. This Archaeologists 110 ° j and Population suggests that these first South Americans may have come not by land but by Diversity sea, using boats. Other discoveries on other continents made clear that mil 11 111 11\* It a 1\* 1 grants had traveled by water much earlier to populate Japan, Australia, and other areas of the Pacific. Those discoveries suggest that migrants were capable of making long ocean voyages-long enough to bring them to the American coasts. 2

THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 3 This new evidence suggests that the early population of the Americas was much more diverse and more scattered than scholars used to believe. Some people came to the Americas from farther south in Asia than Mongolia-perhaps Polynesia and Japan. Recent DNA evidence has identified what may have been yet another population group that, unlike most other American groups, does not seem to have Asian characteristics. Thus it is also possible that, thousands of years before Columbus, there may have been some migration from Europe or Africa. Most Indians in the Americas today share relatively similar characteristics, and those characteristics link them to modern Siberians and Mongolians. But that does not prove that Mongolian migrants were the only immigrants to the Americas. It suggests, rather, that Mongolian migrants eventually came to dominate and perhaps eliminate earlier population groups. The "Archaic" period is a scholarly term for the history of humans in America during a period of about 5,000 years beginning around 8000 BCE. In the first part of this period, most The "Archaic" humans continued to support themselves through hunting and gathering, using the same stone tools that earlier Americans had brought with them from Asia. Some of the largest animals that the earliest humans in America once hunted became extinct during the Archaic period. But archaic people continued to hunt with spears in the area later known as the Great Plains of North America who, then as centuries later, pursued bison (also known as buffalo). Bows and arrows were unknown in most of North America until 400-500 CE. Later in the Archaic period, population groups also began to develop new tools to perform work. Among them were nets and hooks for fishing, traps for smaller animals, and baskets for gathering berries, nuts, seeds, and other plants. Later, some groups began to farm. Through much of the Americas, the most important farm crop was corn, but many agricultural communities also grew other crops such as beans and squash. In agricultural areas, the first sedentary settlements slowly began to form, creating the basis for larger civilizations. The Growth of Civilizations: The South The most elaborate early civilizations emerged south of what is now the United States-in South and Central America and in what is now Mexico. In Peru, the Incas created the largest empire in the Americas. They began as a small tribe in the mountainous region of

Cuzco, in the early fifteenth century spurred by a powerful leader, Pachacuti (whose name meant "world shaker"). His empire stretched along almost 2,000 miles of western South America. It was an empire created as much by persuasion as by force. Pachacuti's agents fanned out around the region and explained the benefits of the empire to people in the areas the Incas hoped to control. Most local leaders eventually allied themselves with the Incas. The empire was sustained by innovative administrative systems and by the creation of a large network of paved roads. Another great civilization emerged from the so-called Meso-Americans, the peoples of what is now Mexico and much of Central America. Organized societies emerged in these regions as early as 10,000 BCE, and the first truly complex society in the Americas-of the Olmec people-began in approximately 1000 BCE. A more sophisticated culture emerged beginning around 800 CE in parts of Central America and in the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico, in an area known as Maya. Mayan civilization developed a written language, a numerical system similar to the Arabic, an accurate calendar, an advanced agricultural system, and important trade routes into other areas of the continents. Gradually, the societies of the Mayan regions were followed by other Meso-American tribes. They became known collectively (and somewhat inaccurately) as the Aztec. They called themselves Mexica, a name that eventually came to describe people of a number of different tribes. In about 1300 CE, the Mexica established a city, which they named Tenochtitlan, on a large island in a lake in central Mexico, the site of present-day Mexico City. The Mexica soon incorporated the peoples of other tribes into their society as well. It became by far the greatest city ever created in the Americas to that point, with a population as high as 100,000 by 1500, connected to water supplies from across the region by aqueducts. The residents of Tenochtitlan also created large and impressive public buildings, schools that all male children attended, an organized military, a medical system, and a slave workforce drawn from conquered tribes. They gradually established their dominance over almost all of central Mexico, and beyond, through a system of tribute (a heavy tax paid in crops, cloth, or animals) enforced by military power. The peoples ruled by the Mexica maintained a significant element of independence nevertheless, and many of them always considered the Mexica to be tyrannical rulers, but too powerful to resist. Like other Meso-

American societies, the Mexica developed a religion based on a belief in human sacrifice. Unlike earlier societies in the Americas, whose sacrifices to the gods emphasized blood-letting and other mostly nonfatal techniques, the Mexica also believed that the gods could be satisfied by being fed the living hearts of humans. But the Mexica also believed that the gods could be satisfied only by being fed the living hearts of humans. As a result, they sacrificed people—largely prisoners captured in combat—on a scale unknown in other American civilizations. The Meso-American civilizations were for many centuries the center of civilized life in North and Central America—the hub of culture and trade. Disease and disunity made it difficult for them to survive the European invasions. But they were, nevertheless, very great civilizations—all the more impressive because they lacked some of the crucial technologies that Asian and European societies had long employed. As late as the sixteenth century CE, no American society had yet developed wheeled vehicles. The Civilizations of the North The peoples north of Mexico—in the lands that became the United States and Canada—did not develop empires as large or political systems as elaborate as those of the Incas, Mayas,

4 CHAPTER 1 Bering land bridge Extent of ice cap during I  
 most recent glaciation | Adena cultures Hopewell cultures | - 1  
 Primary Mississippian 1 J cultures > Possible migration routes of  
 early Indians • Adena/Hopewell Site ■ Mississippian Site • Mayan  
 Site • Olmec Site • Southwestern Sites NORTH AMERICAN  
 MIGRATIONS This map tracks some of the early migrations into,  
 and within, North America in the centuries preceding contact with  
 Europe. The map shows the now vanished land bridge between  
 Siberia and Alaska over which thousands, perhaps millions, of  
 migrating people passed into the Americas. It also shows the  
 locations of some of the earliest settlements in North America. •  
 What role did the extended glacial field in what is now Canada  
 have on residential patterns in the ancient American world? and  
 Mexico. They built complex civilizations of great variety that  
 subsisted on hunting, gathering, and fishing. The Eskimos ^ of the  
 Arctic Circle fished and hunted Complex and ..... . Varied seals'  
 their civilization spanned thou Civilizations sands of miles of largely  
 frozen land, which they traversed by dogsled. The big-game hunters  
 of the northern forests led nomadic lives based on pursuit of moose  
 and caribou. The tribes of the Pacific Northwest, whose principal  
 occupation was salmon fishing, created substantial permanent  
 settlements along the coast and engaged in constant and often  
 violent competition with one another for access to natural  
 resources. Another group of tribes spread through more arid regions  
 of the Far West and developed successful communities-many of  
 them quite wealthy and densely populated-based on fishing,  
 hunting small game, and gathering. Other societies in America were  
 primarily agricultural. Among the most elaborate were those in the  
 Southwest. The people of that region built large





THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 5 ATLANTIC OCEAN HOW THE EARLY NORTH AMERICANS LIVED This map shows the various ways in which the native tribes of North America supported themselves before the arrival of European civilization. Like most precommercial peoples, the native Americans survived largely on the resources available in their immediate surroundings. Note, for example, the reliance on the products of the sea of the tribes along the northern coastlines of the continent, and the way in which tribes in relatively inhospitable climates in the North— where agriculture was difficult— relied on hunting large game. Most native Americans were farmers. • What different kinds of farming would have emerged in the very different climates of the agricultural regions shown on this map? irrigation systems to allow farming on their relatively dry land. They constructed substantial towns that became centers of trade, crafts, and religious and civic ritual. Their densely populated settlements at Chaco Canyon and elsewhere consisted of stone and adobe terraced structures, known today as pueblos, many of which resembled the large apartment buildings of later eras in size and design. In the Great Plains region, too, most tribes were engaged in sedentary farming (corn and other grains) and lived in permanent settlements, although there were some small nomadic tribes that subsisted by hunting buffalo. (Only in the eighteenth century, after Europeans had introduced the horse to North America, did buffalo hunting begin to support a large population in the region; at that point, many once-sedentary farmers left the land to pursue the great migratory buffalo herds.) The eastern third of what is now the United States-much of it covered with forests and inhabited by people who have



6 CHAPTER 1 MAYAN TEMPLE, TIKAL Tikal was the largest city in what was then the vast Mayan Empire. It extended through what is now Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize. The temple shown here was built before 800 CE and was one of many pyramids created by the Mayas. Only a few of these pyramids still survive. (© M.L. Sinibaldi/Corbis) thus become known as the Woodland Indians-had the greatest food resources of any region of the continent. Many tribes lived there, and most of them engaged in farming, hunting, gathering, and fishing. In the South there were substantial permanent settlements and large trading networks based on corn and other grains grown in the rich lands of the Mississippi River valley. Among the major cities that emerged as a result of trade was Cahokia (near present-day St. Louis), which at its peak in 1200 CE had a population of about 10,000 and contained a great complex of large earthen mounds. The agricultural societies of the Northeast were more nomadic than those in other regions. Much of the land in the region was less fertile than other regions because farming was newer and less established. Most tribes combined farming with hunting. Farming techniques in the Northeast were usually designed to exploit the land quickly rather than to develop permanent settlements. Natives often cleared the land by setting forest fires or cutting into trees to kill them. They then planted crops-corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and others-among the dead or blackened trunks. After a few years, when the land became exhausted or the filth from a settlement began to accumulate, they moved on and established themselves elsewhere. In some parts of eastern North America, villages dispersed every winter and families foraged in the wilderness until warm weather returned; those who survived then reassembled to begin farming again. Many of the tribes living east of the Mississippi River were linked together loosely by common linguistic roots. The Mobile largest of the language groups was the Societies Algonquian, which dominated the Atlantic seaboard from Canada to Virginia. Another important language group was the Iroquoian, centered in what is now upstate New York. The Iroquois included at least five distinct northern \*nations"-the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, MAYAN MONKEY-MAN SCRIBAL GOD The Mayas believed in hundreds of different gods, and they attempted to personify many of them in various artifacts such as the one depicted on the bowl shown here, which dates from

900-1100 CE. The monkey gods were believed to be twins who took the form of monkeys after being lured into a tree from which they could not descend. According to legend, they abandoned their loincloths, which then became tails, which they then used to move more effectively up and down trees. The monkey-men were the patrons of writing, dancing, and art. (© Collection of the Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, Gift of the Institute of Maya Studies/The Bridgeman Art Library)



THE COLLISION OF CULTURES • 7 CAHOKIA An artist's rendition of the city of Cahokia circa 1100 CE. Its great earthen mounds, constructed by the Cahokia Indians near present-day St. Louis, have endured into modern times as part of the Missouri landscape. (Courtesy of Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, Collinsville, Illinois. Painting by William R. Iseminger) Oneida, and Mohawk-and had links as well with the Cherokees and the Tuscaroras farther south, in the Carolinas and Georgia. The third-largest language group-the Muskogean-included the tribes in the southernmost region of the eastern seaboard: the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. Alliances among the various Indian societies (even among those with common languages) were fragile, since the peoples of the Americas did not think of themselves as members of a single civilization. Tribal Cultures Agricultural Revolution

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii The enormous diversity of economic, social, and political structures among the North American Indians makes large generalizations about their cultures difficult. In the last centuries before the arrival of Europeans, however. Native Americans-like peoples in other areas of the world-were experiencing an agricultural revolution. In all regions of the United States, tribes were becoming more sedentary and were developing new sources of food, clothing, and shelter. Most regions were experiencing significant population growth. Virtually all were developing the sorts of elaborate social customs and rituals that only stationary societies can produce. Religion was as important to Indian society as it was to most other cultures, and it was usually closely bound up with the natural world on which the tribes depended. Native Americans worshiped many gods, whom they associated with crops, game, forests, rivers, and other elements of nature. Some tribes created elaborate, brightly colored totems as part of their religious ritual; most staged large festivals on such important occasions as harvests or major hunts. As in other parts of the world, the societies of North America tended to divide tasks according to gender. All tribes assigned women the jobs of caring for children, preparing meals, and gathering certain foods. But the allocation of other tasks varied from one society to another. Some tribal groups (notably the Pueblos of the Southwest) reserved farming tasks almost entirely for men. Among others (including the

Algonquins, the Iroquois, and the Muskogees), women tended the fields, while men engaged in hunting, warfare, or clearing land. Iroquois women and children were often left alone for extended periods while men were away hunting or fighting battles. As a result, women tended to control the social and economic organization of the settlements and played powerful roles within families. EUROPE LOOKS WESTWARD

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Europeans were almost entirely unaware of the existence of the Americas before the fifteenth century. A few early wanderers-Leif Eriksson, an eleventh-century Norse seaman, and perhaps others-had glimpsed parts of the New World and had demonstrated that Europeans were capable of crossing the ocean to reach it. But even if their discoveries had become common knowledge (and they had not), there would have been little incentive for others to follow. Europe in the Middle Ages (roughly 500-1500 CE) was not an adventurous civilization. Divided into innumerable small duchies and kingdoms, Europe had an overwhelmingly provincial outlook. Subsistence agriculture predominated, and commerce was limited; few merchants looked beyond the boundaries of their own regions. The Roman Catholic Church exercised a measure of spiritual authority over most of the continent, and the Holy Roman Empire provided at least a nominal political center. Even so, real power was widely dispersed; only rarely could a single leader launch a great venture. Gradually, however, conditions in Europe changed so that by the late fifteenth century, interest in overseas exploration had grown.

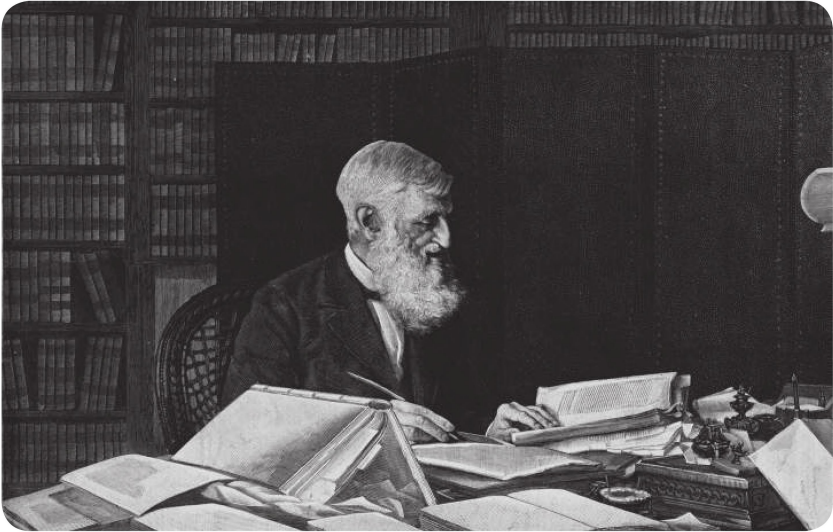


JL , DEBATING THE PAST Why Do Historians So Often Differ? it ^ t Trin the twentieth century, when the professional study of history was still Jj 1 relatively new, many historians believed that questions about the past could be answered with the same certainty and precision that questions in more-scientific fields could be answered. By sifting through available records, using precise methods of research and analysis, and producing careful, closely argued accounts of the past, they believed they could create definitive histories that would survive without controversy. Scholars who adhered to this view believed GEORGE BANCROFT (© Corbis) PAULINE MAIER (© Charles Maier. Courtesy of the Maier family)

Commerce and Nationalism Two important and related changes provided the first incentive for Europeans to look toward new lands. One was a result of the significant population growth in fifteenth-century Europe. The Black Death, a catastrophic epidemic of the bubonic plague that began in Constantinople in 1347, had decimated Europe, killing . (according to some estimates) more than A Reawakening \_ , , of Commerce a of the people of the continent and . debilitating its already-limited economy. But a century and a half later, the population had rebounded. With that growth came a rise in land values, a reawakening of commerce, and a general increase in prosperity. Affluent landlords became eager to purchase goods from distant regions, and a new merchant class emerged to meet their demand. As trade increased, and as advances in navigation and shipbuilding made long-distance sea travel more feasible, interest in developing new markets, finding new products, and opening new trade routes rapidly increased. 8 • Paralleling the rise of commerce in Europe, and in part responsible for it, was the rise of new governments that were more united and powerful than the feeble political entities of ^ the feudal past. In the western areas of Nation-States Europe, the authority of the distant pope . and the even more distant Holy Roman Emperor was necessarily weak. As a result, strong new monarchs emerged and created centralized nation-states, with national courts, national armies, and-perhaps most importantnational tax systems. As these ambitious kings and queens consolidated their power and increased their wealth, they became eager to enhance the commercial growth of their nations. Ever since the early fourteenth century, when Marco Polo and other adventurers had returned from Asia bearing exotic goods (spices,



fabrics, dyes) and exotic tales, Europeans who hoped for commercial glory had dreamed of trade with the East. For two centuries, that trade had been limited by the difficulties of the long, arduous overland Journey to the Asian imiiiiimmi



that real knowledge can be derived only from direct, scientific observation of clear "facts". They were known as "positivists." A vigorous debate continues to this day over whether historical research can or should be truly objective. Almost no historian any longer accepts the "positivist" claim that history could ever be an exact science. Disagreement about the past is, in fact, at the heart of the effort to understand history. Critics of contemporary historical scholarship often denounce the way historians are constantly revising earlier interpretations. Some denounce the act of interpretation itself. History, they claim, is "what happened," and historians should "stick to the facts." Historians, however, continue to differ with one another both because the "facts" are seldom as straightforward as their critics claim and because facts by themselves mean almost nothing without an effort to assign meaning to them. Some historical "facts," of course, are not in dispute. Everyone agrees, for example, that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and that Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860. But many other "facts" are much harder to determine— among them, for example, the question of how large the American population was before the arrival of Columbus, which is discussed in this chapter. How many slaves resisted slavery? This sounds like a reasonably straightforward question, but it is almost impossible to answer with any certainty— because the records of slave resistance are spotty and the definition of "resistance" is a matter of considerable dispute. Even when a set of facts is clear and straightforward, historians disagree— sometimes quite radically— over what they mean. Those disagreements can be the result of political and ideological disagreements. Some of the most vigorous debates in recent decades have been between scholars who believe that economic interests and class divisions are the key to understanding the past, and those who believe that ideas and culture are at least as important as material interests. Whites and people of color, men and women, people from the American South and people from the North, young people and older people: these and many other points of difference find their way into scholarly disagreements. Debates can also occur over differences in methodology— between those who believe that quantitative studies can answer important historical questions and those who believe that other methods come closer to the truth. Most

of all historical interpretation changes in response to the time in which it is written. Historians may strive to be "objective" in their work, but no one can be entirely free from the assumptions and concerns of the present. In the 1950s, the omnipresent shadow of the Cold War had a profound effect on the way most historians viewed the past. In the 1960s, concerns about racial justice and disillusionment with the Vietnam War altered the way many historians viewed the past. Those events introduced a much more critical tone to scholarship and turned the attention of scholars away from politics and government and toward the study of society and culture. Many areas of scholarship in recent decades are embroiled in a profound debate over whether there is such a thing as "truth." The world, some scholars argue, is simply a series of "narratives" constructed by people who view life in very different and often highly personal ways. "Truth" does not really exist. Everything is a product of interpretation. Not many historians embrace such radical ideas; most would agree that interpretations, to be of any value, must rest on a solid foundation of observable facts. But historians do recognize that even the most compelling facts are subject to many different interpretations and that the process of understanding the past is a forever continuing— and forever contested— process.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What are some of the reasons historians so often disagree?
2. Is there ever a "right" or "wrong" in historical interpretation? What value might historical inquiry have other than reaching a "right" or "wrong" conclusion?
3. If historians so often disagree, how should a student of history approach historical content? How might disagreement expand our understanding of history?

courts. But in the fourteenth century, as the maritime capabilities of several western European societies increased and as Muslim societies seized control of the eastern routes to Asia, there began to be serious talk of finding a faster, safer sea route to Asia. Such dreams found a receptive audience in the courts of the new monarchs. By the late fifteenth century, some of them were ready to finance daring voyages of exploration. The first to do so were the Portuguese. They were the preeminent maritime power in the fifteenth century, in large part because of the work of one man. Prince Henry the Navigator. Prince Henry's own principal interest was not the Navigator in finding a sea route to Asia, but in exploring

the western coast of Africa. He dreamed of establishing a Christian empire there to aid in his country's wars against the Moors of northern Africa; and he hoped to find new stores of gold. The explorations he began did not fulfill his own hopes, but they ultimately led farther than he had dreamed. Some of Henry's mariners went as far south as Cape Verde, on Africa's west coast. In 1486 (six years after Henry's death), Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southern tip of Africa (the Cape of Good Hope); and in 1497-1498 Vasco da Gama proceeded all the way around the cape to India. In 1500, the next fleet bound for India, under the command of Pedro Cabral, was blown westward off its southerly course and happened upon the coast of Brazil. But by then another man, in the service of another country, had already encountered the New World.

Christopher Columbus Christopher Columbus, who was born and reared in Genoa, Italy, obtained most of his early seafaring experience in the service of the Portuguese. As a young man, he became intrigued with the possibility, already under discussion in many seafaring circles, of reaching Asia by going not east but west. Columbus's hopes rested on several basic misconceptions. He believed that the world was far smaller than it actually is. . 9  
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; ! \ DEBATING THE PAST < o ] mLm The American Population before Columbus |yj ^ one knows how many people lived in the Americas in the centuries before Columbus. But IN \J scholars and other researchers have spent more than a century and have written many thousands of pages debating the question nevertheless. Interest in this question survives, despite the near impossibility of answering it. The debate over the pre-Columbian population is closely connected to the much larger debate over the consequences of European settlement of the Western Hemisphere. Throughout the nineteenth century, Native Americans spoke often of the great days before Columbus when there were many more people in their tribes. They drew from their own rich tradition of oral history handed down through storytelling from one generation to another. The painter and ethnographer George Catlin spent much time among the tribes in the 1830s painting portraits of a race that he feared was "fast passing to extinction". He listened to these oral legends and estimated that there had been 16 million Indians in North America before the Europeans came. Other white Americans dismissed such claims as preposterous, insisting that Indian civilization was far too primitive to have been able to sustain so large a population. In 1928, James Mooney, an ethnologist at the Smithsonian Institution, drew from early accounts of soldiers and missionaries in the sixteenth century. He came up with the implausibly precise figure of 1.15 million natives who lived north of Mexico in the early sixteenth century. That was a larger PUEBLO VILLAGE (© C. McIntyre/PhotoLink/Getty Images RF) He also believed that the Asian continent extended farther eastward than it actually does. He assumed, therefore, that the Atlantic was narrow enough to be crossed on a relatively brief voyage. It did not occur to him that anything lay to the west between Europe and Asia. Columbus failed to win support for his plan in Portugal, so he turned to Spain. The Spaniards were not yet as advanced a maritime people as the Portuguese, but they were at least as energetic and ambitious. And in the fifteenth century, the marriage of Spain's two most powerful regional rulers, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, had produced the strongest monarchy in Europe. Like other young monarchies, Spain soon grew eager to demonstrate its strength by sponsoring new commercial ventures. Columbus appealed to Queen Isabella for support for his proposed

westward voyage. In 1492, Isabella agreed to Columbus's request. Commanding ninety men and three ships the Nina, the Pinta, and the Santa Mana-Columbus left Spain in August 1492 and sailed west into the Atlantic on what he

**IROQUOIS WOMEN** This 1734 French engraving shows Iroquois women at work in a settlement somewhere in what is now upstate New York. In the foreground, women are cooking. Others are working in the fields. Men spent much of their time hunting and fighting battles, leaving the women to govern and dominate the internal lives of the villages. Property in Iroquois society was inherited through the mother, and women occupied positions of great authority within the tribes. (Library of Congress)

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figure than nineteenth-century writers had suggested, but still much smaller than the Indians themselves claimed. A few years later, the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber used many of Mooney's methods and come up with an estimate of the population of the entire Western Hemisphere— considerably larger than Mooney's, but much lower than Catlin's. He concluded in 1934 that there were 8.4 million people in the Americas in 1492, half in North America and half in the Caribbean and South America. These low early estimates reflected an assumption that the arrival of the Europeans did not much reduce the native population. But in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars discovered that the early tribes had been catastrophically decimated by European plagues not long after the arrival of Columbus meaning that the numbers Europeans observed even in the late 1500s were already dramatically smaller than the numbers in 1492. Drawing on early work by anthropologists and others who discovered evidence of widespread deaths by disease, historians William McNeill in 1976 and Alfred Crosby a decade later, as well as other scholars, produced powerful accounts of the near extinction of some tribes and the dramatic depopulation of others in a pestilential catastrophe with few parallels in history. Almost all scholars now accept that much, perhaps most, of the native population was wiped out by disease— smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, and other plagues imported from Europe. Henry Dobyns, an anthropologist who was one of the earliest scholars to challenge the early, low estimates, claimed in 1966 that in 1492 there were between 10 and 12 million people north of Mexico and between 90 and 112 million in all of the Americas. No subsequent scholar has made so high a claim, but most estimates that followed have been much closer to Dobyns's than to Kroeber's. The geographer William M. Denevan, for example, argued in 1976 that the American population in 1492 was around 55 million and that the population north of Mexico was under 4 million. Those are among the lowest of modern estimates, but still dramatically higher than the nineteenth-century numbers. The vehemence with which scholars have debated these figures is not just because it is very difficult to determine population size. It is also because the debate over the population is part of the debate over whether the arrival of Columbus— and the millions of Europeans who followed him— was a great advance in the history of civilization or an unparalleled

catastrophe that exterminated a large and flourishing native population. How to balance the many achievements of European civilization in the New World after 1492 against the terrible destruction of native peoples that accompanied it is, in the end, less a historical question, perhaps, than a moral one. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Why is there such interest in and such vehement disagreement about the population of native peoples of the Americas in the precontact period?
2. What are some of the difficulties in trying to determine the size of the pre-Columbian population?
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of using oral history as a source of information about the past?

thought was a straight course for Japan. Ten weeks later, he sighted land and assumed he had reached his target. In fact, ~ T w Tm™ he had landed on an island in the Bahamas. Columbus's First Voyage When he pushed on and encountered . Cuba, he assumed he had reached China. He returned to Spain in triumph, bringing with him several captured natives as evidence of his achievement. (He called the natives "Indians" because he believed they were from the East Indies in the Pacific.) But Columbus had not, of course, encountered the court of the great khan in China or the fabled wealth of the Indies. A year later, therefore, he tried again, this time with a much larger expedition. As before, he headed into the Caribbean, discovering several other islands and leaving a small and shortlived colony on Hispaniola. On a third voyage, in 1498, he finally reached the mainland and cruised along the northern coast of South America. When he passed the mouth of the Orinoco River (in present-day Venezuela), he concluded for the first time that what he had discovered was not an island off the coast of China, as he had assumed, but a separate continent; such a large freshwater stream, he realized, could emerge only from a large body of land. Still, he remained convinced that Asia was only a short distance away. And although he failed in his efforts to sail around the northeastern coast of South America to the Indies (he was blocked by the Isthmus of Panama), he returned to Spain believing that he had explored at least the fringes of the Far East. He continued to believe that for the rest of his life. Columbus's celebrated accomplishments made him a popular hero for a time, but he later died in obscurity. When Europeans at last gave a name to the New World, they ignored him. The distinction went instead to a Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, a member of a later Portuguese expedition to the New



World who wrote a series of vivid descriptions of the lands he had visited and who recognized the Americas as new continents. Columbus has been celebrated for centuries as the "Admiral of the Ocean Sea" and as a representative of the new, secular, scientific impulses of Renaissance Europe. But Columbus was also a deeply religious man, even something of a mystic. His voyages were inspired as much by his conviction that he was fulfilling a Religious divine mission as by his interest in geograMotives for Phy and trade. A strong believer in biblical Exploration prophecies, he came to see himself as a man destined to advance the coming of the millennium. "God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth," Columbus wrote near the end of his life, "and he showed me the spot where to find it." A similar combination of worldly and religious passions lay behind many subsequent efforts at exploration and settlement of the New World. • 11 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

12 CHAPTER 1 THE INDIAN VILLAGE OF SECOTON (C. 1585), BY JOHN WHITE John White created this illustration of life among the Eastern Woodland Indians in coastal North Carolina. It shows the diversified agriculture practiced by the natives: squash, tobacco, and three varieties of corn. The hunters shown in nearby woods suggest another element of the native economy. At bottom right, Indians perform a religious ritual, which White described as "strange gestures and songs." (© Private Collection /The Bridgeman Art Library) Partly as a result of Columbus's initiative, Spain began to devote greater resources and energy to maritime exploration and gradually replaced Portugal as the leading seafaring nation. The Spaniard Vasco de Balboa fought his way across the Isthmus of Panama in 1513. He became the first known European to gaze westward upon the great ocean that separated the Americas from China and the Indies. Seeking access Ferdinand to that oearth Ferdinand Magellan, a Magellan Portuguese in the employ of the Spanish, I llllll MINIM III MMlllllll III III HIM llllll III Mill III III MINIM llllll II r 1 1 1 1 1 found the strait that now bears his name at the southern end of South America. He struggled through the stormy narrows and into the ocean (so calm by contrast that he christened it the "Pacific"), then proceeded to the Philippines. There Magellan died in a conflict with the natives. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS This oil painting by Frederick Kemmelmeyer (1801/1805), First Landing of Christopher Columbus, depicts Columbus and his crew in a somewhat idealized fashion. The artist's perspective shows the Europeans as larger and more powerful than the Native population they encounter. (Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington) but his expedition went on to complete the first known circumnavigation of the globe (1519-1522). By 1550, Spaniards had explored the coasts of North America as far north as Oregon in the west and Labrador in the east, as well as some of the interior regions of the continent. The Conquistadores In time, Spanish explorers in the New World stopped thinking of America simply as an obstacle to their search for a route to the East. They began instead to consider it a possible source of wealth rivaling and even surpassing the original Indies. On the basis of Columbus's discoveries, the Spanish claimed for themselves the whole of the New World, except for a piece of it (today's Brazil) that was reserved by a papal decree for the Portuguese. By the mid-sixteenth

century, the Spanish were well on their way to establishing a substantial American empire. The first Spanish colonists, whom Columbus brought on his second voyage, settled on the islands of the Caribbean, where they tried to enslave the Indians and find gold. They had little luck in either effort. But then, in 1518, Hernando Cortes led a small military expedition of about 600 men into Mexico. Cortes had been a Spanish government official in Cuba for fourteen years and to that point had achieved little success. Cortes But w^en heard stories of great treaConquers the sures in Mexico, he decided to go in Aztecs search of them. He met strong and resourceful resistance from the Aztecs and their powerful emperor, Montezuma. But Cortes and his army had, unknowingly, unleashed an assault on the Aztecs far more devastating than military attack: they had exposed the natives to smallpox during an early and relatively peaceful visit to Tenochtitlan. A smallpox epidemic decimated the population and made it possible for the Spanish to triumph in





Their type corns

Their graine corns

Corn newly sown

Their sitting at meals

SECOTON

A Ceremony in their prayers w<sup>th</sup>  
 strange gestures and voices dancing  
 about posts raised on the hips  
 like mens faces

The house wherein the Tombs of their Ancestors  
 standeth

The place of their  
 prayer

THE COLLISION OF CULTURES • 13 Hudson Bay sjlissouri  
 NORTH AMERICA Roanoke Cibola ATLANTIC OCEAN Gulf of  
 Mexico JHavana Santiago »-c|e Cuba, Mayapan\* .Chichen  
 YUCATAN ^ PENINSULA - - Caribbean V Sea \$/ Veracruz MAYA  
 PACIFIC OCEAN SOUTH AMERICA PACIFIC OCEAN Explorers'  
 Routes Columbus (Spanish) Other Spanish Other European — ►  
 French SOUTH AMERICA ATEANTIC OCEAN English Native  
 American empires INCA EMPIRE EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND  
 CONQUEST, 1492-1583 This map shows the many voyages of  
 exploration and conquest of North America launched by Europeans  
 in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Note how Columbus  
 and the Spanish explorers who followed him tended to move  
 quickly into the lands of Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and  
 South America, while the English and French explored the northern  
 territories of North America. What factors might have led these  
 various nations to explore and colonize these different areas of the  
 New World?





## 14 CHAPTER 1 THE MEXICANS STRIKE BACK

In this vivid scene from the Duran Codex, Mexican artists illustrate a rare moment in which Mexican warriors gained the upper hand over the Spanish invaders. Driven back by native fighters, the Spanish have taken refuge in a room in the royal palace in Tenochtitlan while brightly attired Mexican warriors besiege them. Although the Mexicans gained a temporary advantage in this battle, the drawing illustrates one of the reasons for their inability to withstand the Spanish in the longer term. The Spanish soldiers are armed with rifles and crossbows, while the Indians carry only spears and shields. (© Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain/The Bridgeman Art Library) their second attempt at conquest. The Spanish believed that the epidemic was a vindication of their efforts. When the Christians were exhausted from war, one follower of Cortes PIZARRO IN PERU A European artist depicted Pizarro's arrival on the coast of Peru in the early 1530s, where he was greeted by crowds of hostile Indians. By 1538, Pizarro had conquered the empire of the Incas. (Library of Congress) said at the time, "God saw fit to send the Indians smallpox." Through his ruthless suppression of the surviving natives, Cortes established a lasting reputation as the most brutal of the Spanish conquistadores (conquerors). The news that silver was to be found in Mexico attracted the attention of other Spaniards. From the island colonies and from Spain itself, a wave of conquistadores descended on the mainland in search of fortune. Francisco Pizarro, who conquered Peru (1532-1538) and revealed to Europeans the wealth of the Incas, opened the way for other advances into South America. His onetime deputy Hernando de Soto, in a futile search for gold, silver, and jewels, led several expeditions (1539-1541) through Florida west into the continent and became the first white man known to have crossed the Mississippi River. Francisco Coronado traveled north from Mexico (1540-1542) into what is now New Mexico in a similarly fruitless search for gold and jewels; in the process, he helped open the Southwest of what is now the United States to Spanish settlement. The story of the Spanish warriors is one of great military daring and achievement. It is also a story of great brutality and „ greed-a story that would be repeated Brutality and , Greed time and again over centuries of iiiiMiiiiii | j'| j yVrnonc c\ s rTln^ conquistadores in some areas almost



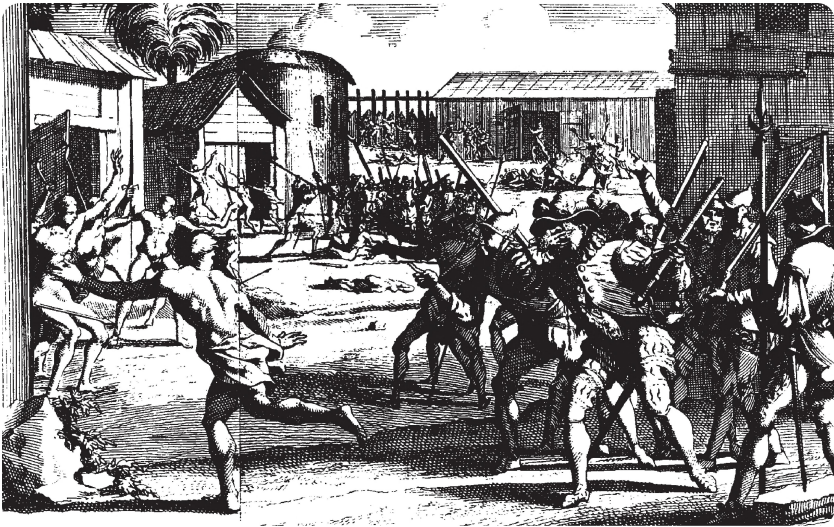
exterminated the native populations through a combination of warfare and disease.



THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 15 DE SOTO IN NORTH AMERICA This gruesome drawing portrays Spanish troops under Hernando de Soto massacring a group of Mobile Indians in what is now Alabama, in the winter of 1540-1541. De Soto had been governor of Cuba, but in 1539 he sailed to Florida with 600 troops and for the next several years traveled through large areas of what would later become the southern United States until he died of fever in 1542. Here, as elsewhere, his troops dealt with the Indian tribes they encountered along the way with unrestrained brutality. (Rare Books and Special Collections, Library of Congress)

Spanish America Lured by dreams of treasure, Spanish explorers, conquistadores, and colonists established a vast empire for Spain in the New World. The history of the Spanish Empire spanned three distinct periods. The first was the age of discovery and exploration—beginning with Columbus and continuing through the Ordinances first two decades of the sixteenth cenof Discovery tury. The second was the age of the conquest, in which Spanish military forces (aided by the diseases they unleashed) established their dominion over the lands once ruled by natives. The third phase began in the 1570s, when new Spanish laws—the Ordinances of Discovery—banned the most brutal military conquests. From that point on, the Spanish expanded their presence in America through colonization. The first Spaniards to arrive in the New World, the conquistadores, had been interested in only one thing: getting rich. And in that they were fabulously successful. For 300 years, beginning in the sixteenth century, the mines in Spanish America yielded more than ten times as much gold and silver as the rest of the world's mines put together. These riches made Spain the wealthiest and most powerful nation for a time. After the first wave of conquest, however, most Spanish settlers in America traveled to the New World for other reasons. Many went in hopes of creating a profitable agricultural economy. Unlike the conquistadores, who left little but destruction behind them, these settlers helped establish elements of European civilization in America that permanently altered both the landscape and the social structure. Another important force for colonization was the Catholic Church. Ferdinand and Isabella, in establishing Spain's claim to most of the Americas from Mexico south, bowed to the wishes of the Church and established the requirement that Catholicism be the only religion of the new territories. Spain abided

by that condition. Although the Spanish founded commercial and military centers in the sixteenth century, another common form of settlement by the early seventeenth century was the Catholic mission. Missions had commercial lives. But their primary purpose, at least at first, was converting natives to Catholicism. There were usually military garrisons connected to the missions, to protect the Europeans from hostile natives. Presidios (military bases) often grew up nearby to provide additional protection.



# 16 CHAPTER 1

Mill III Mill Mill III I LOUISIANA (Spanish 1763-1800) %San Francisco (1776) I Monterey (1770) \*I<sup>pan</sup> Luis Obispo (1772) i Taos (1609) "Santa Fe(1607) UNITED STATES (from 1 776) j-Los Angeles (1781) 1 . San Juan Capistrano (1776) TSan Diego de Alcala (1769) ftiIucson . tTi<sup>9</sup>) t# / \* tfr- ----- A ■T 4." S P A N I S H T #st. Augustine (1 565) Liu If o FLORIDAt (to 1819) T Bahamas t (to Britain 1646) -VICEROYALTY Culiacan (1531) | Tampico Mexico City # # (Tenochtitten) Veracruz (1325) (1519) OF Yucatan Peninsula NEW SPAIN "(1519) " V La Habana (1515) > j Cuba (1492) Santiago (1514) Jamaica<sup>^</sup> HAITI (to Britain (French 1655) after 1697) Caribbean Sea Aztec Empire at the time of Spanish Conquest Inca Empire at the time of Spanish Conquest Colonial boundaries and provincial names are for the late 1 8th century OUTPOSTS ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF NEW SPAIN (Not simultaneous; through the 18th century) t Missions ■ Forts (Sometimes with missions) # Settlements Espanola (1492) Puerto Rico f .-(1502) Santo Domingo (1496) PACIFIC OCEAN Panama (1<sup>9</sup>) Santa Fe de Bogota <sup>^</sup> (1538) Ouito #(1534) Trinidad \*t1498) Caracas (1567) VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA SURINAM (Dutch) (1625) / FRENCH GUIANA '(1626) ■"Guayaquil (1535) Cuidad de los Reyes (Lima) (1535) # Cuzco (1535) VICEROYALTY <sup>^</sup> OF NEW CASTILLA (Peru) VICEROYALTY OF LA PLATA Valparaiso |-( 154\*4) \* Santiago (1541) Buenos Aires # (1580) N T 4: 4? o Rio de Janeiro (1567) Montevideo <sup>^</sup>(1 724) Rio de la Plata Sao Paulo (1554) ATLANTIC OCEAN SPANISH AMERICA From the time of Columbus's initial voyage in 1492 until the mid-nineteenth century, Spain was the dominant colonial power in the New World. From the southern regions of South America to the northern regions of the Pacific Northwest, Spain controlled one of the world's largest empires. Note how much of the Spanish Empire was simply grafted upon the earlier empires of native peoples— the Incas in what is today Chile and Peru, and the Aztecs across much of the rest of South America, Mexico, and the Southwest of what is now the United States. What characteristics of Spanish colonization would account for Spain's preference for already-settled regions?

THE COLLISION OF CULTURES • 17 Indeed, after the era of the conquistadores came to a close in the 1540s, the missionary impulse became one of the most important Catholic motives for European emigration to Mission America. Priests or friars accompanied almost all colonizing ventures. Through their zealous work, the gospel of the Catholic Church ultimately extended throughout South and Central America, Mexico, and into the South and Southwest of the present United States. Northern Outposts The Spanish fort established in 1565 at St. Augustine, Florida, became the first permanent European settlement in what is now St. Augustine, Florida, now United States. It served as a military mission, a military outpost, an administrative center for Franciscan missionaries, and a headquarters for unsuccessful campaigns against North American natives that were ultimately abandoned. But it did not mark the beginning of a substantial effort at colonization in the region. A more substantial colonizing venture began thirty years later in the Southwest. In 1598, Don Juan de Onate traveled north from Mexico with a party of 500 men. He claimed for Spain some of the lands of the Pueblo Indians that Coronado had passed through over fifty years before. The Spanish migrants established a colony in what is now New Mexico, modeled roughly on those the Spanish had created farther south. Onate distributed encomiendas to the Spanish settlers. They were licenses to exact labor and tribute from the natives in specific areas (a system first used in dealing with the Moors in Spain). The Spanish demanded tribute from the local Indians (and at times commandeered them as laborers). Spanish colonists founded Santa Fe in 1609. Onate's harsh treatment of the natives (who greatly outnumbered the small Spanish population) threatened the stability of the new colony and led to his removal as governor in 1606. Over time, relations between the Spanish and the Pueblos improved. Substantial numbers of Pueblos converted to Christianity under the influence of Spanish missionaries. Others entered into important trading relationships with the Spanish. The colony remained precarious nevertheless because of the danger from Apache and Navajo raiders, who threatened the Spanish and Pueblos alike. Even so, the New Mexico settlement continued to grow. By 1680, there were over 2,000 Spanish colonists living among about 30,000 Pueblos. The economic heart of the colony was

not the gold and precious metals the early Spanish explorers had tried in vain to find. It was cattle and sheep, raised on the ranchos that stretched out around the small towns Spanish settlers established. In 1680, the colony was nearly destroyed when the Pueblos rose in revolt. In the 1660s and 1670s, the Spanish priests and the colonial government, which was the cause of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 closely tied to the missionaries, launched efforts to suppress tribal rituals that Europeans considered incompatible with Christianity. The discontent among the natives at this suppression survived for decades. More important as a cause of the Pueblo revolt of 1680, however, was a major drought and a series of raids by neighboring Apache tribes. The instability these events produced sparked the uprising. An Indian religious leader named Pope led an uprising that killed hundreds of European settlers (including twenty-one priests), captured Santa Fe, and drove the Spanish temporarily from the region. But twelve years later the Spanish returned, resumed seizing Pueblo lands, and crushed a last revolt in 1696. Spanish exploitation of the Pueblos did not end. But after the revolts, many Spanish colonists realized that they could not prosper in New Mexico if they remained constantly in conflict with a native population that greatly outnumbered them. They tried to solve the problem in two ways. On the one hand, the Spanish intensified their efforts to assimilate the Indians-baptizing Indian children at birth and enforcing observance of Catholic rituals. On the other hand, they now permitted the Pueblos to own land. They stopped commandeering Indian labor, they replaced the *encomienda* system with a less demanding and oppressive one, and they tacitly tolerated the practice of tribal religious rituals. These efforts were at least partially successful. After a while, there was significant intermarriage between Europeans and Indians. Increasingly, the Pueblos came to consider the Spanish their allies in the continuing battles with the Apaches and Navajos. By 1750, the Spanish population had grown modestly to about 4,000. The Pueblo population had declined (through disease, war, and migration) to about 13,000, less than half what it had been in 1680. New Mexico had by then become a reasonably stable, but still weak and isolated, outpost of the Spanish Empire. The Empire at High Tide By the end of the sixteenth century, the Spanish Empire had become one of the largest in the history of the world. It included the islands of the Caribbean and Spain's Vast Empire the coastal areas of South

America that . had been the first targets of the Spanish expeditions. It extended to Mexico and southern North America, where a second wave of colonizers had established outposts. Most of all, the empire spread southward and westward into the vast landmass of South America-the areas that are now Chile, Argentina, and Peru. In 1580, when the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies temporarily united, Brazil came under Spanish jurisdiction as well. It was, however, a colonial empire very different from the one the English would establish in North America beginning in the early seventeenth century. The earliest Spanish ventures in the New World had been largely independent of the throne. But by the end of the sixteenth century, the monarchy had extended its authority directly into the governance of local communities. Colonists had few opportunities to establish political institutions independent of Spain. There was also a significant economic difference between the Spanish Empire and the later British one. The Spanish were far more successful than the British would be in extracting great surface wealth-gold and silver-from their American colonies. But they concentrated less energy on making agriculture and commerce

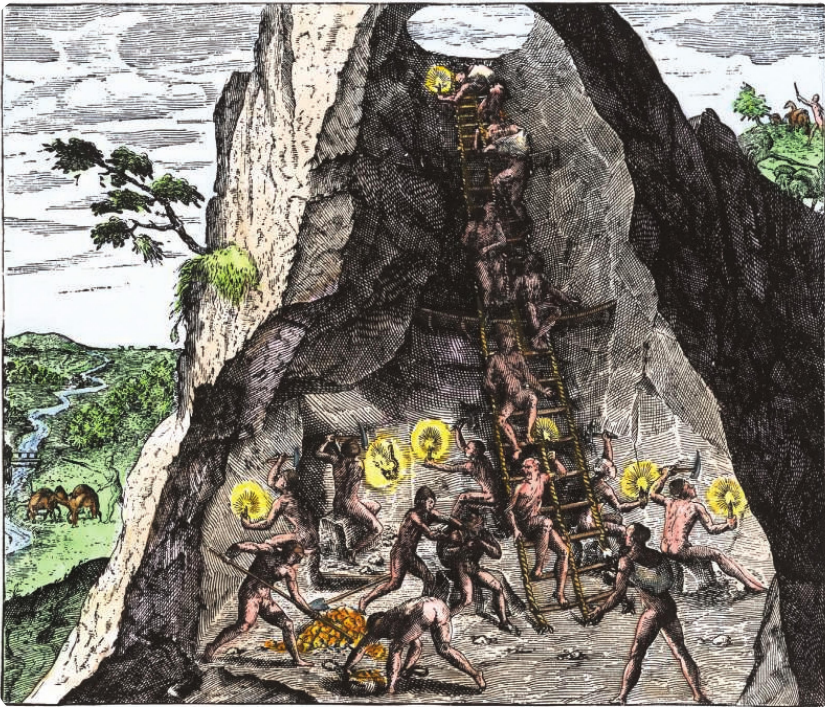
## 18 CHAPTER 1 GOLD IN THE AMERICAS Spanish

conquistadors and settlers were wildly successful in their acquisition of gold in the Americas. For three hundred years, beginning in the sixteenth century, mines in America produced more than ten times as much gold and silver as the rest of the world's production put together. This image shows how the Spaniards enslaved Natives to do the hard work of mining gold. (© North Wind Picture Archives/Alamy) Rigid Royal Control

profitable in their colonies. The strict commercial policies of the Spanish government (policies that the British Empire was never strong enough to impose on their colonies to the north) made things worse. To enforce the collection of duties and to provide protection against pirates, the government established rigid and restrictive regulations that required all trade with the colonies to go through a single Spanish port and only a few colonial ports, in fleets making but two voyages a year. The system stifled economic development of the Spanish areas of the New World. There was also an important difference between the character of the population in the Spanish Empire and that of the colonies to the north. Almost from the beginning, the English, Dutch, and French colonies in North America concentrated on establishing permanent settlement and family life in the New World. The Europeans in North America reproduced rapidly after their first difficult years and in time came to outnumber the natives. The Spanish, by contrast, ruled their empire but did not people it. In the first century of settlement, fewer than 250,000 settlers in the Spanish colonies were from Spain itself or from any other European country. Only about 200,000 more arrived in the first half of the seventeenth century. Some additional settlers came from various outposts of Spanish civilization in the Atlantic—the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and elsewhere; but even with these other sources, the number of European settlers in Spanish America remained very small relative to the native population. Despite the ravages of disease and war, the vast majority of the population of the Spanish Empire continued to consist of natives. The Spanish, in other words, imposed a small ruling class upon a much larger existing population; they did not create a self-contained



European society in the New World as the English would attempt to do in North America. Biological and Cultural Exchanges The lines separating the races in the Spanish Empire gradually grew less distinct than they would be in the English colonies to the north. European and native cultures never entirely merged in the Spanish colonies. Indeed, significant differences remain today between European and Indian cultures throughout South and Central America. Europeans would not have been exploring the Americas at all without their early contacts with the natives. From them, they first learned of the rich deposits of Levels of gold and silver. After that, the history of Exchange the Americas became one of increasing levels of exchanges-some beneficial, some catastrophic-among different peoples and cultures. The first and most profound result of this exchange was the importation of European diseases to the New World. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences of the exposure of





exchange were so disastrous to the natives. The Europeans introduced important new crops to America (among them sugar and bananas), domestic livestock (cattle, pigs, and sheep), and perhaps most significantly the horse, which had disappeared from the Western Hemisphere in the Ice Age and now returned aboard Spanish ships in the sixteenth century. The Europeans imported these things for their own use. But Indian tribes soon learned to cultivate the new crops, and European livestock proliferated rapidly and spread widely among natives. In the past, most tribes had possessed no domesticated animals other than dogs. The horse, in particular, became central to the lives of many natives and transformed their societies. The exchange was at least as important (and far more beneficial) to the Europeans. In both North and South America, the arriving white peoples learned new agricultural techniques from the natives, techniques often better adapted to the character of the new land than those they had brought with them from Europe. They discovered new crops, above all maize (corn), which became an important staple among the settlers. \_ Columbus took corn back to Europe New Crops and r \_ r Agricultural fr°m his first trip to America, and it soon Techniques spread through much of Europe as well. Such American foods as squash, pumpkins, beans, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, and potatoes also found their way back to Europe and in the process revolutionized European agriculture. Agricultural discoveries ultimately proved more important to the future of Europe than the gold and silver the conquistadores valued so highly. In South America, Central America, and Mexico, societies emerged in which Europeans and natives lived in intimate, if unequal, contact with one another. As a result, Indians adopted many features of European civilization. Many natives gradually came to learn Spanish or Portuguese, but in the process they created a range of dialects, combining the European languages with their own. European missionaries through both persuasion and coercion spread Catholicism through most areas of the Spanish Empire. But native Christians tended to connect the new creed with features of their old religions, creating a hybrid of faiths that were, while essentially Christian, nevertheless distinctively American. Colonial officials were expected to take their wives with them to America, but among the ordinary settlers-the majority-European men outnumbered European women by at least ten to one. Not surprisingly, therefore,

the Spanish immigrants had substantial sexual contact with native women. Intermarriage became frequent, and



20 CHAPTER 1 before long the population of the colonies came to be dominated (numerically, at least) by people of mixed race, or mestizos. Through much of the Spanish Empire an elaborate racial hierarchy developed, with the Spanish at the top, natives at the bottom, and people of mixed races in between. Racial categories, however, were much more fluid than the Spanish

..... 111 i wanted to believe and did not long remain fixed. Over time, the wealth and influence of a family often came to define its place in the "racial" hierarchy more decisively than race itself. Eventually, a successful or powerful person could become "Spanish" regardless of his or her actual ancestry. Natives were the principal labor source for the Europeans. Virtually all the commercial, agricultural, and mining enterprises of the Spanish and Portuguese colonists depended on an Indian workforce. Different labor systems emerged in different areas of the Spanish Empire. In some places, Indians were sold into slavery. More often, colonists used a wage system closely related, but not identical, to slavery, by which Indians were forced to work in the mines and on the plantations for fixed periods, unable to leave without the consent of their employers. .... , , r , Such workforces survived in some areas of the South American mainland for many centuries. So great was the need for native labor that European settlers were less interested in acquiring land than they were in gaining control over Indian villages, which could become a source of labor. Even so, the native population could not meet all the labor needs of the colonists-particularly since the native population had declined (and in some places virtually vanished) because of disease and war. As early as 1502, therefore, European settlers began importing slaves from Africa. Most of the African men and women who were forcibly taken to America came from a large region in west Africa below the Sahara Desert, known as Guinea. It was the home of a wide variety of peoples and cultures. Since over half of all the new arrivals in the New World between 1500 and 1800 were Africans, those cultures greatly affected the character of American civilization. Europeans and white Americans came to portray African society as primitive and uncivilized (in part to justify the enslavement of Africa's

people). But most Africans were civilized peoples with well-developed economies and political systems. Humans began settling in west Africa at least 10,000 years ago. By the fifteenth century CE, they had developed extensive Ghana and Senufo civilizations and complex political Mali systems. The residents of upper Guinea had substantial commercial contact with the Mediterranean world-trading ivory, gold, and slaves for finished goods. Largely as a result, they became early converts to Islam. After the collapse of the ancient kingdom of Ghana around 1100 CE, the even larger empire of Mali emerged and survived well into the fifteenth century. Its great city, Timbuktu, became famed as a trading center and a seat of education. Africans farther south were more isolated from Europe and the Mediterranean. They were also more politically fragmented. The central social unit in much of the south was the village, which usually consisted of members of an extended family group. Some groups of villages united in small kingdoms-among them Benin, Congo, and Songhay. But no large empires emerged in the south comparable to the Ghana and Mali kingdoms farther north. Nevertheless, these southern societies also developed extensive trade-in woven fabrics, ceramics, and wooden and iron goods, as well as crops and livestock-both among themselves and, to a lesser degree, with the outside world. The African civilizations naturally developed economies that reflected the climates and resources of their lands. In upper Guinea, fishing and rice cultivation, supplemented by the extensive trade with Mediterranean lands, were the foundation of the economy. Farther south, Africans grew wheat and other food crops, raised livestock, and fished. There were some nomadic tribes in the interior, which subsisted largely on hunting and gathering and developed less elaborate social systems. But most Africans were sedentary people, linked by elaborate political, economic, and familial relationships.

**SCULPTURE OF DJENNE** Many of the Africans forcibly exported from their homes to America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were natives of Mali, the seat of an ancient west African civilization. This terra cotta sculpture, discovered in the 1940s, dates from between 600 and 900 years ago. It portrays a prisoner who most likely represented an African enslaved by the Malis. ("Seated Prisoner," 11th/16th Century, Mande, Founders Society

Purchase, Robert H. Tannahill Foundation Fund. Photograph ©  
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## THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 21

Like many Native American societies, but unlike those in Europe, African societies tended to be matrilineal—which means that people traced their heredity through, and inherited property from, their mothers rather than their fathers. When a couple married, the husband left his own family to join the family of his wife. Like most other peoples, Africans divided work by gender, but the nature of that division varied greatly from place to place. Women played a major role, often the dominant role, in Matrilineal trade; in many areas they were the Societies principal farmers (while the men hunted, fished, and raised livestock); and everywhere, they managed child care and food preparation. Most tribes also divided political power by gender, with men choosing leaders and systems for managing what they defined as male affairs and women choosing parallel leaders to handle female matters. Tribal chiefs generally were men (although in some places there was a female counterpart), but the position customarily passed down not to the chiefs son but to the son of the chiefs eldest sister. African societies, in short, were characterized by a greater degree of sexual equality than those of most other parts of the world at the time. In those areas of west Africa where indigenous religions had survived the spread of Islam (which included most of the lands south of the empire of Mali), people worshiped many gods, whom they associated with various aspects of the natural world and whose spirits they believed lived in trees, rocks, forests, and streams. Most Africans also developed forms of ancestor worship and took great care in tracing family lineage; the most revered priests (who were often also important social and political leaders as well) were generally the oldest people in the tribe. African societies had elaborate systems of social ranks (or hierarchies). Small elites of priests and nobles stood at the top. Most people belonged to a large middle group of farmers, traders, crafts workers, and others. At the bottom of society were slaves—men and women who were put into bondage after being captured in wars or because of criminal behavior or unpaid debts. Slavery in Africa was not usually permanent; people were generally placed in bondage for a fixed period and in the meantime retained certain legal protections (including the right to marry). Their children, moreover, did not inherit their parents' condition of bondage. The



African slave trade began long before the European migration to the New World. As early as the eighth century CE, west Africans began selling slaves to traders from the Mediterranean. They were responding to a demand from affluent families who wanted black men and women as domestic servants. They were also responding to more-general labor shortages in some areas of Europe and North Africa. When Portuguese sailors began exploring the coast of Africa in the fifteenth century, they too bought slaves-usually criminals and people captured in war-and took them back to Portugal, where there was a small but steady demand. By the 1500s, people from the Guinea region had moved into much of sub-Saharan Africa and traded gold, ivory, pepper, and many other precious commodities. In the sixteenth century, however, the market for slaves grew dramatically as a result of the rising European demand for sugarcane. The small areas of sugar cultivation in the Mediterranean were proving inadequate, and production soon moved to the island of Madeira off the African coast, which became a Portuguese colony. Not long after that, it moved to the Caribbean islands and Brazil. Sugar was a labor-intensive crop, and the demand for workers in these new areas increased rapidly. European slave traders responded to that demand by increasing the recruitment of workers from along the coast of Growth of west Africa (and from some areas of east w-g-i Africa as well). As the demand increased, the African ' Slave Trade African kingdoms warred with one an. other in an effort to capture potential slaves to exchange for European goods. At first the slave traders were overwhelmingly Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, Spanish. By the seventeenth century, the Dutch had won control of most of the slave market. In the eighteenth century, the English dominated it. (Despite some false claims, Jews were never significantly involved in the slave trade.) By 1700, slavery had begun to spread well beyond its original locations in the Caribbean and South America and into the English colonies to the north. THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH England's first documented contact with the New World came only five years after Spain's. In 1497, John Cabot (like Columbus, a native of Genoa) sailed to the northeastern coast of North America on an expedition sponsored by King Henry VII. Other English navigators continued Cabot's unsuccessful search for a northwest passage through the New World to the Orient. They explored other areas of North America John Cabot during the

sixteenth century. But even though England claimed dominion over the lands its explorers surveyed, nearly a century passed before the English made any serious efforts to establish colonies there. Like other European nations, England had to experience an internal transformation before it could begin settling new lands. That transformation occurred in the sixteenth century. The Commercial Incentive Part of the attraction of the New World to the English was its newness, its contrast to their own troubled land. America seemed a place where human settlement could start anew, where a perfect society could be created without the flaws and inequities of the Old World. Such dreams began to emerge in England only a few years after Columbus's voyages. They found classic expression in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (published in Latin in 1516, translated into English thirty-five years later), which described a mythical and nearly perfect society

AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Atlantic Context of Early American History it is « rjl Americans understand that in the twenty-first century our nation has become intimately bound up with the rest of the world— that we live in a time that is often called the "age of globalization." But globalization long preceded our own time, and historians have recently come to recognize that the "New World" of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America was part of a vast network of connections that has become known as the "Atlantic World." The idea of an "Atlantic World" rests in part on the obvious connections between western Europe and the Spanish, British, French, and Dutch colonies in North and South America. The massive European emigration to the Americas beginning in the sixteenth century, the defeat and devastation of native populations, the creation of European agricultural and urban settlements, and the imposition of imperial regulations on trade, commerce, landowning, and political life— all of these forces reveal the influence of Old World imperialism on the history of the New World. Although some Europeans traveled to the New World to escape oppression or to search for adventure, the great majority of European emigrants were in search of economic opportunity. Not surprisingly, therefore, the European settlements in the Americas were almost from the start connected to Europe through the growth of commerce between them. The commercial relationship between America and Europe was responsible not just for the growth of trade, but also for the increases in migration over time— as the demand for labor in the New World drew more and more settlers from the Old World. Commerce was also the principal reason for the rise of slavery in the Americas, and for the growth of the slave trade between European America and Africa. The Atlantic World, in other words, included not just Europe and the Americas, but Africa as well. Religion was another force binding together the Atlantic World. The vast majority of people of European descent were Christians, and most of them maintained important religious ties to Europe. Catholics, of course, were part of a hierarchical church based in Rome and maintained close ties with the Vatican. But the Protestant faiths that predominated in North America were linked to their European counterparts as well. New religious ideas and movements spread back and forth across the Atlantic with astonishing speed. Great revivals that began in Europe moved

quickly to America. The "Great Awakening" of the mid-eighteenth century, for example, began in Britain and traveled to America in large part through the efforts of the English evangelist George Whitefield. American evangelists later carried religious ideas from the New World back to the Old. The early history of European America was also closely bound up with the intellectual life of Europe. The Enlightenment—the cluster of ideas that emerged in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasizing the power of human reason—moved quickly to the Americas, producing considerable intellectual ferment throughout the New World, but particularly in the British colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Many of the ideas that lay behind the American Revolution were products of British and French philosophy that had traveled across the Atlantic. The reinterpretation of those ideas by Americans to help justify their drive to independence—by, among others, Thomas Paine—moved back across the Atlantic to Europe and helped to inspire the French Revolution. Scientific and technological knowledge—another product of the Enlightenment—moved rapidly back and forth across the Atlantic. Americans borrowed industrial technology from Britain. Europe acquired much of its early knowledge of electricity from experiments done in America. But the Enlightenment was only one part of the continuing intellectual connections within the Atlantic World, connections that on an imaginary island supposedly discovered by a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in the waters of the New World. More's picture of an ideal community was, among other things, a comment on the social and economic ills of the England of his own time. The people of Tudor England suffered from frequent and costly European wars, from almost constant religious strife, and above all from a harsh economic transformation of the countryside. Because the worldwide The Enclosure demand for wool was growing rapidly. Movement many landowners were finding it profitable to convert their land from fields for crops to pastures for sheep. The result was a significant growth in the wool trade. But that meant land worked at one time by agricultural serfs and later by rent-paying tenant farmers was steadily enclosed for sheep runs and taken away from the farmers. Thousands of evicted tenants roamed the countryside in gangs, begging from (and at times robbing) the more fortunate householders through whose communities they passed. 22 • The government passed various laws designed to halt enclosures, relieve

the worthy poor, and compel the able-bodied or "sturdy beggars" to work. Such laws had little effect. The enclosure movement continued unabated, and few of the dislocated farmers could find reemployment in raising sheep or manufacturing wool. By removing land from cultivation, the enclosure movement also limited England's ability to feed its rising population, which grew from 3 million in 1485 to 4 million in 1603. Because of both the dislocation of farmers and the restriction of the food supply, therefore, England had a serious problem of surplus population. Amid this growing distress, a rising class of merchant capitalists was prospering from the expansion of foreign trade. At first, England had exported little except raw wool; but new merchant capitalists helped create a domestic cloth industry that allowed them to begin marketing finished goods at home and abroad. At first, most exporters did business almost entirely as individuals. In time, however, some merchants joined forces and formed chartered companies. Each such enterprise operated

## THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 23 (© The Granger

Collection, New York) spread artistic, scholarly, and political ideas widely through the lands bordering the ocean. Instead of thinking of the early history of what became the United States simply as the story of the growth of thirteen small colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, the idea of the "Atlantic World" encourages us to think of early American history as a vast pattern of exchanges and interactions— trade, migration, religious and intellectual exchange, and many other relationships— among all the societies bordering the Atlantic: western Europe, western Africa, the Caribbean, and North and South America. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What was the Atlantic World?
2. What has led historians to begin studying the idea of an Atlantic World?
3. Does studying American history in an Atlantic World context broaden or distort our understanding of American history?

on the basis of a charter acquired from the monarch, which gave the company a monopoly for trading in a particular region. Among the first of these were the Muscovy Company (1555), Chartered the Levant Company (1581), the Barbary Companies Company (1585), the Guinea Company (1588), and the East India Company (1600). Investors in these companies often made fantastic profits from the exchange of English manufactures, especially woolens, for exotic goods; and they felt a powerful urge to continue the expansion of their profitable trade. Central to this drive was the emergence of a new concept of economic life known as mercantilism, which was gaining favor throughout Europe. Mercantilism rested on the assumption that the nation as a whole, not the individuals within it, was the principal actor in the economy. The goal of economic activity should be to increase the nation's total wealth. Mercantilists believed that the world's wealth was finite. One person or nation could grow rich only at the expense of another. A nation's economic health depended, therefore, on extracting as much wealth as possible from foreign lands and exporting as little wealth as possible from home. The principles of mercantilism guided the economic policies of virtually all the European nation-states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mercantilism greatly enhanced the position of the new merchant capitalists, whose overseas ventures were thought to benefit the entire nation and to be worthy of government assistance. It also increased competition among

nations. Every European state was trying to find Mercantilism markets for its exports while trying to limit its imports. One result was the increased attractiveness of acquiring colonies, which could become the source of goods that a country might otherwise have to buy from other nations. In England, the mercantilistic program thrived at first on the basis of the flourishing wool trade with the European continent and, particularly, with the great cloth market in Antwerp. Beginning in the 1550s, however, that glutted market collapsed, and English merchants found themselves obliged to look elsewhere for overseas trade. The establishment of colonies seemed to be a ready answer to that and other problems. Richard Hakluyt, an Oxford clergyman and the outstanding English propagandist for colonization, argued that colonies would not only create new markets for English goods, but they would also help alleviate poverty and unemployment by Richard Hakluyt's siphoning off the surplus population. Argument for For the poor who remained in England Colonies "idly to the annoy of the whole state," there would be new work as a result of the prosperity the colonies would create. Perhaps most important, colonial commerce would allow England to acquire products from its own new territories for which the nation had previously been dependent on foreign rivals- products such as lumber, naval stores, and, above all, silver and gold. The Religious Incentive In addition to these economic motives for colonization, there were religious ones, rooted in the events of the European and English Reformations. The Protestant Reformation began in Germany in 1517, when Martin Luther openly challenged some of the basic practices and beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church-until then, the supreme religious authority and also one of the strongest political authorities throughout western Europe. Luther, an Augustinian monk and ordained priest, challenged the Catholic belief that salvation could be achieved through good works or through loyalty (or payments) to the Church itself. He denied the Church's claim that God communicated to the world through the pope and the clergy. The Bible, not the church, was the authentic voice of God, Luther claimed, and salvation was to be found not through "works" or through the formal practice of religion, but through faith alone. Luther's challenge quickly won him a wide following among ordinary men and women in northern Europe. He himself insisted that he was not revolting against the Church, that his purpose was to reform it from within. But when the

pope



24 CHAPTER 1 SWEDEN POLAND Kiev\* SWITZERLAND  
 [Venice HUNGARY Santiago der Compostela Ragusa Barcelona  
 Constantinople Trebizond Lisbon Palermo Granada Antioch Tunis  
 Algiers Sicily Sea Alexandria Ghadames Murzuk Taghazal  
 Tamanrasset Tadmekka Timbuktu MALI Massava Djenné \* Sennar  
 ICELAND SCOTLAND North Sea IRELAND ENGLAND X Bremen  
 London Badger's Bay Atlantic Ocean  
 Trade route Canary Islands SENEGAMBIA RUSSIA Novgorod  
 ASANTE & OYO 5 BENIN GUINEA COAST AKAN Elmina EUROPE  
 AND WEST AFRICA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY Exploration of  
 North and South America was in part an outgrowth of earlier  
 European trade in the Eastern Hemisphere. Europeans delivered  
 cloth and other manufactures to northern Africa; then camels  
 carried the cargoes across the Sahara to cities such as Timbuktu,  
 Gao, and Djenné. There they loaded gold, ivory, and kola nuts for  
 return to the Mediterranean. Africans also traded with Asia to  
 obtain cloth, porcelain, and spices. What areas of trade were most  
 important to the early interaction between Africa and the Americas?



THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 25 excommunicated him in 1520, Luther defied him and began to lead his followers out of the Catholic Church entirely. A schism within European Christianity had begun that was never to be healed. As the spirit of the Reformation spread rapidly throughout Europe, other dissidents began offering alternatives to orthodox Catholicism. The French theologian John Calvin was, after Luther, the most influential reformer and went even further than Luther had in rejecting the Catholic belief that human institutions could affect an individual's prospects for salvation. Calvin introduced the doctrine of predestination. God "elected" some people to be saved and condemned others to damnation; each person's destiny was determined before birth, and no one could change that predetermined fate. But while individuals could not alter their destinies, they could strive to know them. Calvinists believed that the way people led their lives might reveal to them their chances of salvation. A wicked or useless Doctrine of existence would be a sign of damnation; Predestination saintliness, diligence, and success could . . . be signs of grace. Calvinism created anxieties among its followers, to be sure; but it also produced a strong incentive to lead virtuous, productive lives. The new creed spread rapidly throughout northern Europe and produced (among other groups) the Huguenots in France and the Puritans in England. The English Reformation was very different from the Protestant Reformation. It occurred more because of a political dispute between the king and the pope than as a result of doctrinal revolts. In 1529, King Henry VIII became angered by the pope's refusal to grant him a divorce from his Spanish wife (who had failed to bear him the son he desperately wanted). In response, he broke England's ties with the Catholic Church The English and established himself as the head of Reformation the Christian faith in his country. He I III III MINIM III III MINIM III III Mill III III III Mill III III MINIM III III II made relatively few other changes in English Christianity, however, and after his death the survival of Protestantism remained in doubt for a time. When Henry's Catholic daughter Mary ascended the throne, she quickly restored England's allegiance to Rome and harshly persecuted those who refused to return to the Catholic fold. Many Protestants were executed (the origin of the queen's enduring

nickname, "Bloody Mary"); others fled to the European continent, where they came into contact with the most radical ideas of the Reformation. Mary died in 1558, and her halfsister, Elizabeth, became England's sovereign. Elizabeth once again severed the nation's connection with the Catholic Church (and, along with it, an alliance with Spain that Mary had forged). The Church of England, as the official religion was now known, satisfied the political objectives of the queen, but it failed to satisfy the religious desires of many English Christians. Catholics continued to assert allegiance to the pope. More important, many Protestants believed that the "reformation" did not create enough changes in theology. The most ardent Protestants became known as "Puritans," because they hoped to "purify" the church. JOHN CALVIN Next to Martin Luther, John Calvin was the most important figure of the European Reformation. His belief in predestination was central to the Puritan faith of early New England. (© Bettmann/Corbis) Some Puritans took genuinely radical positions. They were known as Separatists, and they were determined to worship as they pleased in their own independent congregations. That flew in the face of English law-which outlawed unauthorized religious meetings, required all subjects to attend Puritan regular Anglican services, and levied taxes Separatists to support the established church. The radicalism of the Separatists was visible in their rejection of prevailing assumptions about the proper religious roles of women. Many Separatist sects, perhaps most prominently the Quakers, permitted women to serve as preachers, which would have been impossible in the established church. Most Puritans resisted separatism. Still, their demands were by no means modest. They wanted to simplify Anglican forms of worship. They wanted to reduce the power of the bishops, who were appointed by the Crown and who were, in many cases, openly corrupt and highly extravagant. Perhaps above all they wanted to reform the local clergy, many of them greedy, uneducated men with little interest in (or knowledge of) theology. Puritan discontent, already festering, grew rapidly after the death of Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, and the accession to



AMERICA IN THE WORLD Mercantilism and Colonial Commerce ■ p n more than two centuries, the economic life of Europe and its growing colonial possessions (the North American colonies among them) was shaped by a theory known as mercantilism. The actual application of mercantilism differed from country to country and empire to empire. But virtually all versions of mercantilism shared a belief in the economic importance of the colonies. It is that which everyone knoweth and can say: They are our Weapons; They are our Armaments; They are our Strength; They are our Pleasures; They are our Defence; They are our Profit \* The Subjection by them is made rich, the Kingdom through them, strong\* The Prince in them is mighty, in a word : By them in manner, we live, the Kingdom is, the King Reigneth. — From an English Pamphlet [ circa 1681] « ENWFL 007523 "The Trades Increase, as Concerning Ships." Hand-colored woodcut from an English pamphlet c 1661 if not earlier. Wind Picture Archive/An!\*\*\* 1 The lineage Work\* NOTE: The original image was shortened to fit the page. The image was originally titled "On the Shortening of the Name of the COMPANY £) North Wind Picture Archive/Imatje Wofts MERCANTILISM "The Trades Increase, as Concerning Ships" is a hand-colored woodprint depicting the vibrant state of late-seventeenth-century British mercantilism. The extended caption beneath the print acknowledges how British trade stands as a cornerstone of the British economy and a primary source of strength for the monarchy. (© North Wind Pictures Archive/Image Works) colonies to the health of the colonizing nations. As a result, mercantilism helped spur the growth of European empires around the world. In one sense, mercantilism was a highly nationalist, as opposed to a global, theory. It rested on the conviction that the nation (not the individual) was at the center of economic life and that each nation should work to maximize its own share of the finite wealth for which all nations were competing. A gain for France, mercantilism taught, was in effect a loss for Britain or Spain. Thus, it encouraged each nation to work for itself and to attempt to weaken its rivals. But mercantilism was also a global force. What made it so was not the modern notion of the value of international economic growth but, rather, the belief that each nation must search for its own sources of trade and raw materials around the world. Every European state was trying to find markets

for its exports, which would bring wealth into the nation, while trying to limit imports, which would transfer wealth to others. (Most of these central mercantilist tenets would eventually be overturned in Adam Smith's 1776 tract, *The Wealth of Nations*, which instead advocated free trade among nations and individual self-interest over national largesse as the route to increasing global — and thus national— wealth.) In a mercantilist economy, colonies were critical to a nation's economic well-being. They served both as providers of raw materials and as markets for finished goods. Colonies, mercantilism taught, should trade only with their mother nation, and the direction of wealth should flow only in one direction, toward the center of the empire. Naval power became an integral part of the mercantilist idea. Only by controlling the sea lanes between the colonies and the homeland could a nation preserve its favorable balance of trade. Despite the common assumptions underlying all forms of mercantilism, the system took many different forms, often depending on whether colonial merchants or state bureaucrats drove the economic discussion. In England, Spain, and the Netherlands, mercantilism was closely identified with the emerging middle class, who stood to profit personally from the increased trade. (Hence the term "mercantilism," from merchant.) In France and Germany, on the other hand, state officials rather than private citizens laid more of the groundwork for mercantilism principles. In France, mercantilism was often known as "Colbertism," after its primary proponent, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, foreign minister under Louis XIV. In Germany, the theory was known as "cameralism," for the Kammer, or royal treasury. 26 • iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii







**THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 27** In its early years, mercantilism was closely associated with "bullionism," which is the theory that only gold and silver defined a nation's wealth. As such, the early Spanish colonies of the New World, in particular, emphasized the procurement of gold, silver, and other precious metals for the mother nation. (English colonies such as Jamestown were founded in part with the same intention, but they were much less successful at finding precious metals.) But even when gold and silver were scarce, colonies could still provide other important resources for the imperial capitals—for example, fur, timber, sugar, tobacco, and slaves. The theory of mercantilism taught that wealth creation was a zero-sum game: there was a fixed amount of wealth in the world, and any wealth a nation acquired was, in effect, taken away from some other nation. As a result, mercantilists believed that nations should heavily regulate the economic affairs of their colonies. One good example of this was England's passage of the Navigation Acts in the 1660s, laws that sharply restricted colonial trade with anyone else but England. But England was not alone in passing such restrictions. Spain took equally definitive control over its colonial economies, passing similarly intensive regulation and insisting until 1720 that all colonial trade pass through the port of Seville. Still, naval vessels could not be everywhere at once. And despite the many laws restricting colonial economies to their home nations, many colonial merchants around the world struck up trade with their nonaffiliated neighbors when possible. The French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies in particular became the site of a thriving intercolonial trade that was not, for all intent and purposes, legal according to mercantilist doctrine. Indeed, so many traders from so many countries violated mercantile laws in the eighteenth century, and so many of them amassed great profits in the process, the mercantilist system gradually began to unravel. By the time of the American Revolution, in part a result of the colonists' resistance to mercantilist policies, the patterns of global trade were already moving toward the less-regulated trading patterns of the modern capitalist world.

• **UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1.** What effect did mercantilism have on colonial economies? Did the effects differ according to which European nation owned the colony? **2.** How did mercantilism contribute to power rivalries among the European nations? **3.** Mercantilism as a nation's driving

economic force has largely given way to economic globalization, that is, the increased interdependence of nations' economies. Why do you think this is so? the throne of James I, a Scotsman and the first of the Stuarts, in 1603. James believed kings ruled by divine right, and he felt Puritan no obligation to compromise with his Discontent opponents. He quickly antagonized the Puritans, a group that included most of the rising businessmen, by resorting to arbitrary taxation, by favoring English Catholics in granting charters and other favors, and by supporting "high church" forms of ceremony. By the early seventeenth century, some religious nonconformists were beginning to look for places of refuge outside the kingdom. Along with the other economic and social incentives for colonization, such religious discontent helped turn England's gaze to distant lands. The English in Ireland England's first experience with colonization came not in the New World, but in a land separated from Britain only by a narrow stretch of sea: Ireland. The English had long laid claim to the island and had for many years maintained small settlements in the area around Dublin. Only in the second half of the sixteenth century, however, did serious efforts at largescale colonization begin. During the 1560s and 1570s, ELIZABETH I This is the Kitchener Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) painted by an unknown artist in the English style. In this portrait, the artist conveys Elizabeth as she was seen by many of her contemporaries: a strong, confident ruler, richly dressed, presiding over an ambitious, increasingly prosperous, and expansionist state. (Private Collection /© Mallett Gallery, London, UK / The Bridgeman Art Library)



28 CHAPTER 1 THE DOCKS OF BRISTOL, ENGLAND By the eighteenth century, when this scene was painted, Bristol had become one of the principal English ports serving the so-called triangular trade among the American colonies, the West Indies, and Africa. The lucrativeness of that trade is evident in the bustle and obvious prosperity of the town. Even earlier, however, Bristol was an important port of embarkation for the thousands of English settlers migrating to the New World. ( Docks and Quay. English School (18th Century). City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery/The Bridgeman Art Library, London) would-be colonists moved through Ireland, capturing territory and attempting to subdue the native population. In the process they developed many of the assumptions that would guide later English colonists in America. The most important of these assumptions was that the native population of Ireland-approximately 1 million people, loyal to the Catholic Church, with their own language (Gaelic) and their own culture-was a collection of wild, viSubjugation of cious' and ignorant "savages." The Irish Ireland lived in ways the English considered iiii -a -a r i /t'i l »\ i crude and wasteful ( like beasts ), and they fought back against the intruders with a ferocity that the English considered barbaric. Such people could not be tamed, the English concluded. They certainly could not be assimilated into English society. They must, therefore, be suppressed, isolated, and if necessary destroyed. Eventually, they might be "civilized," but only after they were thoroughly subordinated. Whatever barbarities the Irish may have inflicted on the colonizers, the English more than matched them in return. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was later to establish the first British colony in the New World (an unsuccessful venture in Newfoundland), served for a time as governor of one Irish district and suppressed native rebellions with extraordinary viciousness. Gilbert was an educated and supposedly civilized man. But he considered the natives less than human and therefore not entitled to whatever decencies civilized people reserved for their treatment of one another. As a result, he managed to justify, both to himself and to others, such atrocities as beheading Irish soldiers after they were killed in battle. Gilbert himself. Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, and others active in Ireland in the mid-sixteenth century derived from their experiences there an outlook they would take to

America, where they made similarly vicious efforts to subdue and subjugate the natives.



THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 29 The Irish experience led the English to another important (and related) assumption about colonization: that English settlements in distant lands must retain a rigid separation from the native populations. In Ireland, English colonizers established the Plantation, what they called "plantations," model transplantations of English society in a foreign land. Unlike the Spanish in America, the English in Ireland did not try simply to rule a subdued native population; they tried to build a separate society, peopled with emigrants from England itself. The new society would exist within a "pale of settlement," an area physically separated from the natives. That concept, too, they would take with them to the New World, even though in Ireland, as later in America, the separation of peoples and the preservation of "pure" English culture proved impossible. The French and the Dutch in America English settlers in North America, unlike those in Ireland, would encounter not only natives but also other Europeans who were, like them, driven by mercantilist ideas to establish economic outposts abroad. To the south and southwest was the Spanish Empire. Spanish ships continued to threaten English settlements along the coast for years. But except for Mexico and scattered outposts such as those in Florida and New Mexico, the Spanish made little serious effort to colonize North America. England's more formidable North American rivals in the early sixteenth century were the French. France founded its first permanent settlement in America at Quebec in 1608, less than a year after the English started their first colony at Jamestown. The French colony's population grew very slowly. Few French Catholics felt any inclination to leave their homeland, and French Protestants who might have wished to emigrate were excluded from the colony. The French, however, exercised an influence in the New World disproportionate to their numbers, largely because of their relationships with Native Americans. Unlike the English, who for many years hugged the coastline and traded with the Indians of the interior through intermediaries, the French forged close, direct ties with natives deep inside the continent. French Jesuit missionaries were among the first to penetrate Indian societies, and they established some of the first contacts between the two peoples. More important still were Coureurs de bois, the coureurs de bois—adventurous fur traders and trappers—who also moved

IIIIII III III IIIIIII III III Mill III III III Mill III III MIIIII III III I j i r ,  
11 1111 far into the wilderness and developed an extensive trade  
that became one of the underpinnings of the French colonial  
economy. The fur trade was, in fact, more an Indian than a French  
enterprise. The coureurs de bois were, in many ways, little more  
than agents for the Algonquins and the Hurons, who were the  
principal fur traders among the Indians of the region and from  
whom the French purchased their pelts. The French traders were  
able to function only to the degree that they could form  
partnerships with the Indians. Successful partnerships often resulted  
from their ability to become a part of native society, living among  
the Indians and at times marrying Indian women. The fur trade  
helped open the way THE "RESTITUTION" OF NEW AMSTERDAM  
This is a detail from an elaborate engraving created to celebrate the  
"Restitutio" (or return) of New Amsterdam to the Dutch in 1673.  
England had captured New Amsterdam in 1664 and made claim to  
the entire province of New Netherland. But in 1672, war broke out  
between England and the Netherlands, and the Dutch recaptured  
their lost province. In celebration of that event, this heroic picture  
of the Dutch fleet in New York was created for sale in the  
Netherlands. Early in 1674, at the conclusion of the war, the Dutch  
returned the colony to England. (© Gilder Lehrman Collection, New  
York, USA / The Bridgeman Art Library)





30 CHAPTER 1 for the other elements of the French presence in North America-the agricultural estates (or seigneuries ) along the St. Lawrence River, the development of trade and military centers at Quebec and Montreal, and the creation of an alliance with the Algonquins and others-that enabled the French to compete with the more numerous British in the contest for control of North America. That alliance also brought the French into conflict with the Iroquois, the Algonquins' ancient enemies, who assumed the central role in the English fur trade. An early result of these tensions was a 1609 attack led by Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec, on a band of Mohawks, apparently at the instigation of his Algonquin trading partners. The Dutch, too, were establishing a presence in North America. The Netherlands had won its independence from Spain in the early seventeenth century and had become one of the leading trading nations of the world. Its merchant fleet was larger than England's, and its traders were active not only in Europe but also in Africa, Asia, and-increasingly-America. In 1609, an English explorer in the employ of the Dutch, Henry Hudson, sailed up the river that was to be named for him in what is now New York State. Because the river was so wide, he believed for a time that he had found the long-sought water route through the continent to the Pacific. He was wrong, of course, but his explorations led to a Dutch claim on territory in America and to the establishment of a permanent Dutch presence in the New World. For more than a decade after Hudson's voyage, the Dutch maintained an active trade in furs in and around present-day New York. In 1624, the Dutch West India Company established a series of permanent trading posts on the Hudson, Delaware, and Connecticut Rivers. The company actively encouraged settlement of the region-not just Amsterdam from Holland itself, but also from such other parts of northern Europe as Germany, Sweden, and Finland. It transported whole families to the New World and granted vast feudal estates to landlords (known as "patroons") on condition that they bring still more immigrants to America. The result was the colony of New Netherland and its principal town, New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island. Its population, diverse as it was, remained relatively small; the colony was only loosely united, with chronically weak leadership. The First

English Settlements The first enduring English settlement in the New World was established at Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1607. But for nearly thirty years before that, English merchants and adventurers had been engaged in a series of failed efforts to create colonies in America. Through much of the sixteenth century, the English had mixed feelings about the New World. They knew of its existence, and they were intrigued by its possibilities. Under the leadership of Elizabeth I, they were developing a powerful sense of nationalism that encouraged dreams of expansion. At the same time, however, England was leery of Spain, which remained the dominant force in America and, it seemed, the dominant naval power in Europe. But much changed in the 1570s and 1580s. English "sea dogs" such as Sir Francis Drake staged successful raids on Spanish merchant ships and built confidence in England's ability to challenge Spanish sea power. More important was the attempted Spanish invasion of England in 1588. Philip II, the powerful Spanish king, had recently united his nation with Portugal. He was now determined to end England's challenges to Spanish commercial supremacy and to bring the English back into the Catholic Church. He assembled one of the largest military fleets in the history of warfare-known to history as the "Spanish Armada"-to carry his troops across the English Channel and into England itself. Philip's bold venture turned into a fiasco when the smaller English fleet dispersed the Armada and, in a single stroke, ended Spain's domination of the Atlantic. The English now felt much freer to establish themselves in the New World. The pioneers of English colonization were Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh-both friends of Queen Elizabeth and both veterans of the earlier colonial efforts in Ireland. In 1578, Gilbert obtained from Elizabeth a patent granting him the exclusive right for six years "to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince." After numerous setbacks, Gilbert led an expedition to Newfoundland in 1583 and took possession of the island in the queen's name. He proceeded southward along the coast, looking for a good place to build a military outpost that might eventually grow into a profitable colony. But a storm sank his ship, and he was lost at sea. Raleigh was undeterred by Gilbert's misfortune. The next year, he secured from Elizabeth a six-year

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THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 31 ROANOKE A drawing by one of the English colonists in the ill-fated Roanoke expedition of 1585 became the basis for this engraving by Theodor de Bry, published in England in 1590. A small European ship carrying settlers approaches the island of Roanoke, at left. The wreckage of several larger vessels farther out to sea and the presence of Indian settlements on the mainland and on Roanoke itself suggest some of the perils the settlers encountered. (© The Gallery Collection/Corbis) returned to England. The following spring, Sir Francis Drake unexpectedly arrived in Roanoke. With supplies and reinforcements from England long overdue, the beleaguered colonists boarded Drake's ships and left. Raleigh tried again in 1587, sending an expedition carrying ninety-one men, seventeen women (two of them pregnant), and nine children-the nucleus, he hoped, of a viable "plantation." The settlers landed on Roanoke and attempted to take up where the first group of colonists had left off. (Shortly after arriving, one of the women-the daughter of the commander of the expedition, John White-gave birth to a daughter, Virginia Dare, the first American-born child of English parents.) White returned to England after several weeks (leaving his daughter and granddaughter behind) in search of supplies and additional settlers; he hoped to return in a few months. But the hostilities with Spain intervened, and White did not return to the island for three years. When he did, in 1590, he found the island deserted, with no clue to the settlers' fate other than the cryptic inscription "Croatoan" carved on a post. Some historians have argued that the colonists were slaughtered by the Indians in retaliation for Grenville's hostilities. Others have contended that they left their settlement and joined native society, ultimately becoming entirely assimilated. But no conclusive solution to the mystery of the "Lost Colony" has ever been found. The Roanoke mystery marked the end of Sir Walter Raleigh's involvement in English colonization of the New World. In 1603, when James I succeeded Elizabeth to the throne, Raleigh was accused of plotting against the king, stripped of his monopoly, and imprisoned for more than a decade. Finally (after being released for one last ill-fated maritime expedition), he was executed by the king in 1618. No later colonizer would receive grants of land in the New World as vast or undefined as those Raleigh and Gilbert had acquired. But despite the discouraging example of these early

experiences, the colonizing impulse remained alive. In the first years of the seventeenth century, a group of London merchants to whom Raleigh had assigned his charter rights decided to renew the attempt at colonization in Virginia. A rival group of merchants, from Plymouth and other West



32 CHAPTER 1 Country towns, were also interested in American ventures and were sponsoring voyages of exploration farther north, up to Newfoundland, where West Country New Colonial fishermen had been going for many years. In 1606 James I issued a new Charters

LOOKING BACK The lands that Europeans eventually named the Americas were the home of many millions of people before the arrival of Columbus. Having migrated from Asia thousands of years earlier, the pre-Columbian Americans spread throughout the Western Hemisphere and eventually created great civilizations. Among the most notable of them were the Incas in Peru, and the Mayas and Aztecs in Mexico. In the regions north of what was later named the Rio Grande, the human population was smaller and the civilizations less advanced than they were farther south. Even so, North American natives created a cluster of civilizations that thrived and expanded. There were several million people living north of Mexico by the time Columbus arrived. In the century after European contact, these native populations suffered a series of catastrophes that all but destroyed the civilizations they had built: brutal invasions by Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores and, even more devastating, a charter, which divided America between the two groups. The London group got the exclusive right to colonize in the south, and the Plymouth merchants received the same right in the north. Through their efforts, the first enduring English colonies were planted in America.

series of plagues inadvertently imported by Europeans that decimated native populations. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Spanish and Portuguese-no longer faced with effective resistance from the native populations-had established colonial control over all of South America and much of North America, creating one of the largest empires in the world. In the parts of North America that would eventually become the United States, the European presence was for a time much less powerful. The Spanish established an important northern outpost in what is now New Mexico, a society in which Europeans and Indians lived together intimately, if unequally. They created a fort at St. Augustine, Florida. On the whole, however, the North American Indians remained largely undisturbed by Europeans until the English, French, and Dutch migrations began in the early seventeenth century.

Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events Archaic period 3 Black

Death 8 Cahokia 6 Christopher Columbus 9 Clovis people 2  
Conquistadores 12 COUREURS DE BOIS 29 Encomienda 17 Henry  
Hudson 30 Jamestown 30 Matrilineal 21 Mercantilism 23 Meso-  
Americans 3 Mestizos 20 Protestant Reformation 23 Puritans 25  
Roanoke 30 Samuel de Champlain 30 Seigneuries 30 Separatists 25  
Sir Humphrey Gilbert 28 Sir Walter Raleigh 28 Tenochtitlan 3  
RECALL AND REFLECT

1. How did contact between the European arrivals and the native peoples of the Americas affect both groups?
2. How did Spanish settlement in America differ from English, Dutch, and French settlement?
3. What were the effects of the importation of African slaves into the Americas?
4. What is mercantilism and what did it have to do with the European colonization of North America?
5. How did the English experience at colonization in Ireland affect English colonization in America?

## THE COLLISION OF CULTURES 33 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

14,000 BCE-12,000 BCE Asians begin migrating to North America across the Bering Strait 1492 Columbus sails west from Spain in search of Asia, reaches Bahama Islands in the Atlantic 1480s Portuguese explorers travel down west coast of Africa in search of sea route to Asia 1497 John Cabot establishes first English claim in North America 1502 First African slaves arrive in Spanish America 1519-1522 ^ Magellan expedition circumnavigates globe 1532-1538 \_ O Pizarro conquers Incas in Peru 1518-1530 Smallpox epidemic ravages Indian societies of Central and South America 1521 Cortes captures Tenochtitlan and conquers Aztec Empire in Mexico 1587 "Lost Colony" established on Roanoke Island 1603 James I succeeds Elizabeth I in England 1609 Spanish colonists found Santa Fe 1680 Pueblos revolt and drive Spanish colonists from present-day New Mexico 1566 English conquest of Ireland begins \_ 1598 • . . Don Juan de Onate establishes Spanish colony in present-day New Mexico O 1608 o . French establish Quebec, their first permanent settlement in America O 1624 O Dutch establish permanent settlements in what is now New York O 1696 Spanish crush last Pueblo revolt in New Mexico 1565 St. Augustine founded in Florida 1558 Elizabeth I ascends English throne



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THE FORT AT JAMESTOWN The Jamestown settlement was beset with difficulties from its first days, and it was many decades before it became a stable and successful town. In the early days, the colonists suffered from the climate, the lack of food, and the spread of disease. They also struggled with the growing hostility of the neighboring Indians. This painting, made almost 150 years after the colony at Jamestown was first settled, conveys a cooperative relationship between the Native Americans and the Europeans who are seen here engaging in trade. (© MPI/Getty Images)



## SETTING THE STAGE THE FIRST PERMANENT ENGLISH

settlements in North America were mostly business enterprises—small, fragile communities, generally unprepared for the hardships they were to face. The Europeans attempted, as best they could, to isolate themselves from the Indians and create enclosed societies that would be wholly their own— "transplantations" of the English world they had left behind. This proved an impossible task. The English immigrants to America found a world populated by Native American tribes; by colonists, explorers, and traders from Spain, France, and the Netherlands; and by immigrants from other parts of Europe and, soon, Africa. American society was from the beginning a fusion of many cultures— what historians have come to call a "middle ground," in which disparate people and cultures coexist. All of British North America was a "middle ground" during the early years of colonization. Through much of the seventeenth century, European colonies both relied upon and did battle with the Indian tribes and struggled with challenges from other Europeans in their midst. Eventually, however, some areas of English settlement—especially the growing communities along the eastern seaboard—managed to dominate their own regions, marginalizing or expelling Indians and other challengers. In these eastern colonies, the English created significant towns and cities; built political, religious, and educational institutions; and created agricultural systems of great productivity. They also developed substantial differences from one another— perhaps most notably in the growth of a slave-driven agricultural economy in the south. "Middle grounds" survived well into the nineteenth century in much of North America, but mostly in the interior of the continent. In these communities Europeans had not yet established full control, and both Indians and Europeans exercised influence and power and lived intimately, if often uneasily, with one another.

THE EARLY CHESAPEAKE I III III III III  
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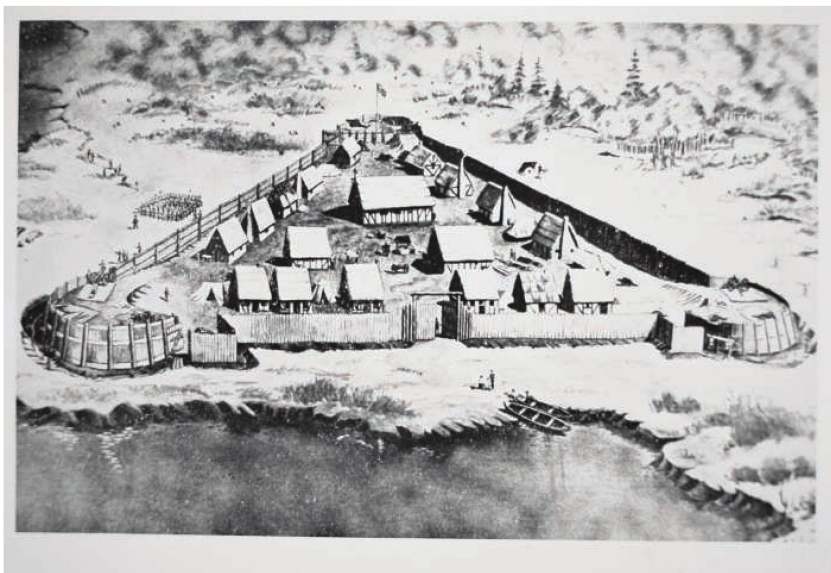
Once James I had issued his 1606 charters, the London Company moved quickly and decisively to launch a colonizing expedition headed for Virginia. A party of 144 men aboard three ships, the *Godspeed*, the *Discovery*, and the *Susan Constant*, set sail for America in 1607. Colonists and Natives Only 104 men survived the Journey. They reached the American coast in the spring of 1607,

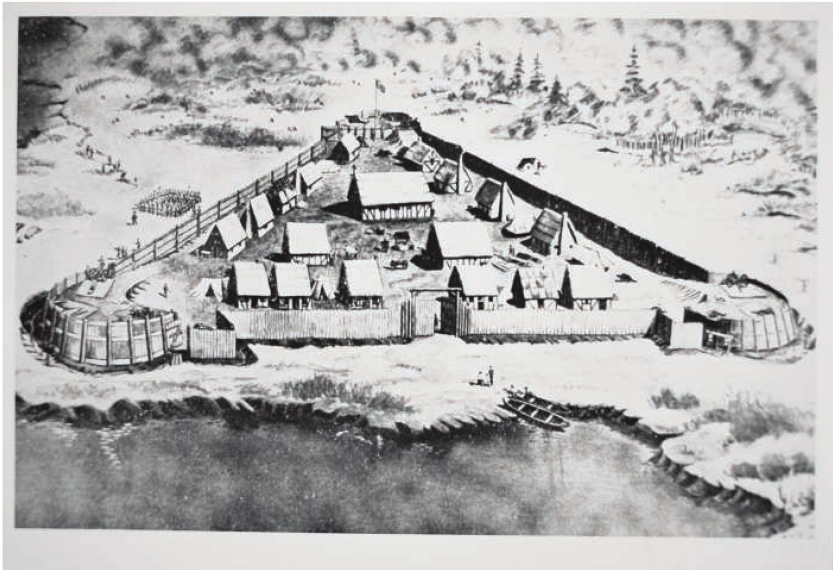
sailed into the Chesapeake and up a river they named the James, establishing their colony, Jamestown, Early 'n a Pen^nsu^a- They chose this setting because they believed it would provide Problems security from the natives. But they chose poorly: the site was low and swampy . and surrounded by thick woods. The results could hardly have been more disastrous. The colonists were vulnerable to local diseases, particularly malaria, which was especially virulent along the marshes. Other problems were to a large degree of the colonists' own making. They focused less on growing food and building community than on a futile search for gold. Community building was impossible because they had brought no women with them. Thus they had no real households and no real stakes in their settlement. That the colonies survived at all was a result of the neighboring Indians teaching the colonists how to live in their new land. The natives showed the colonists their agricultural technologies, which were better adapted to the soil and climate of Virginia than the agricultural traditions the English settlers had brought with them. The natives were settled farmers whose villages were surrounded by neatly ordered fields on which they grew a variety of crops including beans, pumpkins, and above all maize (corn), which was easy to cultivate and generated large yields. The English also learned the advantages of growing beans alongside corn to enrich the soil. And they also began to combine foods they grew with food they hunted and fished. From the Indians, the English learned how to build canoes, which were good for navigating the 35

## 36 CHAPTER 2 THE ENGLISH COME TO THE AMERICAS

Jamestown was the first English settlement in the Americas. Supported by the London Company, it was established in 1607. (© Peter Newark Pictures/Bridgeman Art Library) local streams. Without what they learned from the natives, the early settlers would not have survived. Despite this help, the settlers often expressed hostilities toward the natives believing that English civilization was superior to that of these "savages." Jamestown remained a tiny colony for more than a decade. The natives were far more powerful than the English for years. Coastal Virginia had numerous tribes: the Algonquins, Sioux, and Iroquois, which were all part of the Powhatan Confederacy, named after the great chief who controlled a large area near the coasts. What the English called Virginia, the natives called Tsenacommacah. Within a few months of settling in Virginia, only 38 men of the original 144 were alive, the rest killed by disease and famine. These men owed their survival to the help provided by the Indians and to the leadership of Captain John Smith, who at age 27 was already a famous world traveler. Smith imposed work and order on the settlement and created a shaky relationship with the natives (sometimes negotiating for food and at other times stealing it). Reorganization and Expansion As Jamestown struggled to survive, the London Company (now renamed the Virginia Company) was already dreaming of bigger things. In 1609, it obtained a new charter from the king, which increased its power and enlarged its territory. It offered stock in the company to planters who were willing to migrate at their own expense. And it provided free passage to Virginia for poorer people who would agree to serve the company for seven years. In the spring of 1609, two years after the first arrival of the English, a fleet of nine vessels was dispatched to Jamestown with approximately 600 people, including some women and children. The Starving Time Nevertheless, disaster followed. One of the Virginia-bound ships was lost at sea in a hurricane. Another ran aground in the Bermuda Islands and was unable to sail again for months. Many of the new settlers succumbed to fevers before winter came. The winter of 1609-1610 was especially severe, a period known as the "starving time." By then the natives realized that the colonists were a threat to their civilization and stopped them from moving farther inland into Indian lands. Barricaded

within a small palisade and unable to hunt or cultivate food, the colonists lived on what they could find: "dogs, cats, rats, snakes, toadstools, horsehides," and even "the corpses of dead men," as one survivor recalled. When the migrants who had run aground in Bermuda finally arrived in Jamestown the following May, they found only 60 emaciated people still alive. The new arrivals took the survivors onto their ship and sailed for England. But as the refugees proceeded down the James, they met an English ship coming up the river-part of a fleet bringing supplies and the colonies' first governor. Lord De La Warr. The departing settlers agreed to return to Jamestown. New relief expeditions soon began to arrive and the fort began to thrive. New settlements began lining the river above and below Jamestown. There settlers discovered tobacco, which was for them a new crop that was already popular among the Spanish colonies to the south. In 1612, the Jamestown planter John Rolfe began cultivating the crop in Virginia. Soon other planters in the area followed. Tobacco was the first profitable crop in the new colony for the settlers, and it encouraged tobacco planters to move farther inland deeper into the natives' farmlands. T\_r , De La Warr and his successors (Sir Harsh Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates) imDiscipline posed a harsh and rigid discipline on the colony: they organized settlers into work





## TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 37

PENNSYLVANIA m Boundary claimed by Lord Baltimore, 1632  
Boundary settlement, 1 750 Fort Charles (Middle Plantation)  
Williamsburg Fort Henry' \_ (1607) Jamestown (1631) Newport  
News\* Virginia Colony Norfolk\* (1682) Fairfax Proprietary To Lord  
Baltimore, 1632 Elizabeth City Granville Proprietary (1793)#  
(1682) Date settlement founded -u nyemarle Wilmington (Fort  
Christina) (1638) WEST JERSEY LOWER OUNTIES OF DELAWARE  
ATLANTIC OCEAN NORTH CAROLINA THE GROWTH OF THE  
CHESAPEAKE, 1607-1750 This map shows the political forms of  
European settlement in the region of the Chesapeake Bay in the  
seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Note the several  
different kinds of colonial enterprises: the royal colony of Virginia,  
controlled directly by the English Crown after the failure of the  
early commercial enterprises there; and the proprietary regions of  
Maryland, northern Virginia, and North Carolina, which were under  
the control of powerful English aristocrats. • Did these political  
differences have any significant effect on the economic activities of  
the various Chesapeake colonies? gangs, and they sentenced  
offenders to be flogged, hanged, or broken on the wheel. But this  
communal system of labor did not function effectively for long.  
Settlers often evaded work. Governor Dale soon concluded that the  
colony would fare better if the colonists had personal incentives to  
work. He began to permit the private ownership and cultivation of  
land. Landowners would repay the company with part-time work  
and contributions of grain to its storehouses. Under the leadership  
of these first, harsh governors, Virginia was not always a happy  
place. But it survived and even expanded. New settlements began  
lining the river above and below Jamestown. The expansion was  
partly a result of the order and discipline the governors at times  
managed to impose. It was partly a product of increased military  
assaults on the local Indian tribes, which provided protection for  
the new settlements. But it also occurred because the colonists had  
at last discovered a marketable crop: tobacco. TOBACCO PLANT  
This 1622 woodcut, later hand-colored, represents the tobacco plant  
cultivated by English settlers in Virginia in the early seventeenth  
century after John Rolfe introduced it to the colonists. On the right  
is an image of a man smoking the plant through a very large pipe.  
(© Getty Images) Tobacco Europeans had become aware of tobacco

soon after Columbus's first return from the West Indies, where he had seen the Cuban natives smoking small cigars (tabacos), which they inserted in the nostril. By the early seventeenth century, tobacco from the Spanish colonies was already in wide use in Europe. Some critics denounced it as a poisonous weed, the cause of many diseases. King James I himself led the attack with "A Counterblaste to Tobacco" (1604), in which he urged his people not to imitate "The barbarous and beastly manners of the wild, godless, and slavish Indians, especially in so vile and stinking a custom." Other critics were concerned because England's tobacco purchases from the Spanish colonies meant a drain of English gold to the Spanish importers. Still, the demand for tobacco soared. Then in 1612, the Jamestown planter John Rolfe began to experiment in Virginia with a harsh strain of tobacco that local Indians had been growing for years. He produced crops of high quality and found ready buyers in England. The tobacco cultivation quickly spread up the Chesapeake and down the James. The character of the tobacco economy—its profitability, its uncertainty, its land and labor demands—transformed Chesapeake society in fundamental ways.





38 CHAPTER 2 Of most immediate importance was that tobacco cultivation required territorial expansion. Tobacco growers needed large areas of farmland to grow their crops; and because tobacco exhausted the soil after only a few years, the demand for land increased even more. English farmers began establishing plantations deeper and deeper in the interior, moving from the center of European settlement at Jamestown into the territory the natives considered their own. Expansion Even the discovery of tobacco cultivation was not enough to help the Virginia Company. By 1616, there were still no profits, only land and debts. Nevertheless, the promoters continued to hope that the tobacco trade would allow them finally to turn the corner. In 1618, they launched a last great campaign to attract settlers and make the colony profitable. Part of that campaign was an effort to recruit new settlers and workers to the colony. The company called it the "headright" system. Headrights were fifty-acre grants Headright of land which new settlers could acquire System in a variety of ways. Those who already lived in the colony received 100 acres apiece. Each new settler received a single headright for himself or herself. This system encouraged family groups to migrate together, since the more family members traveled to America, the larger the landholding the family would receive. In addition, anyone (new settler or old) who paid for the passage of other immigrants to Virginia would receive an additional headright for each new arrival—thus, the company hoped, inducing the prosperous to import new laborers to America. Some colonists were able to assemble sizable plantations with the combined headrights they received for their families and their servants. In return, they contributed a small quitrent (one shilling a year for each headright) to the company. The company added other incentives as well. To diversify the colonial economy, it transported ironworkers and other skilled craftsmen to Virginia. In 1619, it sent 100 Englishwomen to the colony (which was still overwhelmingly male) to become the wives of male colonists. (The women were purchased for 120 pounds of tobacco. Their status was somewhere between indentured servants and free people, depending on the goodwill—or lack of it—of their husbands.) The company promised the colonists the full rights of Englishmen (as provided in the original charter of 1606), an end to the strict and arbitrary rule of the communal years, and even a

share in self-government. On July 30, 1619, in the Jamestown church, delegates from the various communities met as the House of Burgesses. It was the first meeting of an elected legislature within what was to become the United States. A month later, another event in Virginia established a very different but no less momentous precedent. As John Rolfe recorded, "about the latter end of August" a Dutch ship brought in "20 and odd Negroes." The status and fate of these first Africans in the English colonies remains obscure. There is some reason to believe that the colonists did not consider them slaves, that they thought of them as servants to be held for a term of years and then freed, like the white servants with whom the planters were already familiar. For a time, moreover, the use of black labor remained limited. Although Africans continued to trickle steadily into the colony, planters continued to prefer European indentured servants until at least the 1670s, when white servants began to become scarce and expensive. But whether or not anyone realized it at the time, the small group of black people who arrived in 1619 marked a first step toward the enslavement of Africans within what was to be the American republic. The expansion of the colony was able to proceed only because of effective suppression of local Indians who resisted suppression of the expanding English presence. For two the Powhatan years. Sir Thomas Dale led unrelenting Indian assaults against the Powhatan Indians and in the process kidnapped the great chief Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas. When Powhatan refused to ransom her, she converted to Christianity and in 1614 married John Rolfe. (Pocahontas accompanied her husband back to England, where, as a Christian convert and a gracious woman, she stirred interest in projects to "civilize" the Indians. She died while abroad.) At that point, Powhatan ceased his attacks on the English in the face of overwhelming odds. But after his death several years later, his brother, Opechancanough, became head of the native confederacy. Recognizing that the position of his tribe was rapidly deteriorating, he resumed the effort to defend tribal lands from European encroachments. On a March morning in 1622, tribesmen called on the white settlements as if to offer goods for sale, then suddenly attacked. Not until 347 whites of both sexes and all ages lay dead or dying were the Indian warriors finally forced to retreat. The surviving English struck back mercilessly at the Indians and turned back the threat for a time. Only after Opechancanough failed in

another uprising in 1644 did the Powhatans finally cease to challenge the eastern regions of the colony. By then the Virginia Company in London was defunct. The company had poured all its funds into its profitless Jamestown. Demise of the venture and, in the aftermath of the 1622 Virginia Indian uprising, faced imminent bankruptcy. In 1624, James I revoked the company's charter, and the colony came under the control of the Crown. It would remain so until 1776. Exchanges of Agricultural Technology

The hostility of the early English settlers toward their Indian neighbors was in part a result of their conviction that their own civilization was greatly superior to that of the natives-and above all that they were more technologically advanced. The English, after all, had great oceangoing vessels, muskets and other advanced implements of weaponry, and many other tools that the Indians had not developed. Indeed, when John Smith and other early Jamestown residents grew frustrated at their inability to find gold and other precious commodities, they often blamed their failure on the backwardness of the natives.

## TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 39 Population

(thousands) 87.5 White population m Black population 77.0 to be easier to cultivate and to produce much greater yields than any of the European grains the English had known at home. Corn was also attractive to the settlers because its stalks could be a source of sugar and because it spoiled less easily than other grains. The English also learned the advantages of growing beans alongside corn to enrich the soil. 61.5 48.5 35.5 23.0 1607 1620 1630 1640 1650 1660

1670 1680 1690 1700 Year THE NON-INDIAN POPULATION OF THE CHESAPEAKE, 1607-1700 This graph shows the rapid growth of the population of the Chesapeake during its first century of European settlement. Note the dramatic increases in the first half of the century and the somewhat slower increase in the later decades. If the forcibly imported slave population were not counted in the last two decades of the century, the non-Indian population would not have grown at all. • What impact did the growth of African slavery have on the rate of immigration by Europeans? Yet the survival of Jamestown was, in the end, largely a result of agricultural technologies developed by Indians and Indian borrowed from them by the English. Agricultural Native agriculture was far better adapted Techniques to the soil and climate of Virginia than I Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II Mill II were the agricultural traditions the English settlers brought with them. The Indians of Virginia had built successful farms with neatly ordered fields in which grew a variety of crops, some previously unknown to the English. Some of the Indian farmlands stretched over hundreds of acres and supported substantial populations. The English settlers did not adopt all the Indian agricultural techniques. Natives cleared fields not, as the English did, by cutting down and uprooting all the trees. Instead, they killed trees in place by "girdling" them (that is, making deep incisions around the base) in the areas in which they planted or by setting fire to their roots; and they planted crops not in long, straight rows, but in curving patterns around the dead tree trunks. But in other respects, the English learned a great deal from the Indians about how to grow food in North America. In particular, they quickly recognized the great value of corn, which proved Maryland and the Calverts Maryland was founded under circumstances very different from those of Virginia, but it nonetheless developed in ways markedly

similar to those of its neighbor to the south. The new colony was the dream of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, a recent convert to Catholicism and a shrewd businessman. Calvert envisioned establishing a colony both as a great speculative venture in real estate and as a retreat for English Catholics, many of whom felt oppressed by the Anglican establishment at home. He died before he could receive a charter from the king. But in 1632, his son Cecilius, the second Lord Baltimore, received a charter remarkable not only for the extent of the territory it granted him- an area that encompassed parts of what are now Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, in addition to present-day Maryland but also for the powers it bestowed on Proprietary, u. £ . . . , u . Rule him. an(a ^1S heirs were to hold their . province as "true and absolute lords and proprietaries," and were to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king only by paying an annual fee to the Crown. Lord Baltimore named one of his brothers, Leonard Calvert, governor and sent him with another brother to oversee the settlement of the province. In March 1634, two ships-the Ark and the Done-bearing 200 to 300 passengers entered the Potomac River and turned into one of its eastern tributaries. On a high and dry bluff, these first arrivals laid out the village of St. Mary's (named, diplomatically, for the queen). The neighboring Indians, who were more worried about rival tribes in the region than they were about the new arrivals, befriended the settlers, provided them with temporary shelter, sold them land, and supplied them with corn. Unlike the Virginians, the early Marylanders experienced no Indian assaults, no plagues, no starving time. The Calverts had invested heavily in their American possessions, and they needed to attract many settlers to make the effort profitable. As a result, they had to encourage the immigration of Protestants as well as their fellow English Catholics, who were both relatively few in number (about 2 percent of Religious the population of England) and generally Toleration reluctant to emigrate. The Protestant settlers (mostly Anglicans) outnumbered the Catholics from the start, and the Calverts quickly realized that Catholics would always be a minority in the colony. They prudently adopted a policy of religious toleration. To appease the non-Catholic majority, Calvert appointed a Protestant as governor in 1648. A year later, he sent from England the draft of an "Act Concerning Religion," or the Toleration Act, which assured freedom of worship to all Christians.

40 CHAPTER 2 THE MARYLAND PROPRIETOR, C. 1670 In a detail of a portrait by the court painter to King Charles II, the young Cecilius Calvert reaches for a map of Maryland. His grandfather and namesake, the second Lord Baltimore (1606-1675), holds it out to him. George Calvert, the father of the elder Cecilius, began negotiations to win a royal charter for Maryland; his son completed them in 1632 and became the first proprietor of the colony. He published the map shown here in 1635 as part of an effort to attract settlers to the colony. By the time this portrait was painted, Lord Baltimore's son, Charles, was governor of Maryland. The boy Cecilius, the heir apparent, died in 1681 before he could assume his title. (© Peter Newark Pictures/Bridgeman Art Library)

Nevertheless, politics in Maryland remained plagued for years by tensions between the Catholic minority (which included the proprietor) and the Protestant majority. Zealous Jesuits and crusading Puritans frightened and antagonized their opponents with their efforts to establish the dominance of their own religion. At one point, the Protestant majority barred Catholics from voting and repealed the Toleration Act. There was frequent violence, and in 1655 a civil war temporarily unseated the proprietary government and replaced it with one dominated by Protestants. By 1640, a severe labor shortage in the colony had forced a change in the land grant procedure; and Maryland, like Virginia, adopted a "headright" system—a grant of 100 acres to each male settler, another 100 for his wife and each servant, and 50 for each of his children. Like Virginia, Maryland became a center of tobacco cultivation; and as in Virginia, planters worked their land with the aid, first, of indentured servants imported from England and then, beginning late in the seventeenth century, with slaves imported from Africa.

Turbulent Virginia By the mid-seventeenth century, the Virginia colony had survived its early disasters. Both its population and the complexity and profitability of its economy were increasing. It was also growing more politically contentious, as emerging Westward factions within the province began to compete for the favor of the government. Perhaps the most important dispute involved policy toward the natives. As settlement moved west, farther into Indian lands, border conflicts grew increasingly frequent. Much of the tension within English Virginia in the late seventeenth century revolved around how to respond to those

conflicts. Sir William Berkeley arrived in Virginia in 1642 at the age of thirty-six, having been appointed governor by King Charles I. With but one interruption, he remained in control of the government until the 1670s. Berkeley was a popular governor at first as he sent explorers across the Blue Ridge Mountains to open up the western interior of Virginia. He organized the force that put down the 1644 Indian uprising. The defeated Indians ceded a large area of land to the English. In return, Berkeley agreed to prohibit white settlement west of a line he negotiated with the tribes. This attempt to protect Indian territory-like many such attempts later in American history-was a failure from the start, largely because of the rapid growth of the Virginia population. Oliver Cromwell's victory in 1649 in the English Civil War (see p. 49) and the flight of many of his defeated opponents to the colony contributed to what was already a substantial population increase. Between 1640 and 1650, Virginia's population doubled from 8,000 to 16,000. By 1660, it had more than doubled again, to 40,000. As the choice lands along the tidewater became scarce, new arrivals and indentured servants completing their terms or escaping from their masters pressed westward into the piedmont. By 1652, English settlers had established three counties in the territory promised to the Indians. Unsurprisingly, there were frequent clashes between natives and whites. By the 1660s, Berkeley had gradually become an autocrat in the colony. When the first burgesses were elected in 1619, all men aged seventeen or older were entitled to vote. By 1670, the „ , vote was restricted to landowners, and elecBerkeley's Autocratic tions were rare- The same bur8esses> loYal Rule and subservient to the governor, remained in office year after year. Each county continued to have only two representatives, even though some of the new counties of the interior contained many more people than the older ones of the tidewater area. Thus the more recent settlers in the "backcountry" were underrepresented or (if living in areas not yet formally organized as counties) not represented. Representation in the backcountry was not the only source of turbulence in Virginia. The system of indentured servants also played a role. The system of indentured servants also played a role. By the 1670s, many young men had finished their term as indentures and found themselves without a home or money. Many of them moved around the colony working, begging, or stealing. They would soon become a factor in what became known as Bacon's Rebellion.





TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS « 41 Bacon's Rebellion In 1676, backcountry unrest and political rivalries combined to create a major conflict. Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy young graduate of Cambridge University, arrived in Virginia in 1673. He purchased a substantial farm in the west and won a seat on the governor's council. He established himself, in other words, as a member of the backcountry gentry. But the new and influential western landowners were soon squabbling with the leaders of the tidewater region in the east. „ They disagreed on many issues but, above Backcountry „ ... : , ^ Grievances a > on P°lcies toward the natives. The . backcountry settlements were in constant danger of attack from Indians, because many of them had been established on lands reserved for the tribes by treaty. White settlers in western Virginia had long resented the governor's attempts to hold the line of settlement steady so as to avoid antagonizing the natives. Bacon, an aristocratic man with great political ambitions, had additional reasons for unhappiness with Berkeley. He resented his exclusion from the inner circle of the governor's council (the so-called Green Spring group, whose members enjoyed special access to patronage). Bacon also fumed about Berkeley's refusal to allow him a piece of the Indian fur trade. He was developing grievances that made him a natural leader of an opposing faction. Bloody events thrust him into that role. In 1675, some Doeg Indians-angry about the European intrusions into their lands-raided a western plantation and killed a white servant. Bands of local whites struck back angrily and haphazardly, attacking not only the small Doeg tribe but the powerful Susquehannock as well. The Indians responded with more raids on plantations and killed many more white settlers. As the fighting escalated. Bacon and other concerned landholders-unhappy with the governor's cautious response to their demand for help-defied Berkeley and struck out on their own against the Indians. Berkeley proclaimed him and his men rebels. At that point, what had started as an unauthorized assault on the Indians became a military challenge to the colonial government, a conflict known as Bacon's Rebellion. It was the largest and most powerful insurrection against established authority in the history of the colonies, one that would not be surpassed until the Revolution. Twice, Bacon led his army east to Jamestown. The first time, he won a temporary pardon from the governor; the second time, after the governor reneged on

the agreement, he burned the city and drove the governor into exile. In the midst of widespread social turmoil throughout the colony. Bacon stood on the verge of taking command of Virginia. Instead, he died suddenly of dysentery; and Berkeley, his position bolstered by the arrival of British troops, soon managed to regain control. In 1677, the Indians (aware of their inability to defeat the white forces militarily) reluctantly signed a new treaty that opened additional lands to white settlement. Bacon's Rebellion was significant for several reasons. It was part of the continuing struggle to define the boundary between Indian and white lands in Virginia; it showed how unwilling the English settlers were to abide by earlier agreements with the natives, and how unwilling the Indians were to tolerate further white movement into their territory. It

revealed the bitterness of the competition between eastern and western landowners. But it also revealed something that Bacon himself had never intended to unleash: the potential for instability in the colony's large population of free, landless men. These men-most of them former indentured servants, propertyless, unemployed, with no real prospects-had formed the bulk of Bacon's constituency during the rebellion. They had become a large, unstable, floating population eager above all for access to land. Bacon had for a time maintained his popularity among them by exploiting their hatred of Indians. Gradually, however, he found himself unintentionally leading a movement that reflected the animosity of these landless men toward the landed gentry of which Bacon himself was a part. One result was that landed people in both eastern and western Virginia began to recognize a common interest in preventing social unrest from the former indentures. That was one of several reasons that they turned increasingly to the African slave trade to fulfill their need for labor. Enslaved blacks might pose dangers too, but the events of 1676 persuaded many colonists that the perils of importing a large white subordinate class were even greater. THE GROWTH OF NEW ENGLAND The first enduring settlement in New England-the second in English America-resulted from the discontent of a congregation of Puritan Separatists in England. For years. Separatists had been periodically imprisoned and even executed for defying Religious the government and the Church of England; Repression some of them, as a result, began to contemplate leaving

England permanently in search of freedom to worship as they wished-even though Puritans did not believe in religious freedom for all others. Plymouth Plantation It was illegal to leave England without the consent of the king. In 1608, however, a congregation of Separatists from the hamlet of Scrooby began emigrating quietly, a few at a time, to Leyden, Holland, where they could worship without interference. They were, however, barred from the Dutch craft guilds and had to work at unskilled and poorly paid jobs. They were also troubled by the effects of the tolerant atmosphere of Dutch society, which threatened their dream of a close-knit Christian community. As a result, some of the Separatists decided to move again, this time across the Atlantic, where they hoped to create the kind of community they wanted and where they could spread "the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world."

42 CHAPTER 2 Leaders of the Scrooby group obtained permission from the Virginia Company to settle in British America. From the king, they received informal assurances that he would "not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably." (This was a historic concession by the Crown, for it opened British America to settlement not only by the Scrooby group but by other dissenting Protestants as well.) Several English merchants agreed to advance the necessary funds in exchange for a share in the profits of the settlement at the end of seven years. The migrating Puritans "knew they were pilgrims" even before they left Holland, their leader and historian, William Bradford, later wrote. In September 1620 they left the port of Plymouth, on the English coast, in the Mayflower with thirty-five "saints" (Puritan Separatists) and sixty-seven "strangers" (people who were not full members of the Puritan church) aboard. By the time they sighted land in November, it was too late in the year to go on. Their original destination was probably the mouth of the Hudson River, in what is now New York. But they found themselves instead on Cape Cod. After exploring the region for a while, they chose a site for their settlement just north of the cape, an area Captain John Smith had named "Plymouth" (after the English port from which the Puritans had sailed) during an exploratory journey some years before. Plymouth lay outside the London Company's territory, and the settlers realized they had no legal basis for settling there. As a result, forty-one male passengers signed a Mayflower document, the Mayflower Compact, which Compact established a civil government and proclaimed their allegiance to the king. Then, on December 21, 1620, the immigrants, called Pilgrims, stepped ashore at Plymouth Rock. They settled on cleared land that had once been an Indian village until, three years earlier, a mysterious epidemic-known as "the plague" and probably brought by earlier European explorers-had swept through the region and substantially depopulated it. The Pilgrims' first winter was a difficult one; half the colonists perished from malnutrition, disease, and exposure. Still, the colony survived. Bradford became the governor at Plymouth, an office he would hold for more than twenty years. Despite the death of his wife, and many other losses, he managed his plantation for many years. Like the Spanish and Portuguese colonists in the southern regions of the

Americas, the Pilgrims (and other future English colonists) brought more to the New World than people and ideas. They also made profound changes in the natural landscape of New England. A smallpox epidemic caused by English carriers almost eliminated the Indian population in the areas around Plymouth in the early 1630s. The English demand for furs, animal skins, and meat greatly depleted the number of wild animals in the areas around Plymouth, one reason colonists worked so hard to develop stocks of domestic animals such as horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs. The Pilgrims and later English settlers also introduced new crops (wheat, barley, oats, and others), while incorporating many native foods (among them corn, potatoes, and peas) into their own diets-and eventually exporting them back to England and the rest of Europe. Gradually, colonial society imposed a European pattern onto the American landscape, as the settlers fenced in pastures, meadows, orchards, and fields for cultivation. The Pilgrims' experience with the Indians was, for a time, very different from the experiences of the early English settlers farther south. That was in part because the remaining natives in the region-their numbers thinned by disease-were significantly weaker than their southern neighbors and realized they had to get along with the Europeans. In the end, the survival and growth of the colony depended crucially on the assistance they received from natives. Important Indian friends-Squanto and Samoset, among others-showed them how to gather seafood, cultivate corn, and hunt local animals. Relations Squanto, a Pawtuxet who earlier in his life with the had been captured by an English explorer Indians and taken to Europe, spoke English and was particularly helpful to the settlers in forming an alliance with the local Wampanoags, under Chief Massasoit. After the first harvest, in 1621, the settlers marked the alliance by inviting the Indians to join them in an October festival, the first Thanksgiving. But the good relationship between the settlers and the local Indians did not last. Thirteen years after the Pilgrims' arrival, a devastating smallpox epidemic-a result of contact with English settlers-wiped out much of the Indian population around Plymouth. The Pilgrims could not hope to create rich farms on the sandy, marshy soil, and their early fishing efforts produced no profits. In 1622 the military officer Miles Standish, one of the leaders of the colony, established a semi-military regime to impose discipline on the settlers. Eventually the Pilgrims began to grow enough corn and other crops

to provide them with a modest trading surplus. They also developed a small fur trade with the Abenaki Indians of Maine. From time to time new colonists arrived from England, and in a decade the population reached 300. The people of "Plymouth Plantation," as they called their settlement, chose William Bradford again and again to be their William governor. As early as 1621, he persuaded Bradford the Council for New England (the successor to the old Plymouth Company, which had charter rights to the territory) to give them legal permission to live there. He ended the communal labor plan Standish had helped create, distributed land among the families, and thus, as he explained it, made "all hands very industrious." He and a group of fellow "undertakers" took over the colony's debt to its original financiers in England and, with earnings from the fur trade, finally paid it off-even though the financiers had repeatedly cheated them and had failed to send them promised supplies. The Pilgrims were always a poor community. As late as the 1640s, they had only one plow among them. But they clung to the belief that God had put them in the New World to live as a truly Christian community; and they were content to live their lives in what they considered godly ways.

TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 43 At times, they spoke of serving as a model for other Christians. Governor Bradford wrote in retrospect: "As one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sort to our whole nation." But the Pilgrims were less committed to grand designs, less concerned about how they were viewed by others, than were the Puritans who settled the larger and more ambitious English colonies to their north. The Puritan Experiment Turbulent events in England in the 1620s (combined with the example of the Plymouth colony) created strong interest in colonization among other groups of Puritans. King James I had been creating serious tensions for years between himself and Parliament through his effort to claim the divine right of kings and by his harsh, repressive policies toward the Puritans. The situation worsened after his death in 1625, when he was succeeded by his son, Charles I. By favoring Roman Catholicism and trying to destroy religious nonconformity, Charles I started the nation down the road that in the 1640s would lead to civil war. The Puritans were particular targets of Charles's policies. Some were imprisoned for their beliefs, and many began to consider the climate of England intolerable. The king's disbanding of Parliament in 1629 (it was not to be recalled until 1640) ensured that there would be no political solution to the Puritans' problems. In the midst of this political and social turmoil, a group of Puritan merchants began organizing a new enterprise designed \_ to take advantage of opportunities in Massachusetts r & Bay Company America. At first their interest was . largely an economic one. They obtained a grant of land in New England for most of the area now comprising Massachusetts and New Hampshire; they acquired a charter from Charles I (who was evidently unaware that they were Puritans) allowing them to create the Massachusetts Bay Company and to establish a colony in the New World; and they bought equipment and supplies from a defunct fishing and trading company that had attempted (and failed) to establish a profitable enterprise in North America earlier. In 1629, they were ready to dispatch a substantial group of settlers to New England. Among the members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, however, were a number of Puritans who saw the enterprise as something more than a business venture. They began to consider emigrating themselves and creating a haven for Puritans



in New England. Members of this faction met secretly in Cambridge in the summer of 1629 and agreed to buy out the other investors and move en masse to America. As governor, the new owners of the company chose John Winthrop, an affluent, university-educated gentleman with a deep piety and a forceful character. Winthrop had been instrumental in organizing the migration, and he commanded the expedition that sailed for New England in 1630: seventeen ships and 1,000 people (who were, unlike the earlier migrants to Virginia, mostly family groups). It was the largest single migration of its kind in the seventeenth century. Winthrop carried with him the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, which meant that the colonists would be responsible to no company officials in England, only to themselves. The Massachusetts migration quickly produced several different new settlements. The port of Boston, at the mouth of the Charles River, became the company's headquarters and the colony's capital. But in the course of the next decade, colonists moved into a number of other new towns in eastern Massachusetts: Charlestown, Newtown (later renamed Cambridge), Roxbury, Dorchester, Watertown, Ipswich, Concord, Sudbury, and others. The Massachusetts Bay Company soon transformed itself into a colonial government. According to the original company charter, the eight stockholders (or "freemen") were to meet as a general court to choose officers and adopt rules for the corporation. But eventually the definition of "freemen" changed to include all male citizens, not just the stockholders. John Winthrop dominated colonial politics just as he had dominated the original corporation, but after 1634 he and most other officers of the colony had to face election each year.

**COLONIAL CURRENCY**

This seal was created in 1690 by the Massachusetts Bay Company to validate the paper "bills of credit" with which colonists conducted many financial transactions. Paper money met considerable resistance at first. Many people doubted its value and would not accept it, preferring instead the Spanish silver coins that were in wide circulation. Gradually, however, a shortage of silver required increasing reliance on this and other paper devices. The seal shows an Indian saying "Come over and help us," which represents the English belief in the superiority of white European society. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



44 CHAPTER 2 PORTRAIT OF A BOSTON WOMAN Anne Pollard, a member of the original Winthrop expedition to Boston, was 100 years old when this portrait was painted in 1721. In 1643, thirteen years after her arrival in Massachusetts, she married a Boston innkeeper with whom she had 13 children. After her husband's death in 1679, she continued to manage the tavern on her own. When she died in 1725, at the age of 104, she left 130 direct descendants. The artist who painted this early portrait is unknown, but is assumed to be an American working in the primitive style common in New England before the arrival in 1729 of the first academically trained portraitists from England. (© Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA, USA / The Bridgeman Art Library) Unlike the Separatist founders of Plymouth, the founders of Massachusetts had no intention of breaking from the Church of England. Yet, if they continued to feel any real attachment to the Anglican establishment, they gave little THE sign of it. In every town, the community Congregational church had (in the words of the prominent minister John Cotton) "complete liberty to stand alone," unlike churches in the highly centralized Anglican structure in England. Each congregation chose its own minister and regulated its own affairs. In both Plymouth and Massachusetts, this form of parish organization eventually became known as the Congregational Church. The Puritans, although nominally members of the Anglican Church, were in fact worshipers of a very different faith. They did not accept the authority of either the Roman Catholic hierarchy or the Church of England. They did not follow traditional ceremonial worship and did not receive sacraments from priests. They learned, instead, from reading the Bible and from listening to ministers who spoke from their own knowledge and belief, not from the orthodoxies of traditional institutional faith. They accepted the doctrines of John Calvin's vision that everyone was destined at birth for either salvation or damnation-that nothing in people's earthly life could change their fate after death. But living a good and productive life might be a sign of salvation. Puritans not only sought salvation. They also sought freedom-not the kind of freedom Americans understand today, but the right to worship without interference from England or from established churches. That did not mean that they were free to behave as they liked; the community expected obedience to

authority. But authority was based largely within the community itself and monitored by its members. It did not come from England or from centralized institutions in America. The Massachusetts Puritans were not grim or Joyless, as many observers would later portray them. They were, however, serious and pious. They strove to lead useful, conscientious lives of thrift and hard work, and they honored material success as evidence of God's favor. "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ," Winthrop wrote to his wife soon after his arrival; "is this not enough?" He and the other Massachusetts founders believed they were founding a holy commonwealth-a "city upon a hill"-that could serve as a model for the rest of the New World. If Massachusetts was to become a beacon to other emigrants, it had first to maintain its own "holiness." Ministers \_ ^ had no formal political power, but they a theocratic J Society exerted great influence on church mem. bers, who were the only people who could vote or hold office. The government in turn protected the ministers, taxed the people (members and nonmembers alike) to support the church, and enforced the law requiring attendance at services. Dissidents had no more freedom of worship in America than the Puritans themselves had had in England. Colonial Massachusetts was in many ways a "theocracy," a society in which the line between the church and the state was hard to see. Like other new settlements, the Massachusetts Bay colony had early difficulties. During their first winter, an unusually severe one, nearly a third of the colonists died; others left in the spring. But more rapidly than Jamestown or Plymouth, the colony grew and prospered. The Pilgrims and neighboring Indians helped with food and advice. Affluent incoming settlers brought needed tools and other goods, which they exchanged for the cattle, corn, and other produce of the established colonists and the natives. The large number of family groups in the colony (in sharp contrast to the early years at Jamestown) helped ensure a feeling of commitment to the community and a sense of order among the settlers. It also allowed the population to reproduce itself more rapidly. The strong religious and political hierarchy ensured a measure of social stability.



Gift of Mrs. 200  
1831 Pollard  
Apr. 1840 27.29

ANNE POLLARD  
17.21  
ARTIST UNKNOWN

## TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 45 The

Expansion of New England As the population grew, more and more people arrived in Massachusetts who were not Puritan "saints" and hence could not vote. Newcomers had a choice of conforming to the religious practices of the colony or leaving. Many left, helping to begin a process that would spread settlement throughout present-day New England and beyond. The Connecticut Valley, about 100 miles west of the edge of European settlement around Boston, began attracting English families as early as the 1630s. The valley appealed in particular to Thomas Hooker, a minister of Newtown (Cambridge), who defied the Massachusetts government in 1635 and led his congregation through the wilds to establish the town of Hartford. Four years later, the people of Hartford and of two other towns established a colonial government of their own and adopted a constitution known as the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut. Another Connecticut colony, the project of a Puritan minister and a wealthy merchant from England, grew up around New Haven on the Connecticut coast. It reflected impatience with what its founders considered increasing religious laxity in Massachusetts. The Fundamental Articles of New Haven (1639) established a religious government even stricter than that in Boston. New Haven remained independent until 1662, when a royal charter combined it with Hartford to create the colony of Connecticut. Rhode Island had its origins in the religious and political dissent of Roger Williams, an engaging but controversial young minister who lived for a time in Salem, Massachusetts. Even John Winthrop, who considered Williams a heretic, called him Roger a "sweet and amiable" man, and William Williams Bradford described him as "a man godly and zealous." But he was, Bradford added, "very unsettled in judgment." Williams, a confirmed Separatist, argued that the Massachusetts church should abandon all allegiance to the Church of England. More disturbing to the clergy, he called for a complete separation of church and state to protect the church from the corruption of the secular world. The colonial government, alarmed at this challenge to its spiritual authority, banished him. During the bitter winter of 1635-1636, Williams took refuge with Narragansett tribesmen; the following spring he bought a tract of land from them and, with a few followers, created the town of Providence on it. Other

communities of dissidents followed him to what became Rhode Island, and in 1644 Williams obtained a charter from Parliament permitting him to establish a government. Rhode Island's government gave no support to the church and allowed "liberty in religious concerns." For a time, it was the only colony in which members of all faiths (including Jews) could worship without interference. An even greater challenge to the established order in Massachusetts Bay emerged in the person of Anne Hutchinson, an intelligent and charismatic woman from a substantial Boston family. Hutchinson had come to Massachusetts with her husband in 1634. She antagonized the leaders of the colony by arguing vehemently that the members of the Massachusetts clergy who were not among the "elect"-that is, had not undergone a conversion experience-had no right to spiritual office. Over time, she claimed that many clergy among them her own uninspiring minister-were among the non-elect and had no right to exercise authority over their congregations. She eventually charged that all the ministers in Massachusetts-save community leader John Cotton and her own bother-in-law-were not among the elect. Alongside such teachings (which her critics called "Antinomianism," from the Anne Greek word meaning "hostile to the law"), Hutchinson also created alarm by affronting prevailing assumptions about the proper role of women in Puritan society. She was not a retiring, deferential wife and mother, but a powerful religious figure in her own right. Hutchinson developed a large following among women, to whom she offered an active role in religious affairs. She also attracted support from merchants, young men, and dissidents of many sorts who resented the oppressive character of the colonial government. As her influence grew, the Massachusetts leadership mobilized to stop her. Hutchinson's followers were numerous and influential enough to prevent Winthrop's reelection as governor in 1636, but the next year he returned to office and put her on trial for heresy. Hutchinson embarrassed her accusers by displaying a remarkable knowledge of theology; but because she continued to defy clerical authority (and because she claimed she had herself communicated directly with the Holy Spirit-a violation of the Puritan belief that the age of such revelations had passed), she was convicted of sedition and banished as "a woman not fit for our society." Her unorthodox views had challenged both religious belief and social order in Puritan Massachusetts. With her family and

some of her followers, she moved to Rhode Island and then into New Nether land (later New York), where in 1643 she died during an Indian uprising. Alarmed by Hutchinson's heresy, male clergy began to restrict further the already-limited public activities of women within congregations. As a result, many of Hutchinson's followers began to migrate out of Massachusetts Bay, especially to New Hampshire and Maine. Colonies had been established there in 1629 when two English proprietors, Captain John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had received a grant from the Council for New England and divided it along the Hampshire Piscataqua River to create two separate Maine provinces. But despite their lavish promotional efforts, few settlers had moved into these northern regions until the religious disruptions in Massachusetts Bay. In 1639, John Wheelwright, a disciple of Anne Hutchinson, led some of his fellow dissenters to Exeter, New Hampshire. Other groups of both dissenting and orthodox Puritans soon followed. New Hampshire became a separate colony in 1679. Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820.



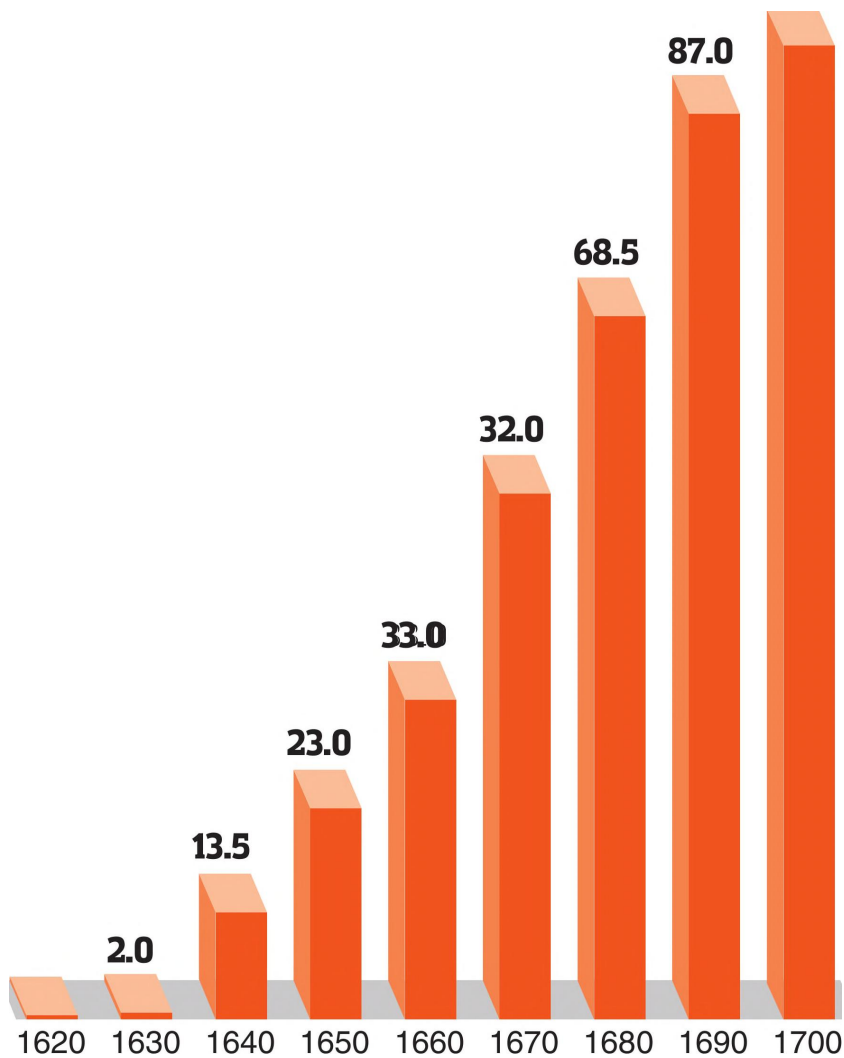
## 46 CHAPTER 2 THE GROWTH OF NEW ENGLAND,

1620-1750 The European settlement of New England, as this map reveals, traces its origins primarily to two small settlements on the Atlantic coast. The first was the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth, which began in 1620 and spread out through Cape Cod, southern Massachusetts, and the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. The second, much larger settlement began in Boston in 1630 and spread rapidly through western Massachusetts, north into New Hampshire and Maine, and south into Connecticut. • Why did the settlers of Massachusetts Bay expand more rapidly and expansively than those of Plymouth? 50 mi 50 100 km rs m . 1 ) irV MAINE (MASS.) | • Portland Dover. • Portsmouth ATLANTIC OCEAN Deerfield\* MASS. Northampton\* -'r • Newbury . Salem • • Marblehead f/ NEW YORK Worcester\* .Springfield Concord \* ^Boston Plymouth. Hartford^ CONN. Providence . PLYMOUTH : ' V Danbury ..J R.I. Newport /V • Greenwich Long Island .Southampton Settlers and Natives By the mid- 1630s, the native population, small to begin with, had been almost extinguished by the European epidemics. The surviving Indians sold much of their land to the English (a great boost to settlement, since much of it had already been cleared). Some natives-known as "praying Indians"-even converted to Christianity and joined Puritan communities. Indians provided crucial assistance to the early settlers as they tried to adapt to the new land. Whites learned from the natives about vital local food crops: Importance of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, and potatoes. Assistance They also learned such crucial agricul. rural techniques as annual burning for fertilization and planting beans to replenish exhausted soil. Natives also served as important trading partners to European immigrants, particularly in the creation of the thriving North American fur trade. They were an important market for such manufactured goods as iron pots, blankets, metal-tipped arrows, eventually guns and rifles, and (often tragically) alcohol. Indeed, commerce with the Indians was responsible for the creation of some of the first great fortunes in British North America and for the emergence of wealthy families who would exercise influence in the colonies (and later the nation) for many generations. But as in other areas of white settlement, there were also conflicts; and the early peaceful relations between whites and Indians did not last. Tensions soon developed as a result of the white colonists'

continuing appetite for land. The expanding white demand for land was also a result of a change in the colonists' agrarian economy. As wild animals began to disappear from overhunting, colonists began to concentrate more and more on raising domesticated animals: cattle, sheep, hogs, horses, and others. As the herds expanded, so did the colonists' need for new land. As a result, the colonists moved steadily into territories such as the Connecticut

where they came into conflict with natives who were more numerous and more powerful than those along the Massachusetts coast. The character of those conflicts-and the brutality with Shifting which whites assaulted their Indian foesAttitudes changed Puritan attitudes toward the na1 1 1 1 II 1 1 in itiniinitt(i:i!ljiil 1 1 nil I iTi l ikiii iii 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 i t r l - tives. At first, many white New Englanders had looked at the Indians with a slightly condescending admiration. Before long, however, they came to view them primarily as "heathens" and "savages," and hence as a constant threat to the existence of a godly community in the New World. Some Puritans believed the solution to the Indian "problem" was to "civilize" the natives by converting them to Christianity and European ways, and some English missionaries had modest success in producing converts. One such missionary, John Eliot, even translated the Bible into an Algonquian language. Other Puritans, however, envisioned a harsher "solution": displacing or, if that failed, exterminating the natives. To the natives, the threat from the English was very direct. European settlers were penetrating deeper and deeper into the interior, seizing land, clearing forests, driving away much of the wild game on which the tribes depended for food. English farmers often let their livestock run wild, and the animals frequently destroyed natives' crops. Land and food shortages exacerbated the drastic Indian population decline that had begun as a result of epidemic diseases. There had been more than 100,000 Indians in New England at the beginning of the seventeenth century; by 1675, only 10,000 remained. This decline created despair among New England natives. It drove some Indians to alcoholism and others to conversion to Christianity. But it drove others to war. The Pequot War, King Philip's War, and the Technology of Battle The first major conflict came in 1637, when hostilities broke out The Peouot between English settlers in the Connecticut War Valley and the Pequot Indians of the region as a result of competition over trade with the Dutch in New Nether land and friction over land. In what became known as the Pequot War, English settlers allied with the Mohegan and Narragansett Indians (rivals of the Pequots). The greatest savagery in the conflict was the work of the English. In the bloodiest act of the war, white raiders under Captain John Mason

marched against a palisaded Pequot stronghold and set it afire. Hundreds of Indians either burned to death in the flaming  
Population (thousands) 93.0 Year THE NON-INDIAN POPULATION  
OF NEW ENGLAND, 1620-1700 As in the Chesapeake colonies, the  
European population of New England grew very rapidly after  
settlement began in 1620. The most rapid rate of growth,  
unsurprisingly, came in the first thirty years, when even a modest  
wave of immigration could double or triple the small existing  
population. But the largest numbers of new immigrants arrived  
between 1650 and 1680. • What events in England in those years  
might have led to increased emigration to America in that period?  
ANNE HUTCHINSON PREACHING IN HER HOUSE IN BOSTON  
Anne Hutchinson was alarming to many of Boston's religious  
leaders not only because she openly challenged the authority of the  
clergy, but also because she implicitly challenged norms of female  
behavior in Puritan society. (© Bettmann/Corbis)





48 CHAPTER 2 ' / £»Nv -v ^™J&, ih5P;?> ' es? A PEQUOT VILLAGE DESTROYED An English artist drew this view of a fortified Pequot village in Connecticut surrounded by English soldiers and their allies from other tribes during the Pequot War in 1637. The invaders massacred more than 600 residents of the settlement. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-32055)) ,“;„nqy stockade or were killed as they attempted to escape. Those who survived were hunted down, captured, and sold as slaves. The Pequot tribe was almost wiped out. The most prolonged and deadly encounter between whites and Indians in the seventeenth century began in 1675, a conflict that the English would remember for generations as King Philip’s War. As in the earlier Pequot War in Connecticut, an Indian tribe—in this case the Wampanoags, under the leadership of a chief King Philip’s tain known to the white settlers as King Philip and iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii • . ■■ among his own people as Metacomb—rose up to resist the English. The Wampanoags had not always been hostile to the settlers; indeed, Metacomb’s grandfather had once forged an alliance with the English, and Metacomb himself was well acquainted with the colonists. But by the 1670s, he had become convinced that only armed resistance could protect the Wampanoags from English incursions into their lands and, more immediately, from the efforts by the colonial governments to impose English law on them. (A court in Plymouth had recently tried and hanged several Wampanoags for murdering a member of their own tribe.) For three years, the natives—well organized and armed with guns—terrorized a string of Massachusetts towns, destroying twenty of them and causing the deaths of as many as a thousand people (including at least one-sixteenth of the white males in the colony). The war greatly weakened both the society and economy of Massachusetts. But, in 1676, the white settlers fought back and gradually prevailed. They received critical aid from the Mohawks, longtime rivals of the Wampanoags, and guides, spies, and soldiers recruited from among the so-called praying Indians (Christian converts) of the region. While white militiamen attacked Indian villages and destroyed native food supplies, a group of Mohawks ambushed, shot, and killed Metacomb, then bore his severed head to Boston to present to the colonial leaders. After that, the fragile alliance that Metacomb had managed to forge among local tribes collapsed.

Europeans were soon able to crush the uprising. Some Wampanoag leaders were executed; others were sold into slavery in the West Indies. The Wampanoags and their allies, their populations depleted and their natural resources reduced, were now powerless to resist the English. Yet these victories by the white colonists did not end the danger to their settlements. Other Indians in other tribes survived and were still capable of attacking English settlements. The New England settlers also faced competition from the natives and also from the Dutch and the French, who claimed the territory on which some of the outlying settlements were established. The French, in particular, posed a constant threat to the English through their alliance with the Algonquins. In later years, the French would join forces with Indians in their attacks on the New England frontier. The character of the Pequot War, King Philip's War, and many other conflicts between natives and settlers in the years that followed was crucially affected by earlier exchanges of technology between the English and the tribes. In particular, the Indians made effective use of a new Flintlock weapon introduced to New England by Musket Myles Standish and others: the flintlock rifle. It replaced the earlier staple of colonial musketry, the matchlock rifle, which proved too heavy, cumbersome, and inaccurate to be useful in the kind of combat characteristic of Anglo-Indian struggles. The matchlock had to be steadied on a fixed object and ignited with a match before firing; the flintlock could be held up without support and fired without a match. (Indians using bows and arrows often outmatched settlers using the clumsy matchlocks.) Many English settlers were slow to give up their cumbersome matchlocks for the lighter flintlocks. But the Indians recognized the advantages of the newer rifles right away and began purchasing them in large quantities as part of their regular trade with the colonists. Despite rules forbidding colonists to instruct natives on how to use and repair the weapons, the natives learned to handle the rifles, and even to repair them, very effectively on their own. They even built a substantial forge for shaping and repairing rifle parts. In King Philip's War, the very high casualties on both sides were a result of the use of these more advanced rifles.



## TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 49 Indians

also used more traditional military technologies in their conflicts with the English-especially the construction of forts. The Narragansetts, allies of the Wampanoags in King Philip's War, built an enormous fort in the Great Swamp of Rhode Island in 1675, which became the site of one of the bloodiest battles of the war before English attackers burned it down. After that, a band of Narragansetts set out to build a large stone fort, with the help of a member of the tribe who had learned masonry while working with the English. When English soldiers discovered the stone fort in 1676, after the end of King Philip's War, they killed most of its occupants and destroyed it. In the end, the technological skills of the Indians (both those they borrowed from the English and those they drew from their own traditions) proved no match for the overwhelming advantages of the English settlers in both numbers and firepower.

THE RESTORATION COLONIES By the end of the 1630s, English settlers had established six significant colonies in the New World: Virginia, Massachusetts, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. (Maine remained officially part of Massachusetts until after the American Revolution.) But for nearly thirty years after Lord Baltimore received the charter for Maryland in 1632, the English government launched no additional colonial ventures. It was preoccupied with troubles of its own at home. The English Civil War England's problems had begun during the rule of James I, who Origins attracted widespread opposition before he , , , , died in 1625. James, however, did not openly challenge Parliament. His son, Charles I, was not so prudent. He dissolved Parliament in 1629 and began ruling as an absolute monarch, steadily alienating a growing number of his subjects-especially the members of the powerful Puritan community. Finally, desperately in need of money, Charles called Parliament back into session and asked it to levy new taxes. But he antagonized the members by dismissing them again twice in two years. In 1642, some of them organized a military challenge to the king, thus launching the English Civil War. The conflict between the Cavaliers (the supporters of the king) and the Roundheads (the forces of Parliament, who were mostly Puritans) lasted seven years. Finally, in 1649, the Roundheads defeated the king's forces, captured Charles himself, and-in an action that horrified not only

much of continental Europe at the time but also future generations of English men and women-beheaded the monarch. To replace him, they elevated the stern Roundhead leader Oliver Cromwell to the position of "protector," from which he ruled for the next nine years. When Cromwell died in 1658, his son and heir proved unable to maintain his authority. Two years later, King Charles II, son of the beheaded monarch, returned from exile and claimed the throne. Charles II faced some of the same problems as his father, mostly because of the belief held by many that secretly he was a Roman Catholic. The king supported religious toleration, which, to the dismay of many Protestants, allowed Catholicism in England once again. The Parliament refused to agree, and prudently Charles did not fight them for the right of Catholics to worship openly. He did, however, make a private agreement with Louis XIV of France that he would become Catholic, which he did only on his deathbed. His son James II continued to face many of the same difficulties. Among the many results of the Stuart Restoration-the New return of Charles II, a member of the Stuart Proprietary royal family-was the resumption of colonization in America. Charles II quickly began . to reward faithful courtiers with grants of land in the New World; and in the twenty-five years of his reign, he issued charters for four additional colonies: Carolina, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The new colonies were all proprietary ventures (modeled on Maryland rather than on Virginia and Massachusetts), thus exposing an important change in the nature of American settlement. No longer were private companies interested in launching colonies, realizing at last that there were no quick profits to be had in the New World. The goal of the new colonies was not so much quick commercial success as permanent settlements that would provide proprietors with land and power. The Carolinas Carolina (a name derived from the Latin form of "Charles") was, like Maryland, carved in part from the original Virginia grant. Charles II awarded the territory to a group of eight court favorites, all prominent politicians already active in colonial affairs. In successive charters issued in 1663 and 1665, the eight proprietors received Joint title to a vast territory stretching south to the Florida peninsula and west to the Pacific Ocean. Like Lord Baltimore, they received almost kingly powers over their grant. Also like Lord Baltimore, they expected to profit as landlords and land speculators. They reserved large estates for themselves, and they proposed to

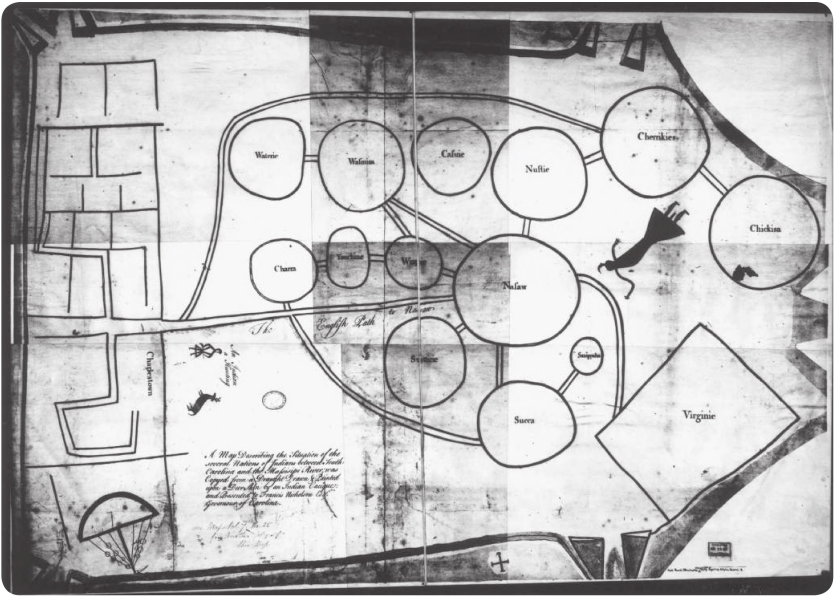
sell or give away the rest in smaller tracts (using a headright system similar to those in Virginia and Maryland) and to collect annual payments ("quitrents") from the settlers. Although committed Anglicans themselves, they welcomed any settlers they could get. The charter of the colony guaranteed religious freedom to everyone who would worship as a Christian. The proprietors also promised a Incentives for measure of political freedom; laws were to Settlement be made by a representative assembly.

With these incentives, they hoped to attract settlers from the existing American colonies and thus to avoid the expense of financing expeditions from England. Their initial efforts failed dismally, and some of the original proprietors gave up. But one man—Anthony Ashley Cooper, soon to become the Earl of Shaftesbury—persisted. Cooper convinced his partners to finance migrations to Carolina from

50 CHAPTER 2 CHARLES TOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA This map, drawn on deerskin by an Indian chief around 1730, illustrates the close juxtaposition of the ordered English settlement in Charles Town, South Carolina, seen on the left, and the more fluid Indian settlements near the town, on the right. It also illustrates the way in which southeastern Indians understood political relations as a series of linked circles. (© Getty Images) England. In the spring of 1670, the first of these expeditions—a party of 300—set out from England. Only 100 people survived the difficult voyage; those who did established a settlement in the Port Royal area of the Carolina coast. Ten years later they founded a city at the Junction of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, which in 1690 became the colonial capital. They called it Charles Town. (It was later renamed Charleston.) The Earl of Shaftesbury, troubled by the instability in England, wanted a planned and well-ordered community. With the aid of the English philosopher John Locke, he drew up the Fundamental Constitution for Carolina in 1669, which

created an elaborate system of land distribution and an elaborately designed social order. In fact, however, Carolina developed along lines quite different from the utopian vision of Shaftesbury and Locke. For one thing, the colony was never united in anything more than name. The northern and southern regions remained socially and economically distinct from one another. The northern settlers were mainly backwoods farmers, isolated from the outside world, scratching out a meager existence through subsistence agriculture. They developed no important aristocracy and for many years imported virtually no African slaves. In the south, fertile lands and the good harbor at Charles Town promoted a prosperous economy and an aristocratic society. Settlements grew up rapidly along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, and colonists established a flourishing trade in corn, lumber, cattle, pork, and (beginning in the 1690s) rice, which was to become the colony's principal commercial crop. Traders from the interior used Charles Town to market furs and hides they had acquired from Indian trading partners; some also marketed Indian slaves, generally natives captured by rival tribes and sold to the white traders. Southern Carolina very early developed close ties to the large (and now overpopulated) English

colony on the island of Barbados. For many years, Barbados was Carolina's most important trading partner. During the first ten years of settlement, most of the new settlers in Carolina were Barbadians, some of whom arrived with large groups of African workers



established themselves quickly as substantial landlords. African slavery had taken root on Barbados earlier than in any of the mainland colonies (see pp. 54-56); and the white Caribbean migrants-tough, uncompromising profit seekersestablished a similar slave-based plantation society in Carolina. The proprietors, four of whom had a financial interest in the African slave trade, also encouraged the importation of Africans. For several decades, Carolina remained one of the most unstable English colonies in America. There were tensions between the small farmers of the Albemarle region in the north and the wealthy planters in the south. There were conflicts between the rich Barbadians in southern Carolina and the North and smaller landowners around them. After South Lord Shaftesbury's death, the proprietors Carolina proved unable to establish order, and in

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii 1719 the colonists seized control of the colony from them. Ten years later, the king divided the region into two royal colonies. North and South Carolina. New Netherland, New York, and New Jersey In 1664, one year after he issued the Carolina charter, Charles II granted to his brother James, the Duke of York, all the territory lying between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers. But much of the territory included in the grant was already claimed by the Dutch, who had established substantial settlements at New Amsterdam and other strategic points beginning in 1624. The growing conflict between the English and the Dutch in America was part of a larger commercial rivalry between the two nations throughout the world. But the English particularly resented the Dutch presence in America, because it served as a wedge between the northern and southern English colonies and because it provided bases for Dutch smugglers evading English customs laws. And so in 1664, an English fleet under the command of Richard Nicolls sailed into the lightly defended port of New Amsterdam and extracted a surrender from its unpopular Dutch governor. Capture Peter Stuyvesant, who had failed to mobiof New lize resistance to the invasion. Under the Amsterdam Articles of Capitulation, the Dutch colony

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii surrendered to the British in return for assurances that the Dutch settlers would not be displaced. In 1673, the Dutch briefly reconquered New Amsterdam.

But they lost it for good in 1674. James, the Duke of York, his title to New Netherland now clear, renamed the colony New York and prepared to govern NEW AMSTERDAM The small Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island, known before 1664 as New Amsterdam, fell to the English in 1664. This painting shows buildings clustered at the southern tip of the island, which remained the center of what would become New York City until the nineteenth century. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



52 CHAPTER 2 a colony of extraordinary diversity. New York contained not only Dutch and English, but Scandinavians, Germans, French, Africans (imported as slaves by the Dutch West India Company), and members of several different Indian tribes. There were, of course, many different religious faiths among these groups. James made no effort to impose his own Roman Catholicism on the colony. Like other proprietors before him, he remained in England and delegated powers to a governor and a council. But he provided for no representative assembly in New York perhaps because a parliament had executed his own father, Charles I. The laws did, however, establish local governments and guarantee religious toleration. Nevertheless, there were immediate tensions over the distribution of power in the colony. The great Dutch "patroons" (large landowners) survived with their economic and political power largely intact. James granted large estates as well to some of his own political supporters in an effort to create a class of influential landowners loyal to him. Power in the colony thus remained widely and unequally dispersed among wealthy English landlords, Dutch patroons, fur traders (who forged important alliances with the Iroquois), and the Duke of York's political appointees. Like Carolina, New York would for many years be a highly fractious society. It was also a growing and generally prosperous colony. By 1685, when the Duke of York ascended the English throne as James II, New York contained approximately 30,000 people, about four times as many as when James had received his grant twenty years before. Most of them still lived within the Hudson Valley, close to the river itself, with the largest settlement at its mouth, in the town of New York (formerly New Amsterdam). Originally, James's claims in America extended south of the Hudson to the Delaware Establishment Valley and beyond. But of New Jersey shortly after receiving his





TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 53 commonly used in other parts of English society only in speaking to servants and social inferiors. And as confirmed pacifists, they refused to fight in wars. The Quakers were unpopular enough in England as a result of these beliefs and practices. They increased their unpopularity by occasionally breaking up other religious groups at worship. Many were jailed. As a result, like the Puritans before them, the Quakers looked to America for asylum. A few went to New England. But except in Rhode Island, they were greeted there with fines, whippings, and banishment; three men and a woman who refused to leave were put to death. Others migrated to northern Carolina, where they became the fastest-growing religious community in the region. They were soon influential in colonial politics. But many Quakers wanted a colony of their own. As a despised sect, they had little chance of getting the necessary royal grant without the aid of someone influential at William Penn court- But fortunately for Fox and his followers, a number of wealthy and prominent men had become attracted to the faith. One of them was William Penn-the son of an admiral in the Royal Navy who was a landlord of valuable Irish estates. He had received the gentleman's education expected of a person of his standing, but he resisted his father in moving to untraditional religions. Converted to the doctrine of the Inner Light, the younger Penn became an evangelist for Quakerism. With George Fox, he visited the European continent and found Quakers there who, like Quakers in England, longed to emigrate to the New World. He set out to find a place for them to go. Penn turned his attention first to New Jersey and soon became an owner and proprietor of part of the colony. But in 1681, after the death of his father, Penn inherited his father's Irish lands and also his father's claim to a large debt from the king. Charles II, short of cash, paid the debt with a grant of territory between New York and Maryland-an area larger than England and Wales combined and which (unknown to him) contained more valuable soil and minerals than any other province of English America. Penn would have virtually total authority within the province. At the king's insistence, the territory was named Pennsylvania, after Penn's late father. Like most proprietors, Penn wanted Pennsylvania to be profitable for him and his family. And so he set out to attract settlers from throughout Europe through informative and honest advertising in

several languages. Pennsylvania soon became the best known of all the colonies among ordinary people in England and on the European continent, and also the most cosmopolitan. Settlers flocked to the province from throughout Europe, joining several hundred Swedes and Finns who had been living in a small trading colony-New Sweden-established in 1638 at the mouth of the Delaware River. But the colony was never profitable for Penn and his descendants. Indeed, Penn himself, near the end of his life, was imprisoned in England for debt and died in poverty in 1718. Penn was more than a mere real estate promoter, however, and he sought to create in Pennsylvania what he called a holy experiment. In 1682, he sailed to America and supervised the laying out of a city between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, which he named Philadelphia ("Brotherly Love"). With its rectangular streets, like those of Charles Town, Philadelphia helped set the pattern for most later cities in America. Penn believed, as had Roger Williams, that the land bePENNSYLVANIA Founded longed to the Indians, and he was careful to . see that they were reimbursed for it, as well as to see that they were not debauched by the fur traders' alcohol. Indians respected Penn as an honest white man, and during his lifetime the colony had no major conflicts with the natives. More than any other English colony, Pennsylvania prospered from the outset (even if its proprietor did not), because of Penn's successful recruitment of emigrants, his thoughtful planning, and the region's mild climate and fertile soil. Penn maintained good relations with the Indians owing to his religious beliefs. Quakerism was against participation in war or violence of any kind and held that all people, whatever their background, were capable of becoming Christian. Penn worked to respect the natives and their culture. He recognized Indians' claims to the land in the province and was usually scrupulous in reimbursing them for their land. In later years, however, the relationships between the English residents of Pennsylvania and the natives were not always peaceful. By the late 1690s, some residents of Pennsylvania were beginning to resist the nearly absolute power of the proprietor. Southern residents in particular complained that the government in Philadelphia was unresponsive to their needs. As a result, a substantial opposition emerged to challenge Penn. Pressure from these groups grew to the point that in 1701, shortly before he departed for England for the last time, Penn agreed to a Charter of Liberties for the colony. The

charter established a representative assembly (consisting, alone among the English colonies, of only one house), which greatly limited the authority of the proprietor. The charter also permitted "the Charter of lower counties" of the colony to establish Liberties their own representative assembly. The three counties did so in 1703 and, as a result, became a separate colony: Delaware-although until the American Revolution, it had the same governor as Pennsylvania.

#### BORDERLANDS AND MIDDLE GROUNDS

The English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of North America eventually united, expanded, and became the beginnings of a great nation. But in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they were small, frail settlements surrounded by other, competing societies. The British Empire in North America was, in fact, much smaller and weaker than the great Spanish Empire to the south, and not clearly stronger than the enormous French Empire to the north. The continuing contest for control of North America, and the complex interactions among the diverse peoples populating the continent, were most clearly visible in areas

## 54 CHAPTER 2 MAKING MOLASSES IN BARBADOS

African slaves, who constituted the vast majority of the population of the flourishing sugar-producing island of Barbados, work here in a sugar mill grinding sugarcane and then boiling it to produce refined sugar, molasses, and— after a later distillation process not pictured here— rum. (© Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library) around the borders of English settlement—the Caribbean and along the northern, southern, and western borders of the coastal colonies. The Caribbean Islands Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the most important destination for English immigrants was not the main\_ ^ land, but rather the islands of the Caribbean The English . . . Caribbean and the nort^ern waY station of Bermuda. . More than half the English migrants to the New World in those years settled on these islands. The island societies had close ties to English North America from the beginning and influenced the development of the mainland colonies in several ways. But they were also surrounded by, and sometimes imperiled by, outposts of the Spanish Empire. Before the arrival of Europeans, most of the Caribbean islands had substantial native populations—the Arawaks, the Caribs, and Imperial ^oney. But beginning with Christopher Conflict Columbus's first visit in 1492, and accelerat. ing after the Spanish established their first colony on Hispaniola in 1496, the native population was all but wiped out by European epidemics. Indians were never a significant factor in European settlement of the Caribbean. Indeed, by the time significant European settlement of the islands began, many were almost entirely deserted. The Spanish Empire claimed title to all the islands in the Caribbean, but there was substantial Spanish settlement only on the largest of them: Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico. English, French, and Dutch traders began settling on some of the smaller islands early in the sixteenth century, although these weak colonies were always vulnerable to Spanish attack. After Spain and the Netherlands went to war in 1621 (distracting the Spanish navy and leaving the English in the Caribbean relatively unmolested), the pace of English colonization increased. By midcentury, there were several substantial English settlements on the islands, the most important of them on Antigua, St. Kitts, Jamaica, and Barbados. Even so, through the seventeenth century, the English settlements in the Caribbean were the targets of almost constant attacks and invasions by the

Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch, and the remaining Indians of the region. The world of the Caribbean was a violent and turbulent place. The Caribbean colonies built their economies on raising crops for export. In the early years, English settlers experimented unsuccessfully with tobacco and cotton. But they soon discovered that the most lucrative crop was sugar, for which there was a substantial and growing market in Europe. Sugarcane could also be distilled into rum, for which there was a booming market abroad. Within a decade of the introduction of sugar cultivation to the West Indies, planters were devoting almost all of their land to sugarcane. In their appetite for more



## TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 55 SPANISH

FLORIDA Gulf of Mexico Havana \ ATLANTIC OCEAN 7 ~ Virgin Islands , SanctiSpfritus Tortuga Puerto Pnndpe CUBA JAMAICA SANTO DOMINGO Hispaniola ■ < Leewa > ' < /s/ St. Eustatius f \* Anguilla mAntigua I \* St. Kitts' ^ & Nevis SAINT DOMINGUE Santo Domingo PUERTO RICO ^ Dominica ^ nJi Martinique ^ -Vr/£ L£S LESSER ANTILLES St. Lucia Barbados ^ ®St. Vincent ^ Caribbean Sea ^mdsA^e V Curacao ^ I , , / Bonaire Aruba Grenada Tobago Trinidad \ ± Caracas Maracaibo N: Gibraltar Portobelo Panama NEW SPAIN Territorial and Political Changes in the Caribbean (1600-1700) I English-held areas THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CARIBBEAN At the same time that European powers were expanding their colonial presence on the mainland of the American continents, they were also establishing colonies in the islands of the Caribbean. In some cases, these islands were even more important to the Atlantic economy than many of the mainland possessions, particularly the large, heavily populated sugar-growing islands (among them Jamaica and Barbados), in which the majority of the population consisted of African slaves. • What role did the Caribbean islands play in the spread of slavery in North America? land for sugarcane, they cut down forests and destroyed the natural habitats of many animals, which greatly reduced the amount of land available for growing food. Because sugar was a labor-intensive crop, and because the remnant of the native population was too small to provide a Sugar and workforce, English planters soon found it Slavery necessary to import laborers. As in the iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii , , , Chesapeake, they began by bringing indentured servants from England. But the arduous work discouraged white laborers; many found it impossible to adapt to the harsh tropical climate so different from that of England. By midcentury, therefore, the English planters in the Caribbean (like the Spanish colonists who preceded them) were relying more and more on an enslaved African workforce, which soon substantially outnumbered them. On Barbados and other islands where a flourishing sugar economy developed, the English planters were a tough, aggressive, and ambitious breed. Some of them grew enormously wealthy; and since their livelihoods depended on their workforces, they expanded and solidified the system of African slavery there remarkably quickly. By the late





Beginning in the 1660s, all the islands enacted legal codes to regulate relations between masters and slaves and to give white people absolute authority over Africans. A master could even murder a slave with virtual impunity. There was little either in the law or in the character of the economy to compel planters to pay much attention to the welfare of their workers. Many white slaveowners concluded that it was cheaper to buy new slaves periodically than to protect the well-being of those they already owned, and it was not uncommon for masters to work their slaves to death. Few African workers survived more than a decade in the brutal Caribbean working environment—they either were sold to planters in North America or died. Even whites, who worked far less hard than did the slaves, often succumbed to the harsh climate; most died before the age of forty—often from tropical diseases to which they had no immunity. Establishing a stable society and culture was extremely difficult for people living in such harsh and even deadly conditions. Many of the whites were principally interested in getting rich and had no long-term commitment to the islands. Those who could returned to England with their fortunes and left their

estates in the hands of overseers. A large proportion of the European settlers were single men, many of whom either died or left the islands at a young age. Those who remained, many of them common white farmers and laborers living in extreme poverty, were too poor to contribute to the development of the society. With few white women on the islands and little intermarriage between blacks and whites, Europeans in the Caribbean lacked many of the institutions that gave stability to the North American settlements: church, family, community. Africans in the Caribbean faced even greater difficulties, of course, but they managed to create a world of their own despite the hardships. They started families (although many of them were broken up by death or the slave trade); they sustained African religious and social traditions (and showed little interest in Christianity); and within the rigidly controlled world of the sugar plantations, they established patterns of resistance. The Caribbean settlements were connected to the North American colonies in many ways. They were an important part of the Connection to of the Atlantic

trading world in which British North many Americans became involved-a , , . source of sugar and rum and a market for goods made in the mainland colonies and in England. They were the principal source of African slaves for the mainland colonies; well over half the slaves in North America came from the islands, not directly from Africa. And because Caribbean planters established an elaborate plantation system earlier than planters in North America, they provided models that many mainland people consciously or unconsciously copied. In the American South, too, planters grew wealthy at the expense of poor whites and, above all, of African slaves. The Southwestern Borderlands By the end of the seventeenth century, the Spanish Empire had established only a small presence in the regions that became the United States. In Mexico and regions farther south, however, the Spanish had established a sophisticated and impressive empire. Their capital, Mexico City, was the most dazzling metropolis in the Americas. The Spanish residents, numbering well over a million, enjoyed much greater prosperity than all but a few English settlers in North America. The principal Spanish colonies north of Mexico-Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California-attracted religious Spain's minorities. Catholic missionaries, indepenNorthern dent ranchers fleeing the heavy hand of Colonies imperial authority, and Spanish troops dei1 , , niri fending the northern flank of the empire. These colonies remained weak and peripheral parts of the great empire to their south. New Mexico was the most prosperous and populous of these Spanish outposts. Once the Spanish quelled the Pueblo revolt there in 1680 (see p. 17), they worked effectively with the natives of the region to develop a flourishing agriculture. By the early nineteenth century. New Mexico had a non-Indian population of over 10,000-the largest European settlement west of the Mississippi and north of Mexico-and it was steadily expanding through the region. But New Mexico was prosperous only when compared to other borderlands. Its residents were far less successful than the Spanish in Mexico and other more densely settled regions. The Spanish began to colonize California once they realized that other Europeans- among them English merchants and French and Russian trappers-were beginning to estabCalifornia lish a presence in the region. Formal Spanish settlement of California began in the 1760s, when the governor of Baja California was ordered to create outposts of the empire farther

north. Soon a string of missions, forts (or presidios), and trading communities were springing up along the Pacific coast, beginning with San Diego and Monterey in 1769 and eventually San Francisco (1776), Los Angeles (1781), and Santa Barbara (1786). As in other areas of European settlement, the arrival of the Spanish in California (and the diseases they imported) had a devastating effect on the native population. Approximately 65,000 at the time of the first Spanish settlements, by 1820 it had declined by two-thirds. As the new settlements spread, however, the Spanish insisted that the remaining natives convert to Catholicism. That explains the centrality of missions in almost all the major Spanish outposts in California. But the Spanish colonists were also intent on creating a prosperous agricultural economy, and they enlisted Indian laborers to help them do so. California's Indians had no choice but to accede to the demands of the Spanish, although there were frequent revolts by natives against the harsh conditions imposed upon them. Already decimated by disease, the tribes now declined further as a result of malnutrition and overwork at the hands of the Spanish missions.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Spanish considered the greatest threat to the northern borders of their empire to be the growing ambitions of the French. In the 1680s, French explorers traveled down the Mississippi Valley to the mouth of the river and claimed the lands they had traversed for their king, Louis XIV. They called the territory Louisiana. Fearful of French incursions farther west, and unsettled by the nomadic Indians driven into the territory by the French, the Spanish began to fortify their claim to Texas by establishing new forts, missions, and settlements there, including San Fernando (later San Antonio) in 1731. The region that is now Arizona was also becoming increasingly tied to the Spanish Empire. Northern Arizona was a part of the New Mexico colony and was governed from Santa Fe. The rest of Arizona (from Phoenix south) was controlled by the Mexican region of Sonora. As in California, much of the impetus for these settlements came from Catholic missionaries (in this case Jesuits), eager to convert the natives to Catholicism. But the missionary project met with little success. Unlike the sedentary Pueblos around Santa Fe, the Arizona natives were nomadic peoples, unlikely to settle down or to Christianize, frequently at war with rival tribes, and like natives elsewhere—tragically vulnerable to smallpox, measles, and other imported diseases. As in California, epidemics reduced the native population of Arizona by two-thirds in the early eighteenth century. Although peripheral to the great Spanish Empire to the south, the Spanish colonies in the Southwest nevertheless helped create enduring societies very unlike those being established by the English along the Atlantic seaboard. Importance of . , J. . , .6 . . , the Spanish board. The Spanish colonies were committed to Borderlands not to displacing the native populations but, rather, to enlisting them. They sought to convert them to Catholicism, to recruit them (sometimes forcibly) as agricultural workers, and to cultivate them as trading partners. The Spanish did not consider the natives to be their equals, certainly, and they did not treat them very well. But neither did they consider them merely as obstacles to their own designs, as many English settlers along the Atlantic seaboard did. The Southeastern Borderlands A more direct challenge to English ambitions in North America was the Spanish presence in the southeastern areas of what is now the United States. After the

establishment of the Spanish claim to Florida in the 1560s (see p. 17), missionaries and traders began moving northward into Georgia and westward into what is now known as the panhandle. Some ambitious Spaniards began to dream of expanding their empire still farther north, into what became the Carolinas, and perhaps beyond. The founding of Jamestown in 1607 replaced those dreams with fears. The English colonies, they believed, could threaten their existing settlements in Florida and Georgia. As a result, the Spanish built forts in both regions to defend themselves against the slowly increasing English presence there. Throughout the eighteenth century, the area between the Carolinas and Florida was the site of continuing tension, and frequent conflict, between the Spanish and the English-and, to a lesser degree, between the Spanish and the French, who were threatening their northwestern borders with settlements in Louisiana and in what is now Alabama. There was no formal war between England and Spain in these years, but that did not dampen the hostilities in the Southeast. English pirates continually harassed the Spanish settlements and, in 1668, sacked St. Augustine. Both sides in this Hostilities in conflict sought to make use of the native the Southeast tribes. The English encouraged Indians in Florida to rise up against the Spanish missions. The Spanish, for their part, offered freedom to African slaves owned by Carolina settlers if they agreed to convert to Catholicism. About 100 Africans accepted the offer, and the Spanish later organized some of them into a military regiment to defend the northern border of New Spain. The English correctly viewed the Spanish recruitment of their slaves as an effort to undermine their economy. By the early eighteenth century, the constant fighting in the region had driven almost all the Spanish settlers out of Florida. The dwindling Spanish presence became almost entirely confined to St. Augustine on the Atlantic coast to Pensacola on the Gulf Coast, and to the modest colonies that surrounded the forts there. Because they were so few and so weak, they came to rely-far more than most British did-on natives and Africans and intermarried frequently with them. Eventually, after more than a century of conflict in the southeastern borderlands, the English prevailed-acquiring Florida in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War (known in America as the French and Indian War; see pp. 103-107) and rapidly populating it with settlers from their colonies to the north. Before that point, however, protecting the southern boundary of the British Empire in North

America was a continual concern to the English and contributed in crucial ways to the founding of the colony of Georgia. The Founding of Georgia Georgia was unique in its origins. Its founders were a group of unpaid trustees led by General James Oglethorpe, a member of Parliament and military hero. They were interested in economic success, but they were driven primarily by military and philanthropic motives. They wanted to erect a military barrier against the Spanish lands on the southern border of English America, and they wanted to provide a refuge for the impoverished, a place where English men and women without prospects at home could begin anew. The need for a military buffer between South Carolina and the Spanish settlements in Florida was particularly urgent in the first years of the eighteenth century. In a 1763 treaty, Spain had recognized England's title to lands already occupied by English settlers. But conflict between the two colonizing powers had continued. In 1733, a force of Indians and Creoles from Florida, directed by Spanish agents, attacked and

I , DEBATING THE PAST A . Native Americans and the "Middle Ground" ^ many generations, historians chronicling the westward movement of European settlement r vJ JT\ in North America incorporated Native Americans into the story largely as weak and inconvenient obstacles swept aside by the inevitable progress of "civilization." Indians were presented either as murderous savages or as relatively docile allies of white people, but rarely as important actors of their own. Francis Parkman, the great nineteenth-century American historian, described Indians as a civilization "crushed" and "scorned" by the march of European powers in the New World. Many subsequent historians departed little from his assessment. Challenges to this traditional view have come from many more-recent historians— among them, Gary Nash in *Red, White, and Black* (1974) and Ramon Gutierrez in *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away* (1991). They, and other scholars, rejected the optimistic, progressive view of white triumph over adversity and presented, instead, a picture of conquest that affected both the conqueror and the conquered and did not bring to an end their influence on one another. A new, more recent view of the relationship between the peoples of the Old and New Worlds sees Native Americans and Euro-Americans as uneasy partners in the shaping of a new society in which, for a time at least, both were a vital part. In *The Middle Ground* (1991), Richard White examined the culture of the Great Lakes region in the eighteenth century, in which Algonquin Indians created complex trading and political relationships with French, English, and American settlers and travelers in the region. In this "borderland" between the growing European settlements in the East and the still largely intact Indian civilizations farther west, a new kind of hybrid society emerged in which many cultures intermingled. In *Into the American Woods* (1999), James Merrell examined the world of negotiators and go-betweens along the western Pennsylvania frontier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like White, he emphasized the complicated blend of European and Native American diplomatic rituals that allowed both groups to conduct business, make treaties, and keep the peace. Daniel Richter extended the idea of a "middle ground" further in *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (1992) and *Facing East from Indian Country* (2001). Richter demonstrates that the Iroquois Confederacy was an active participant in the power

relationships in the Hudson River basin. In his later book, he tells the story of European colonization from the Native American perspective, revealing how western myths of "first contact" such as the story of John Smith and Pocahontas look entirely different when seen through the eyes of Native Americans, who remained in many ways the more powerful of the two societies in the seventeenth century. How did these important collaborations collapse? What happened to the "middle ground"? Over time, the delicate partnerships along the frontiers of white settlement gave way to the sheer numbers of Europeans (and, in some places, Africans) who moved westward. Joyce Chaplin in *Subject Matter* (2001) argued as well that Old World Americans at first admired the natives as a kind of natural nobility until European diseases ravaged the tribes, helping strengthen the Europeans' sense of superiority that had been a part of their view of Indians from the beginning. In *The Name of War* (1998), Jill Lepore described how the violence of King Philip's War in seventeenth-century New England helped transform English views of the tribes both because of the white victory over the Indians and because of their success in turning this victory into a rationale destroyed an outlying South Carolina settlement south of the treaty line. And when hostilities broke out again between Spain and England in 1701 (known in England as Queen Anne's War and on the Continent as the War of the Spanish Succession), the fighting renewed in America as well. Oglethorpe, a veteran of Queen Anne's War, was keenly aware of the military advantages of an English colony south of the Carolinas. Yet his interest in settlement rested even more on his philanthropic commitments. As head of a parliamentary committee investigating English prisons, he had grown appalled by the plight of honest debtors dying in confinement. Such prisoners, and other poor people in danger of succumbing to a similar fate, could, he believed, become the farmersoldiers of the new colony in America. In 1732, King George II granted Oglethorpe and his fellow trustees control of the land between the Savannah and

GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE

Oglethorpe was one of the founders of the English colony of Georgia. He and his followers established the colony to stand as a military buffer between South Carolina and the Spanish settlements in Florida. They also wanted a refuge for British men and women without economic prospects in England. (© Stock Montage/Getty Images)

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TRADING PARTNERS Ralph Hamor Visits Powhatan with a Proposal is an etching by Theodor de Bry (1528-1598) showing how Europeans and Native Americans sometimes made economic deals for mutual gain. (© Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, USA / The Bridgeman Art Library) increasingly unequal, the cultural "middle ground" that for many decades characterized much of the contact between the Old and New Worlds gradually disappeared. By the time historians began seriously chronicling this story in the late nineteenth century, the Indian tribes had indeed become the defeated, helpless "obstacles" that they portrayed. But for generations before, the relationship between white Americans and Native Americans was a much less unequal one than it would later become. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How have historians' views of Native Americans and their role in the European colonization of North America changed over time? 2. Why did the "middle ground" between Native Americans and European settlers disappear? 3. Is there a "middle ground" in the United States today? If so, where? How is this "middle ground" similar to and different from the middle ground between Native Americans and Euro-American settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? for the moral superiority of Europeans by portraying the Indians as brutal, uncivilized people. (In reality, the Europeans had used as much "savagery" against the natives as the natives had used against them.) As the pressures of white settlement grew, as the Indian populations weakened as a result of disease and war, and as the relationship between the tribes and the European settlers grew Altamaha Rivers. Their colonization policies reflected the vital military purposes of the colony. They limited the size of land holdings to make the settlement compact Georgia's , , r , r . u , Military an(a easier to defend against Spanish and Rationale Indian attacks. They excluded Africans, free or slave; Oglethorpe feared slave labor would produce internal revolts and that disaffected slaves might turn to the Spanish as allies. The trustees prohibited rum (both because Oglethorpe disapproved of it on moral grounds and because the trustees feared its effects on the natives). They strictly regulated trade with the Indians, again to limit the possibility of wartime insurrection. They also excluded Catholics for fear they might collude with their coreligionists in the Spanish colonies to the south. Oglethorpe himself led the first

colonial expedition to Georgia, which built a fortified town at the mouth of the Savannah River in 1733 and later constructed additional forts south of the Altamaha. In the end, only a few debtors were released from jail and sent to Georgia. Instead, the trustees brought hundreds of impoverished tradesmen and artisans from England and Scotland and many religious refugees from Switzerland and Germany. Among the immigrants was a small group of Jews. English settlers made up a lower proportion of the European population of Georgia than of any other English colony. The strict rules governing life in the new colony stifled its early development and ensured the failure of Oglethorpe's vision. Settlers in Georgia-many of whom were engaged in labor-intensive agriculture-needed a workforce as much as those in other southern colonies. Almost from the start they began demanding the right to buy slaves. Some opposed the restrictions on the size of individual property holdings. Many resented the nearly absolute political power of Oglethorpe and the trustees. As a result, newcomers to the region generally preferred to settle in South Carolina, where there were fewer restrictive laws. Oglethorpe (whom some residents of Georgia began calling "our perpetual dictator") at first bitterly resisted the demands of the settlers for social and political reform. Over time, however, he wearied of the conflict in the colony and grew frustrated at its failure to grow. He also suffered military disappointments, such as a 1740 assault on the Spanish outpost at St. Augustine, Florida, which ended in failure. Oglethorpe, now disillusioned . 59



60 CHAPTER 2 with his American venture, began to loosen his grip. Even before the 1740 defeat, the trustees had removed the limitation on individual landholdings. In 1750, they reTransformation . . . & , of Georgia moved the ban on slavery. A year later . they ended the prohibition of rum and returned control of the colony to the king, who immediately permitted the summoning of a representative assembly. Georgia continued to grow more slowly than the other southern colonies, but in other ways it now developed along lines roughly similar to those of South Carolina. By 1770, there were over 20,000 non-Indian residents of the colony, nearly half of them African slaves. Middle Grounds The struggle for the North American continent was, of course, not just one among competing European empires. It was also a contest between the new European immigrants and the native populations. In some parts of the British Empire- Virginia and New England, for example-English settlers quickly established their dominance, subjugating and displacing most natives until they had established societies that were dominated almost entirely by Europeans. But elsewhere the balance of Conflict and power remained far more precarious. Accommodation Along the western borders of English settlement, in particular, Europeans and Indians lived together in regions in which neither side was able to establish clear dominance. In these "middle grounds," as they have been called, the two populations-despite frequent conflicts-carved out ways of living together, with each side making concessions to the other. Here the Europeans found themselves obliged to adapt to tribal expectations at least as much as the Indians had to adapt to European ones. To the Indians, the European migrants were both menacing and appealing. The Indians feared the power of these strange people: their guns, their rifles, their forts. But they also wanted the French and British settlers to behave like "fathers"-to help them mediate their own internal disputes, to offer them gifts, to help them moderate their conflicts. Europeans came from a world in which the formal institutional and military power of a nation or empire governed relationships between societies. But the natives had no understanding of the modern notion of a "nation" and thought much more in terms of ceremony and kinship. Gradually, Europeans learned to fulfill at least some of their expectations. In the seventeenth century, before many English settlers had entered the

interior of the continent, the French were particularly adept at creating mutually beneficial relationships with the tribes. They welcomed the chance to form close relationships ^ with-even to marry within-the tribes. Beneficial They also recognized the importance of Relations treating tribal chiefs with respect and . channeling gifts and tributes through them. But by the mid-eighteenth century, French influence in the interior was in decline, and British settlers gradually became the dominant European group in the "middle grounds." It took the British a considerable time to learn the lessons the French had long ago absorbed-that simple commands and raw force were much less effective in creating a workable relationship with the tribes than were gifts and ceremonies and mediation. Eventually they did so, and in large western regions-especially those around the Great Lakes-they established a precarious peace with the tribes that lasted for several decades. But as the British and (after 1776) American presence in the region grew, the balance of power between Europeans and natives shifted. Newer settlers had difficulty adapting to the complex rituals of gift-giving and mediation that the earlier migrants had developed. The stability of the relationship between the Indians and whites deteriorated. By the early nineThe Shifting  
teenth century, the "middle grounds" had Balance collapsed, replaced by a European world in which Indians were ruthlessly subjugated and eventually removed. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that for a considerable period of early American history, the story of the relationship between whites and Indians was not simply a story of conquest and subjugation, but also-in some regions-a story of a difficult but stable accommodation and mutual adaptation. The Indians were not simply victims in the story of the growth of European settlement in North America. They were also important actors, sometimes obstructing and sometimes facilitating the development of the new societies.

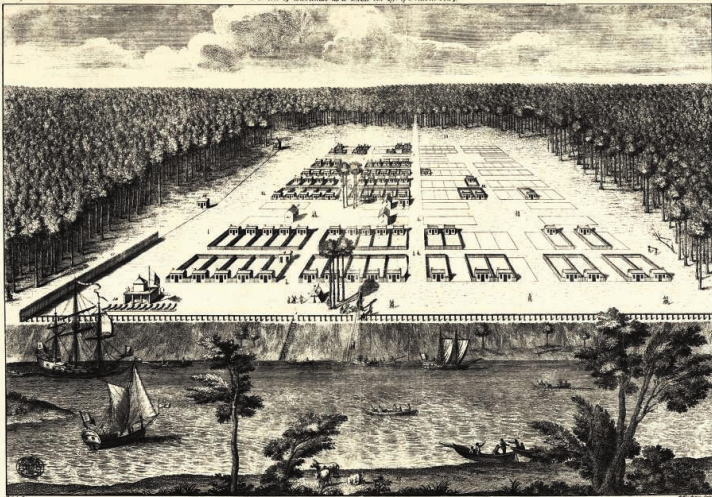
**THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE** The English colonies in America had originated as separate projects, and for the most part they grew up independent of one another. But by the mid-seventeenth century, the growing commercial success of the colonial ventures was producing pressure in England for a more rational, uniform structure to the empire. The Drive for Reorganization Imperial reorganization, many people in England claimed, would increase the profitability of the colonies and the power of the English government to supervise them. Above

all, it would contribute to the success of the mercantile system, the foundation of the English economy. Colonies would provide a market for England's manufactured goods and a source for raw materials it could not produce at home, thus increasing the total wealth of the nation. But for the new possessions truly to promote mercantilist goals, England would have to exclude foreigners (as Spain had done) from its colonial trade. According to mercantilist theory, wealth flows to another nation only at the expense of England itself. Hence the British government sought to monopolize trade relations with its colonies.

## TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 61

SAVANNAH IN 1734 This early view of the English settlement at Savannah by an English artist shows the intensely orderly character of Georgia in the early moments of European settlement there. As the colony grew, its residents gradually abandoned the rigid plan created by Georgia's founders. (© Historic Map Works/Getty Images) In theory, the mercantile system offered benefits to the colonies as well by providing them with a ready market for the raw materials they produced and a source for the manufactured goods they did not. But some colonial goods were not suitable for export to England, which produced wheat, flour, and fish and had no interest in obtaining them from America. Colonists also found it more profitable at times to trade with the Spanish, French, or Dutch even in goods that England did import. Thus, a considerable trade soon developed between the English colonies and non-English markets. For a time, the English government made no serious efforts to restrict this challenge to the principles of mercantilism. But gradually London began passing laws to regulate colonial trade. During Oliver Cromwell's "Protectorate," in 1650 and 1651, Parliament passed laws to keep Navigation Dutch ships out of the English colonies. Acts After the Restoration, the government of Charles II adopted three Navigation Acts designed to regulate colonial commerce even more strictly. The first of them, in 1660, closed the colonies to all trade except that carried in English ships. This law also required the colonists to export certain items, among them tobacco, only to England or English possessions. The second act, in 1663, provided that all goods being shipped from Europe to the colonies had to pass through England on the way; that would make it possible for England to tax them. The third act, in 1673, was a response to the widespread evasion of the first two laws by the colonial shippers, who frequently left port claiming to be heading for another English colony but then sailed to a foreign port. It imposed duties on the coastal trade among the English colonies, and it provided for the appointment of customs officials to enforce the Navigation Acts. These acts formed the legal basis of England's mercantile system in America for a century. The system created by the Navigation Acts had obvious advantages for England. But it had some advantages for the

*View of Savannah as it stood the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1734*



1. The Custom House
2. The Town Hall
3. The Court House
4. The Church
5. The Prison
6. The Market Place
7. The Town Square
8. The Town Church

*To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*  
*This View of the Town of Savannah is humbly dedicated by their Honours*  
*Obedient and most Obedient Servant*  
*Rich<sup>d</sup> de Savannah*

9. The Church for the Church
10. The Church for the Church
11. The Church for the Church
12. The Church for the Church
13. The Church for the Church
14. The Church for the Church
15. The Church for the Church
16. The Church for the Church

*Rich<sup>d</sup> de Savannah*



By restricting all trade to British ships, the laws encouraged the colonists (who were themselves legally British subjects) to create an important shipbuilding industry of their own. And because the English wanted to import as many goods as possible from their own colonies (as opposed to importing them from rival nations), they encouraged-and at times subsidized-the development of American production of goods they needed, among them iron, silk, and lumber. Despite the bitter complaints the laws provoked in America in the late seventeenth century, and the bitter conflicts they would help to provoke decades later, the system of the Navigation Acts served the interests of the British and the Americans alike reasonably well through most of the eighteenth century. The Dominion of New England Enforcement of the Navigation Acts required not only the stationing of customs officials in America, but also the establishment of an agency in England to oversee colonial affairs. In 1679, Charles II attempted to increase his control over Massachusetts (which behaved at times as if its leaders considered it an independent nation) by stripping the colony of its authority over New Hampshire and chartering a separate, royal colony there whose governor he would himself appoint. Five years later, after the Massachusetts General Court defied instructions from Parliament to enforce the Navigation Acts, Charles revoked the Massachusetts corporate charter and made it a royal colony. Charles II's brother and successor, James II, who came to the throne in 1685, went much further. In 1686, he created a single Dominion of New England, which combined the government of Massachusetts with the governments of the rest of the New England colonies and, in 1688, with those of New York and New Jersey as well. He eliminated the existing assemblies within the new Dominion and appointed a single governor. Sir Edmund Andros, to supervise the entire Sir Edmund region from Boston. Andros was an able Andros administrator but a stern and tactless man; his rigid enforcement of the Navigation Acts, his brusque dismissal of the colonists' claims to the "rights of Englishmen," and his crude and arbitrary tactics made him highly unpopular. He was particularly despised in Massachusetts, where he tried to strengthen the Anglican Church. The "Glorious Revolution" James II, unlike his father, was openly Catholic. Not only that, he made powerful enemies as he appointed

his fellow Catholics to high offices. The restoration of Catholicism led to fears among Protestants that the pope would soon overtake England and that the king would defer to him. At the same time, James II tried to control Parliament and the courts to make himself an absolute monarch. By 1688, the opposition to the king was so great that the Parliament voted to force James II from the throne. James didn't resist giving up the crown, remembering his grandfather's execution. He eventually left the country and spent the rest of his life in France. His daughter, Mary II, and her husband, William of Orange of the Netherlands-both Protestants-replaced James II to reign jointly. No Catholic monarch has reigned since. This bloodless coup came to be known as the "Glorious Revolution." When Bostonians heard of the overthrow of James II, they moved quickly to unseat his unpopular viceroy in New England. Andros managed to escape an angry mob, but he was arrested and imprisoned as he sought to flee the city dressed as a woman. The new sovereigns in England chose not to continue the test topping of Andros and quickly acquiesced in what the colonists had, in effect, already done: abolishing the Dominion of New England and restoring separate colonial governments. They did not, however, accede to all the colonists' desires. In 1691, they combined Massachusetts with Plymouth and made it a royal colony. The new charter restored the General Court (Massachusetts's legislature), but it gave the Crown the right to appoint the governor. It also replaced church membership with property ownership as the basis for voting and officeholding and required the Puritan leaders of the colony to tolerate Anglican worship. Andros had been governing New York through a lieutenant governor. Captain Francis Nicholson, who enjoyed the support of the wealthy merchants and fur traders of the province-the same groups who had dominated the colony for years. Other, less favored colonists-farmers, mechanics, small traders, and shopkeepers-had a long accumulation of grievances against both Nicholson and his allies. The leader of the New York dissidents was Jacob Leisler, a German immigrant and a prosperous merchant who had married into a prominent Dutch family but had never won acceptance as one of the colony's ruling class. Much like Nathaniel Bacon in Virginia, the ambitious Leisler resented his exclusion and eagerly grasped the opportunity to challenge the colonial elite. In May 1689, when news of the Glorious Revolution in England and the fall of Andros

in Boston reached New York, Leisler raised a militia, captured the city fort, drove Nicholson into exile, and proclaimed himself the new head of government in New York. For two years, he tried in vain to stabilize his power in the colony amid fierce factional rivalry. In 1691, when William and Mary appointed a new governor, Leisler briefly resisted this challenge to his authority. Although he soon yielded, his hesitation allowed his many political enemies to charge him with treason. He and one of his sons-in-law were hanged, drawn, and quartered. Fierce rivalry between what became known as the "Leislerians" and the "anti-Leislerians" dominated the politics of New York for many years thereafter. In Maryland, many people erroneously assumed when they heard news of the Glorious Revolution that their proprietor.

TRANSPLANTATIONS AND BORDERLANDS 63 T \_ , the Catholic Lord Baltimore, who was livJOHN COODE'S . ^ ^ Rebellion m8 m England, had sided with the Catholic . James II and opposed William and Mary. So in 1689, an old opponent of the proprietor's government, John Coode, started a new revolt, which drove out Lord Baltimore's officials in the name of Protestantism. Through an elected convention, his supporters chose a committee to run the government and petitioned the Crown for a charter as a royal colony. In 1691, William and Mary complied, stripping the proprietor of his authority. The colonial assembly established the Church of England as the colony's official religion and forbade Catholics to hold public office, to vote, or even to practice their religion in public. Maryland became a proprietary colony again in 1715, but only after the fifth Lord Baltimore joined the Anglican Church. As a result of the Glorious Revolution, the colonies revived their representative assemblies and successfully thwarted the plan for colonial unification. In the process, they legitimized the idea that the colonists had some rights within the empire, that the English government needed to consider their views in making policies that affected them. But the Glorious Revolution in America was not, as many Americans would later come to believe, a clear demonstration of American resolve to govern itself or a clear victory for colonial self-rule. In New York and Maryland, in particular, the uprisings had more to do with local factional and religious divisions than with any larger vision of the nature of the empire. And while the insurgencies did succeed in eliminating the short-lived Dominion of New England, their ultimate results were governments that increased the Crown's potential authority in many ways. As the first century of English settlement in America came to its end and as colonists celebrated their victories over arbitrary British rule, they were becoming more a part of the imperial system than ever before. LOOKING BACK The English colonization of North America was part of a larger effort by several European nations to expand the reach of their increasingly commercial societies. Indeed, for many years, the British Empire in America was among the smallest and weakest of the imperial ventures there, overshadowed by the French to the north and the Spanish to the south. In the British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, new agricultural and commercial societies gradually emerged-in the South, centered on

the cultivation of tobacco and cotton and reliant on slave labor; and in the northern colonies, centered on traditional food crops and based mostly on free labor. Substantial trading centers emerged in such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town, and a growing proportion of the population became prosperous and settled in these increasingly complex communities. By the early eighteenth century, English settlement had spread from northern New England (in what is now Maine) south into Georgia. But this growing British Empire coexisted with, and often found itself in conflict with, the presence of other Europeans—most notably the Spanish and the French—in other areas of North America. In these borderlands, societies did not assume the settled, prosperous form they were taking in the Tidewater and New England. They were raw, sparsely populated settlements in which Europeans, including over time increasing numbers of English, had to learn to accommodate not only one another but also the still-substantial Indian tribes with whom they shared these interior lands. By the middle of the eighteenth century, there was a significant European presence across a broad swath of North America—from Florida to Maine, and from Texas to Mexico to California—only a relatively small part of it controlled by the British. But changes were under way within the British Empire that would soon lead to its dominance through a much larger area of North America.

Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events

Anne Hutchinson 45 Antinomianism 45 Bacon's Rebellion 40 Dominion of New England 62 George and Cecilius Calvert 40 Glorious Revolution 62 Headright 38 Jacob Leisler 62 James Oglethorpe 57 John Smith 36 John Winthrop 43 King Philip's War 48 Massachusetts Bay Company 43 Mayflower Compact 42 Metacomb 48 Middle ground 60 Navigation Acts 6 1 Pequot War 47 Plymouth Plantation 42 Powhatan 36 Quakers 52 Quitrent 38 Roger Williams 45 Sir William Berkeley 40 Theocracy 44 Virginia House of Burgesses 38 William Bradford 42 William Penn 53

## 64 CHAPTER 2 RECALL AND REFLECT I III III MINIM III

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MINIM MINI 1. Compare patterns of settlement and expansion in the Chesapeake with those in New England. What were the major differences? Were there any similarities? 2. What were the reasons for the revolts and rebellions that occurred in the colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York between 1660 and 1700? How were these rebellions resolved? 3. How did the institution of slavery in England's Atlantic seaboard colonies differ from slavery in the Caribbean? What accounted for these differences? 4. What were the middle grounds, and how did conditions there differ from conditions in the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard? 5. How did the Glorious Revolution in England affect England's North American colonies? SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1607 \_ © Jamestown founded ® 1620 ^ O Pilgrims found Plymouth colony • 1629 A w New Hampshire and Maine established O 1634 ^ O First English settlements founded in Maryland o 1619 First African workers arrive in Virginia Virginia House of Burgesses meets for first time 1624 Dutch establish settlement on Manhattan Island 1630 Puritans establish Massachusetts Bay colony at Boston 1635 Hartford settled in Connecticut 1636 A O Roger Williams founds settlement in Rhode Island O 1638 ^ O Swedes and Finns establish New Sweden on the Delaware River O 1649 A O Charles I executed O 1663 Carolina colony chartered 1675-1676 King Philip's War in New England 1681 William Penn receives charter for Pennsylvania 1688 Glorious Revolution in England: William and Mary ascend throne O 1637 Anne Hutchinson expelled from Massachusetts Bay colony 1642-1649 English Civil War 1660 English Restoration: Charles II becomes king 1664 English capture New Netherland New Jersey chartered 1676 Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia 1686 Dominion of New England established 1732 Georgia chartered

AMERICA LIFE IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES This colored

engraving shows the domestic life of Americans during the eighteenth century. Depicted are family members at work in their cozy surroundings. Their industriousness is shown to be a singular virtue of the era. (© Bettmann/Corbis) 2. Why did African slavery expand so rapidly in the late seventeenth century? 3. How did religion shape and influence colonial society? LOOKING AHEAD

[illegible]

1. What accounted for the rapid increase in the colonial population in the seventeenth century?



**SETTING THE STAGE BY THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**, the British colonies were the outposts of the British world. As the colonies grew and became more prosperous, they also became more English. The colonists adopted the tastes, styles, and customs of England, bought goods made in England, read books and pamphlets published in England, and modeled most of their political, cultural, and educational institutions on their English equivalents. Many, perhaps most, colonists considered themselves Englishmen and Englishwomen just as much as the men and women in England itself did. At the same time, however, life in the colonies was diverging in many ways from life in England. The physical environment was very different— vaster and less tamed. The population was more diverse as well. The area that would become the United States was a magnet for immigrants from many lands other than England: Scotland, Ireland, the European continent, as well as migrants from the Spanish and French Empires already established in America. And beginning with the first importation of slaves into Virginia, English North America became the destination for thousands of forcibly transplanted Africans. In addition, Europeans and Africans were interacting constantly with a native population. Despite the efforts of the colonists to isolate themselves from Indian society and create a culture all their own, the European, African, and Native American worlds could not remain entirely separate. The colonists emulated English society and they were becoming more and more like one another. To the degree that they were shaped by the character of their own regions, they were becoming more and more diverse. Although Americans would ultimately discover that they had enough in common to join together to form a single nation, these regional differences continued to affect their society well beyond the colonial period.

Not until long after the beginning of European colonization did Europeans and Africans in North America outnumber the native population. But after uncertain beginnings at Jamestown and Immigration Plymouth, the nonnative population grew rapidly and substantially, through and Natural continued immigration and through natural increase, until by the late sevenIncrease teenth century Europeans and Africans became the dominant population



The Atlantic coast. A few of the early English settlers were members of the upper classes-usually the younger sons of the lesser gentry, men who stood to inherit no land at home and aspired to establish estates for themselves in America. For the most part, however, the early English population was very unaristocratic. It included some members of the emerging middle class, businessmen who migrated to America for religious or commercial reasons, or (like John Winthrop) both. But the dominant element was English laborers. Some came to the New World independently. The religious dissenters who formed the bulk of the population of early New England, for example, were men and women of modest means who arranged their own passage, brought their families with them, and established themselves immediately on their own land. But in the Chesapeake, at least three-fourths of the immigrants in the seventeenth century arrived as indentured servants. Indentured Servitude The system of temporary servitude in the New World developed out of existing practices in England. Young men and women bound themselves to masters for a fixed term of servitude (usually four to five years). In return they received passage to America, food, and shelter. Upon completion of their Origins terms of service, male indentures were supposed to receive such benefits as clothing, tools, and occasionally land; in reality, however, many left service without anything, unprepared and unequipped to begin earning a living on their own. Roughly one-fourth of the indentures in the Chesapeake were women, most of whom worked as domestic servants. Because men greatly outnumbered women in the region in the seventeenth century. 66

## SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA 67

Fort Tadoussac « (1600) Quebec^ Trois Rivières • \* (1634) Sault Ste. Marie Penobscot\* . < 1641) C , c , < 1642) (1631) c • Fort Frontenac LaPointe du\* , 1673)- Port, South St. Esprit (1666) /ML f: "New Amsterdam Philadelphia (1682) (New York City) ■ Annapolis . \* (1626) Fort St Joseph (c. 1648)\* Wilmington (1680) 11H665 Green Bay (1634) Fort St. Louis (1682) ■ " (1673)\* (1633)# Plymouth Boston (1630). (1620) Providence (1636). \* Hartford (1635)\* New Haven (1636)1^^ \*New, Fort Crevecoeur (1680) #Cahokia(1698) •Kaskaskia (1700) St. Mary's (1634)\* Jamestown (1607). Edenton (1658) ATLANTIC » OCEAN PACIFIC OCEAN 6\* Forests Area of non-Indian settlement ■ Forts • Towns or outposts Santa Fe (1609) "elZ) 'Wilmington (1665) Fort Prudhomme ( 1670) # Arkansas Post ■ ( Memphis ) ( 1682) (1686) Port Royal (1683) El Paso del Norte 1 (1659) Fort St. Louis (1685) Saltillo (1575) Fort Maurepas (1699) Pensacola (1696) a Fort San Mateo ®\*St. Augustine St. Lucia Gulf of Mexico NORTH AMERICA IN 1700 This map reveals how tiny a proportion of North America was settled by Europeans in 1700, nearly a century after the first English settlements began there. The largest area of settlement was the thin fringe of colonies along the northern Atlantic seaboard. There were additional scattered settlements, almost all of them tiny, in eastern Canada, along the southern Atlantic coast, in the Mississippi Valley, and in the Southwest. • What accounted for the isolated colonies in noncoastal areas of North America? women could reasonably expect to marry when their terms of servitude expired. Male domestic servants, however, usually had no such options. Most indentured servants came to the colonies voluntarily, but not all. Beginning as early as 1617, the English government occasionally dumped shiploads of convicts in America to be sold into servitude, although some criminals, according to Captain John Smith, "chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were." The government also sent prisoners taken in battles with the Scots and the Irish in the 1650s, as well as other groups deemed undesirable: orphans, vagrants, paupers, and those who were "lewd and dangerous." Other involuntary immigrants were neither dangerous nor indigent but were simply victims of kidnapping, or "impressment," by aggressive and unscrupulous investors and promoters. It was not difficult to understand why the system of indentured servitude

proved so appealing to colonial employers-particularly once it became clear, as it quickly did, that the Indian population could not easily be transformed into a servile workforce. The indenture system provided a means of coping with the severe labor shortage in the New World. In the Chesapeake, the headright system (by which masters received additional land grants for every servant they imported) offered another incentive. For the servants themselves, the attractions were not always so clear. Those who came voluntarily often did so to escape troubles in England; others came in the hope of establishing themselves on land or in trades of their own when their terms of service expired. Yet the reality often differed sharply from the hope. Some former indentures managed to establish themselves successfully as farmers, tradespeople, or artisans. Others (mostly males) found themselves without land, without employment, without families, and without prospects. A large floating population of young single men traveled restlessly from place to place, often in groups. Servitude in search of work or land and were a potential source of social unrest, particularly in the Chesapeake. Even free laborers who found employment or land and settled down with families often did not stay put for very long. The phenomenon of families simply pulling up stakes and moving to another, more promising location every several years was one of the most prominent characteristics of the colonial population. Indentured servitude remained an important source of population growth well into the eighteenth century, but beginning

68 CHAPTER 3 in the 1670s the flow began to decline substantially. A decrease in the English birth rate and an increase in English prosperity reduced the pressures on many men and women who might otherwise have considered emigrating. After 1700, those who did travel to America as indentured servants generally avoided the southern colonies, where working conditions were arduous and prospects for advancement were slim, and took advantage of the better opportunities in the mid-Atlantic colonies, especially Pennsylvania and New York. In the Chesapeake, landowners themselves began to find the indenture system less attractive, in part because they were troubled by the instability that former servants created or threatened to create. That was one reason for the increasing centrality of African slavery in the southern agricultural economy.

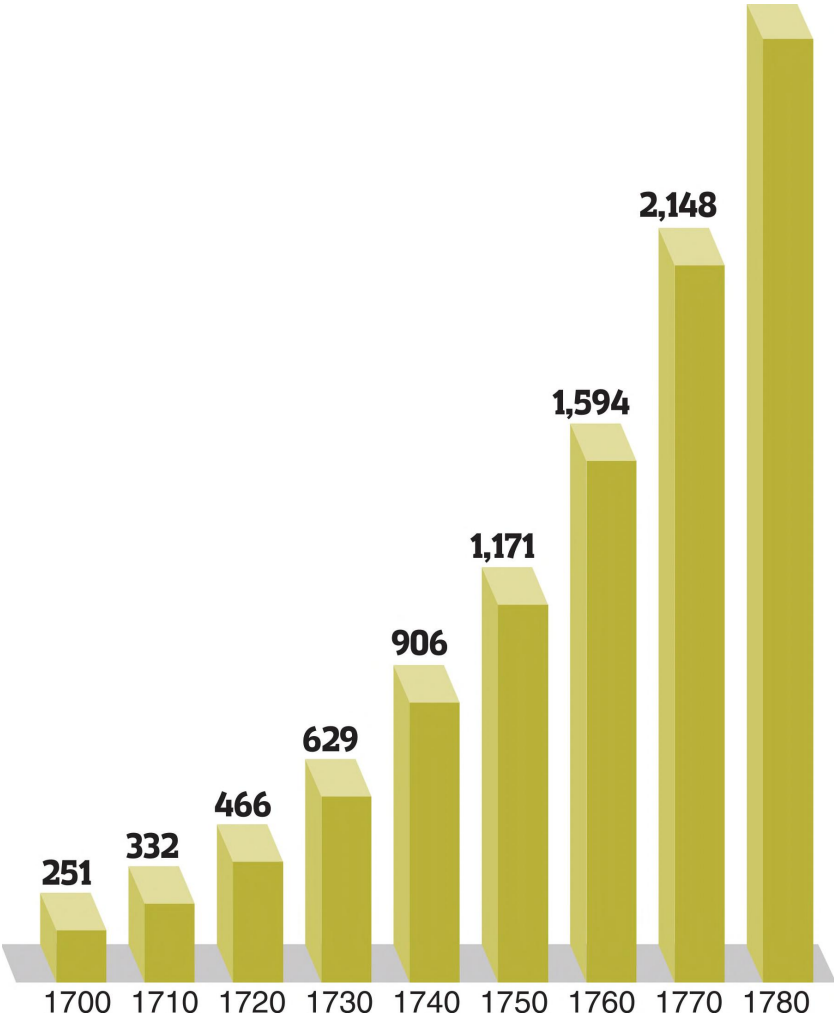
Birth and Death At first, new arrivals in most colonies, whatever their background or status, could anticipate great hardship: inadequate food, frequent epidemics, and in an appalling number of cases, early death. Gradually, however, conditions improved enough to allow the non-Indian population to begin to expand. By the end of the seventeenth century, the non-Indian population in the English colonies of North America had grown to over a quarter of a million, of whom about 25 percent were Africans.

Population (thousands) 2,780 Year THE NON-INDIAN POPULATION OF NORTH AMERICA, 1700-1780 The European population of North America grew much more dramatically in the eighteenth century than it had in the seventeenth, exceeding 2 million by 1770. But unlike in the seventeenth century, the most important reason for this expansion was natural increase (children born in America), replacing immigration from Europe.

• Why was the natural increase so much larger than in the past? P O S T S C To the SOUTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE, i TO BE SOLD, on board the George<sup>^</sup>Tm<sup>v</sup>n Galley, Thomas Cro/lkwaite Mailer, lying at Fratiklantt s Wliarff, fundry Englifh SERVANTS , Men and Women, well recommended, amongft whom are Tradeiinen, Hulbandmen, &c. indented for Four Tears. Likcwifc l'undry Englifh Provifions, and a parcel of new iron-bound lizable Water-Calks, handy for the U'cjl -India Trade; fundry old Sails, fome frnall Carriage Guns, Pipes, Earthen Ware, Cheefc, tie. 22K)etcaS the Subfcriber intends to depart this Province earlv in the next Spring, he deiires all Pcrfons indebted to him, or the Hon.

Benjamin U hitaker, Efq ; to discharge, or, at lead, fettle their repfitive Debts to his Satisfaction, on or before the full Day of January next : And thofe who have any bemands on the Subfcriber or the faid Mr« Whitaker , are requell\* cd to bring them in, that they may be latisfied by William Georce Freeman. 3mpo the Lo\$; grog ram (luthSy — eoes, — tt far.ncl,hlankets hollandy tons , — a groti a jocky cu\ linnens huckaha arrach , ■ cities , — nails, — — fad i) powdery JicnjeSy— diccy—j fait pets hejl unt and fun houie, 3lmr SERVANTS FOR SALE The South-Carolina Gazette of Charles Town ran this advertisement in November 1749 to announce the arrival of a group of English "indentures"— men and women who had accepted passage to America in exchange for their agreement to sell themselves as servants for a fixed period of years once they arrived. Indentures were the most common form of labor in most of the colonies during much of the seventeenth century, but by 1749 the system was already beginning to die out— replaced in the South by the enslavement of Africans. (© Charleston Library Society (Charleston, SC)) Although immigration remained for a time the greatest source of population increase, marked improvement in the reproduction rate began in New England and the mid-Atlantic colonies in the second half of the seventeenth century. After the 1650s, natural increase became the most important source of population. The New England population more than quadrupled through reproduction alone in the second half of the sevExceptional enteenth century. This was less a result of Longevity in unusual fertility (families in New England New England and in other regions were probably equally llll Mill II Mill Mill II Mill HIM Mill II III II Mill II llllllllll Mil r 1 \ 1 C 11 fertile) than of exceptional longevity. Indeed, the average life spans of residents of some areas of New England were nearly equal to those of people in the twentieth century. In the first generation of American-born colonists, according to one study, men who survived infancy lived to an average age of seventy-one, women to seventy. The next generation's life expectancy declined somewhat-to sixty-five for men who survived infancy-but remained at least ten years higher than the English equivalent and approximately twenty years higher than life expectancy in the South. Scholars disagree on the reasons for these remarkable life spans, but contributing factors probably included the cool climate and the relatively disease-free environment it produced, clean water (a stark contrast to England

in these years), and the absence of large population centers that might breed epidemics.



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Conditions improved much more slowly in the South. The mortality rates for whites in the Chesapeake region remained markedly higher than those elsewhere until the mid-eighteenth century (and the mortality rates for Africans higher still). Throughout the seventeenth century, the average life expectancy for white men in the region was just over forty years and, for white women, slightly less. One in four children died in infancy, and fully half died before the age of twenty. The high death rate among adults meant that only about a third of all marriages lasted more than ten years; thus those children who survived infancy often lost one or both of their parents before reaching maturity. Widows, widowers, and orphans formed a substantial proportion of the white population of the Chesapeake. The continuing ravages of disease (particularly malaria) and the prevalence of salt-contaminated water kept the death rate high in the South; only after the settlers developed immunity to the local diseases (a slow process known as "seasoning") did life expectancy increase significantly. Population growth was substantial in the region, but largely as a result of immigration. Natural increases in the population, wherever they occurred, were largely a result of a steady improvement in the sex ratio through the seventeenth century. In the early years of settlement, more than three-quarters of the white population of the Chesapeake consisted of men. And even in New England, which from the beginning had attracted more families (and thus more women) than the Sex Ratio southern colonies, 60 percent of the white inhabitants in 1650 were male. Gradually, however, more women began to arrive in the colonies; and increasing birth rates, which of course produced roughly equal numbers of males and females, contributed to shifting the sex ratio as well. Not until well into the eighteenth century did the ratio begin to match that in England (where women were a slight majority), but by the late seventeenth century, the proportion of males to females in all the colonies was becoming more balanced. Medicine in the Colonies The very high death rates of women who bore children illustrate the primitive nature of medical knowledge and practice in the colonies. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century physicians had little or no understanding of infection and sterilization. As a result, many people died from infections contracted during childbirth or surgery

from dirty instruments or dirty hands. Because communities were unaware of bacteria, many were plagued with infectious diseases transmitted by garbage or unclean water. One result of the limited extent of medical knowledge was that it was relatively easy for people to enter the medical field, even without professional training. The biggest beneficiaries of Midwives this ease access were women, who established themselves in considerable numbers as midwives. Midwives assisted women in childbirth, but they also dispensed other medical advice-usually urging their patients to use herbs or other natural remedies. Midwives were popular because they were usually friends and neighbors of the people they treated, unlike physicians, who were few and therefore not often well known to their patients. Male doctors felt threatened by the midwives and struggled continually to drive them from the field, although they did not make substantial progress in doing so until the nineteenth century. Midwives and doctors alike practiced medicine on the basis of the prevailing assumptions of their time, most of them derived from the theory of "humoralism" popularized by the second-century Roman physician Galen. Galen argued that the human body was governed by four "humors" that were lodged in four bodily fluids: yellow bile (or "choler"), black bile ("melancholy"), blood, and phlegm. In a healthy body, the four humors existed in balance. Illness represented an imbalance and suggested the need for removing from the body the excesses of whatever fluid was causing the imbalance. That was the rationale that lay behind the principal medical techniques of the seventeenth century: purging, expulsion, and bleeding. Bleeding was the most extreme of the treatments (and the most destructive), and it was practiced mostly by male physicians. Midwives preferred more homeopathic treatments and favored "pukes" and laxatives. The great majority of early Americans, however, had little contact with physicians, or even midwives, and sought instead to deal with illness on their own, confident that their abilities were equal to those of educated physicians- which, given the state of medical knowledge, was often true. That seventeenth-century medicine rested so much on ideas produced 1,400 years before is evidence of how little support there was for the scientific method-which rests on experimentation and observation rather than on inherited faiths-in England and America at the time. Bleeding, for example, had been in use for hundreds of years, during which time there had



been no evidence that it helped people recover from illness; indeed, if anyone had chosen to look for it, there was considerable evidence that bleeding could do great harm. But what would seem in later eras to be the simple process of testing scientific assumptions was not yet a common part of Western thought. Only with the birth of the Enlightenment in the late seventeenth century- with its faith in human reason and its belief in the capacity of individuals and societies to create better lives-would the scientific method begin to find acceptance.

**Women and Families in the Chesapeake**

The importance of reproduction in the labor-scarce society of seventeenth-century America had particularly significant effects on women. The high sex ratio meant that few women remained unmarried for long. The average European woman in America Male Authority married for the first time at twenty or Undermined twenty-one years of age, considerably earlier than in England; in some areas of the Chesapeake, the average bride was three to four years younger. In the Chesapeake, the most important factor affecting women

70 CHAPTER 3 and families remained, until at least the mid-eighteenth century, the extraordinarily high mortality rate. Under those circumstances, the traditional male-centered family structure of England-by which husbands and fathers exercised firm, even dictatorial control over the lives of their wives and children was difficult to maintain. Because so few families remained intact for long, rigid patterns of male authority were constantly undermined. Standards of sexual behavior were also more flexible in the South than they were in England or other parts of America. Because of the large numbers of indentured servants who were forbidden to marry until their terms of service expired, premarital sexual relationships were frequent. Female servants who became pregnant before the expiration of their terms could expect harsh treatment: heavy fines, whippings if no one could pay the fines, an extra year or two of service added to their contract, and the loss of their children after weaning. Bastard children were themselves bound out as indentures at a very early age. On the other hand, a pregnant woman whose term of service expired before the birth of her child or whose partner was able to buy her remaining time from her master might expect to marry quickly. Over a third of Chesapeake marriages occurred with the bride already pregnant. Women in the Chesapeake could anticipate a life consumed with childbearing. The average wife became pregnant every two years. Those who lived long enough bore an average of eight children apiece (up to five of whom typically died in infancy or early childhood). Since childbirth was one of the most frequent causes of female death, relatively few women survived to see all their children grow to maturity. For all the hardships women encountered in the seventeenth-century South, they also enjoyed more power and a greater level of freedom than women in other parts of America (or than southern women in later years). Because men were plentiful and women scarce, females had considerable latitude in choosing husbands. (They also Greater ° J Independence °ften had no fathers or other male relatives in the South nearby trying to control their choices.)

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii Because women generally married at a much younger age than men, they often outlived their husbands (even though female life expectancy was somewhat shorter than male). Widows were often left with several

children and with responsibility for managing a farm or plantation, a circumstance of enormous hardship but one that also gave them significant economic power. Widows seldom remained unmarried for long, however. Those who had no grown sons to work the tobacco farms and plantations had particular need for male assistance, and marriage was the surest way to secure it. Since many widows married men who were themselves widowers, complex combinations of households were frequent. With numerous stepchildren, half brothers, and half sisters living together in a single household, women often had to play the role of peacemaker—a role that may have further enhanced their authority within the family. By the early eighteenth century, the character of the Chesapeake population was beginning to change, and with it the nature of the typical family. Life expectancy was increasing; indentured servitude was in decline; and natural reproduction was becoming the principal source of population increase. The sex ratio was becoming more equal. One result of these changes was that life for white people in the region became less perilous and less arduous. Another result was that

GUIDE TO THE SEASONS

Among their many purposes, almanacs sought to help farmers predict weather and plan for the demands of changing seasons. This illustration, part of a "calendar" of farming images, shows a man and a woman tending fields in July, in preparation for the coming harvest. (© American Antiquarian Society)



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women lost some of the power that their small numbers had once given them. As families grew more stable, traditional patterns of male authority revived. By the mid-eighteenth century, southern families were becoming highly "patriarchal," that is, dominated by the male head of the family. expected to be modest and submissive. Such popular girls' names as Prudence, Patience, Chastity, and Comfort suggest something about Puritan expectations of female behavior. A wife was expected to devote herself to serving the needs of her husband and household. Women and Families in New England The Beginnings of Slavery in British America In New England, where many more immigrants arrived with family members and where death rates declined quickly, family structure was much more stable than it was in the Chesapeake and hence much more traditional. Because the sex ratio was reasonably balanced, most men could expect to marry. Women, however, remained in the minority; and as in the Chesapeake, they married young, began producing children early, and continued to do so well into their thirties. In contrast to the South, however, northern children were more likely to survive (the average family raised six to eight children to maturity), and families were more likely to remain intact. Fewer New England women became widows, and those who did generally lost their husbands later in life. Hence women were less often cast in roles independent of their husbands. Young women, moreover, had less control over the conditions of marriage, both because there were fewer unmarried men vying for them and because their fathers were more often alive and able to exercise control over their choice of husbands. Among other things, increased longevity meant that, unlike in the Chesapeake (where three-fourths of all children lost at least one parent before the age of twenty-one), white parents in New England usually lived to see their children and even their grandchildren grow to maturity. Still, the lives of most New England women were nearly as consumed by childbearing and child rearing as those of women in the Chesapeake. Even women Life Spans w<sup>^</sup> ^vec^ into their sixties spent the majoriity of their mature years with young children in the home. The longer lives in New England also meant that parents continued to control their children far longer than did parents in the South. Although

they were less likely than parents in England to "arrange" marriages for their children, few sons and daughters could choose spouses entirely independent of their parents' wishes. Men usually depended on their fathers for land—generally a prerequisite for beginning families of their own. Women needed dowries from their parents if they were to attract desirable husbands. Stricter parental supervision of children meant, too, that fewer women became pregnant before marriage than in the South (although even in Puritan New England the premarital pregnancy rate was not insubstantial—as high as 20 percent in some communities).

Puritanism placed a high value on the family, which was the principal economic and religious unit within every community. At the same time, however, the Patriarchal Puritan Family reinforced the idea of nearly absolute male authority and the assumption of female weakness and inferiority. Women were Almost from the beginning of European settlement in North America, there was a demand for African workers to supplement the always-scarce southern labor supply. The demand grew rapidly once tobacco cultivation became a staple of the Chesapeake economy. But the supply of African laborers was limited during much of the seventeenth century, because the Atlantic slave trade did not at first serve the English colonies in America. Portuguese slavers, who had dominated the trade since the sixteenth century, shipped captive men and women from the west coast of Africa to the new European colonies in South America and the Caribbean. Gradually, Dutch and French navigators joined the slave trade. But a substantial commerce in slaves grew up within the Americas, particularly between the Caribbean islands and the southern colonies of British America. By the late seventeenth century, the supply of African workers in North America was becoming plentiful. As the commerce in slaves grew more extensive and sophisticated, it also grew more horrible. Before it ended in the nineteenth century, it was responsible for the forced immigration of as many as 11 million Africans to the New World. (Until the late eighteenth century, the number of African immigrants to The Middle Americas was higher than that of Passage Europeans.) Native African chieftains captured members of enemy tribes in battle, tied them together in long lines, or "coffles," and sold them in the flourishing slave marts on the African coast. Then,

after some haggling on the docks between the European traders and the African suppliers, the terrified victims were packed into the dark, filthy holds of ships for the horrors of the "middle passage"- the journey to America. For weeks, sometimes even months, the African prisoners remained chained in the bowels of the slave ships. Conditions varied from one ship to another. Some captains took care to see that their potentially valuable cargo remained reasonably healthy. Others accepted the deaths of numerous Africans as inevitable and tried to cram as many as possible into their ships to ensure that enough would survive to yield a profit at journey's end. On such ships, the African prisoners were sometimes packed together in such close quarters that they were unable to stand, hardly able to breathe. Some ships supplied them with only minimal food and water. Women were often victims of rape and other sexual abuse. Those who died en route were simply thrown overboard. Upon arrival in the New World, slaves were auctioned off to white landowners and transported, frightened and bewildered, to their new homes.

DEBATING THE PAST The Origins of Slavery in the debate among historians over how and why white Americans created a system of slave labor in the seventeenth century— and how and why they determined that people of African descent and no others should populate that system— has been a long and unusually heated one. At its center is the question of whether slavery was a result of white racism or whether slavery created racism. In 1950, Oscar and Mary Handlin published an influential article, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," comparing slavery to other systems of "unfreedom" in the colonies. What differentiated slavery from other conditions of servitude, they argued, was that it was restricted to people of African descent, it was permanent, and it passed from one generation to the next. The unique characteristics of slavery, the Handlins maintained, were part of an effort by colonial legislatures to increase the available labor force. White laborers needed an incentive to come to America; black laborers, forcibly imported from Africa, did not. The distinction between the conditions of white workers and the conditions of black workers was, therefore, based on legal and economic motives, not on racism. Racism emerged to justify slavery; it did not cause slavery. Winthrop D. Jordan was one of a number of historians who later challenged the Handlins' thesis and argued that white racism, more than economic interests, produced African slavery. In *White Over Black* (1968) and other works, Jordan argued that Europeans had long viewed people of color— and black Africans in particular— as inferior beings appropriate for serving whites. Those attitudes migrated with white Europeans to the New World, and white racism shaped the treatment of Africans in America— and the nature of the slave labor system— from the beginning. George Fredrickson echoed Jordan's emphasis on the importance of racism as an independent factor reinforcing slavery; but unlike Jordan, he argued that racism did not precede slavery. "The treatment of blacks," he wrote, "engendered a cultural and psycho-social racism that after a certain point took on a life of its own. . . . Racism, although the child of slavery, not only outlived its parent but grew stronger and more independent after slavery's demise." In *Black Majority* (1974), a study of seventeenth-century South Carolina, Peter Wood moved the debate away from racism and back toward social and economic conditions. Wood demonstrated that blacks and whites often



worked together on relatively equal terms in the early years of settlement. But as rice cultivation expanded, finding white laborers willing to do the arduous work became more difficult. The forcible importation of African workers and the creation of a system of permanent bondage was a response to a growing demand for labor and to fears among whites that without slavery a black labor force would be difficult to control. Edmund Morgan argued similarly in *American Slavery, American Freedom* (1975) that the southern labor system was at first relatively flexible and later grew more rigid. In colonial Virginia, he claimed, white settlers did not at first intend to create a system of permanent bondage. But as the tobacco economy grew and created a high demand for cheap labor, white landowners began to feel uneasy about their dependence on a large group of dependent white workers, since such workers were difficult to recruit and control. Thus slavery was less a result of racism than of the desire of white landowners to find a reliable and stable labor force. In *The Making of New World Slavery* (1996), Robin Blackburn argued that while race was a factor in allowing whites to justify to themselves the enslavement of Africans, the real reasons for slavery were hardheaded economic decisions by ambitious entrepreneurs, who realized early on that a slave-labor system in the labor-intensive agricultural world of the American South and the Caribbean was more profitable than a free-labor system. Slavery served the interests of a powerful combination of groups: planters, merchants, governments, industrialists, and consumers. Race may have been a rationale for slavery, allowing planters and traders to justify to themselves the terrible The first African laborers arrived in English North America before 1620, and as English seamen began to establish themselves in the slave trade, the flow of Africans to the colonies gradually increased. But North America was always a much less important market for Africans than were other parts of the New World, especially the Caribbean islands and Brazil, whose labor-intensive sugar economies created an especially large demand for slaves. Less than 5 percent of the Africans imported to the Americas went directly to the English colonies on the mainland. Most blacks who ended up in what became the United States spent time first in the West Indies. Not until the 1670s did traders start importing blacks directly from Africa to North America. Even then, however, the flow remained small for a time, mainly because a single group, the Royal African

Company of England, maintained a monopoly on trade in the mainland colonies and managed as a result to keep prices high and supplies low. A turning point in the history of the African population in North America came in the mid- 1690s, when the Royal African Company's monopoly was finally broken. With the trade now opened to English and colonial merchants on a competitive basis, prices fell and the number of Africans arriving in North America rapidly increased. By the end of the seventeenth century on about one in ten residents of colonies were Africans (about 25,000 Population in all). But because Africans were so heavily concentrated in a few southern colonies, they were already beginning to outnumber Europeans in some areas. The high ratio of men to women among African immigrants (there were perhaps two males to one female in most areas) retarded the natural increase of the black population. But in the Chesapeake at least, more new slaves were being born by 1700 than were being imported from Africa. In South Carolina, by contrast, the difficult conditions of rice

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human costs of the system. But the most important reason for the system was not just racism, but the pursuit of profit— and the success of the system in producing it. Blackburn concluded that slavery was not an antiquated remnant of an older world but, rather, a recognizably modern labor system that, however ugly, served the needs of an emerging market economy. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What do historians say is the relationship between racism and slavery?
2. What are the economic arguments put forward by historians to explain the system of slave labor that developed in America? Do these arguments account fully for the development of slavery?
3. Why was slavery more successful than other labor systems in meeting the labor needs of colonial America's market economy?

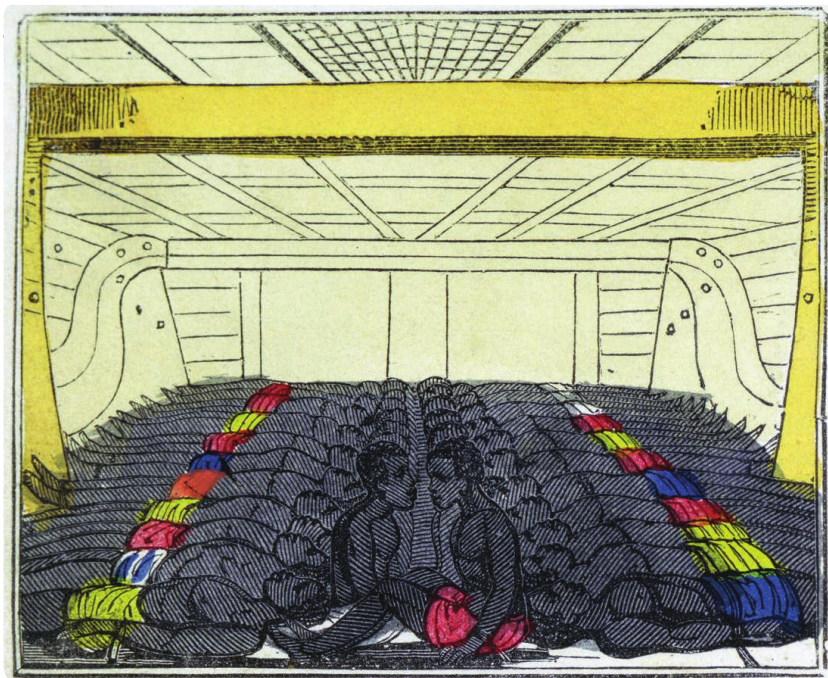
(© The Granger Collection, New York)

cultivation-and the high death rates of those who worked in the rice fields-ensured that the black population would barely be able to sustain itself through natural increase until much later. Between 1700 and 1760, the number of Africans in the colonies increased tenfold to about a quarter of a million. A relatively small number (16,000 in 1763) lived in New England; there were slightly more (29,000) in the middle colonies. The vast majority, however, continued to live in the South. By then the flow of free white laborers to that region had all but stopped, and Africans had become securely established as the basis of the southern workforce. It was not entirely clear at first that the status of African laborers in America would be fundamentally different from that of white indentured servants. In the rugged conditions of the seventeenth-century South, it was often difficult for Europeans and Africans to maintain strictly separate roles. In some areas-South Carolina, for example, where the number of African arrivals swelled more quickly than anywhere else-whites and blacks lived and worked together for a time on TT terms of relative equality. Some blacks Status were treated much like white hired ser. vants, and some were freed after a fixed term of servitude. A few Africans themselves became landowners, and some apparently owned slaves of their own. By the early eighteenth century, however, a rigid distinction had become established between black and white. (See "Debating the Past," above.) Masters were contractually obliged to free white servants after a fixed term of servitude. There was no such necessity to free black workers, and the assumption slowly spread that blacks

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74 CHAPTER 3 White assumptions about the inferiority of people of color contributed to the growing rigidity of the system. Such assumptions came naturally to the English settlers. They had already defined themselves as a superior race in their relations with the native Indian population (and earlier in their relations with the Irish). The idea of subordinating a supposedly inferior race was, therefore, already established in the English imagination by the time substantial numbers of Africans appeared in America. In the early eighteenth century, colonial assemblies began to pass "slave codes," limiting the rights of blacks in law and ensuring almost absolute authority to white masters. One factor, and Slave Codes one ^actor only > determined whether a per. son was subject to the slave codes: color. In contrast to the colonial societies of Spanish America, where people of mixed race had a different (and higher) status than pure Africans, English America recognized no such distinctions. Any African ancestry was enough to classify a person as black. Changing Sources of European Immigration By the early eighteenth century, the flow of immigrants from England itself began to decline substantially-a result of better economic conditions there and of new government restrictions on emigration in the face of massive depopulation in some regions of the country. But as English immigration declined, French, German, Swiss, Irish, Welsh, Scottish, and Scandinavian immigration continued and increased. The earliest, although not the most numerous, of these non-English European immigrants were the French Calvinists, AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE This image is from a plate from British author Amelia Opie's poem *Black Slaves in the Hold of the Slave Ship: or How to Make Sugar*, published in London in 1826. Opie's poem depicts the life of an African who was captured by slave traders and chronicles his journey to the West Indies on a slave ship and his enforced work on the sugar plantations there. Slaves were packed like cargo for the long ocean voyage. (© Universal History Archive/ UIG/ The Bridgeman Art Library)

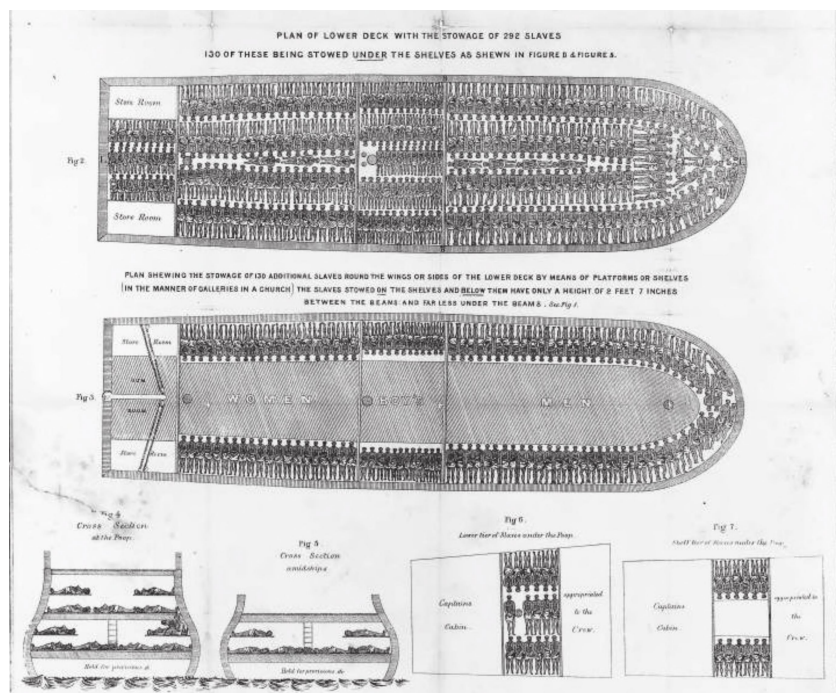


or Huguenots. A royal proclamation, the Edict of Nantes of 1598, had allowed them to become practically a state within the state in Roman Catholic France. In 1685, however, the French government revoked the edict. Soon after that, TT Huguenots began leaving the country. Pennsylvania About 300,000 left France in the followDutch mg decades. A small proportion of them traveled to the English colonies in North America. Many German Protestants suffered similarly from the arbitrary religious policies of their rulers; and all Germans, Catholics as well as Protestants, suffered from the devastating wars with King Louis XIV of France (the "Sun King"). The Rhineland of southwestern Germany, the area known as the Palatinate, experienced particular hardships. Because it was close to France, its people were particularly exposed to slaughter and ruin at the hands of invaders. The unusually cold winter of 1708-1709 dealt a final blow to the precarious economy of the region. More than 12,000 Palatinate Germans sought refuge in England, and approximately 3,000 of them soon found their way to America. They arrived in New York and tried at first to make homes in the Mohawk Valley, only to be ousted by the powerful landlords of the region. Some of SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA • 75

the Germans moved farther up the Mohawk, out of reach of the patroons; but most made their way to Pennsylvania, where they received a warm welcome (and where they ultimately became known to English settlers as the "Pennsylvania Dutch," a corruption of their own word for "German": "Deutsch"). The Quaker colony became the most common destination for Germans, who came to America in growing numbers. (Among them were Moravians and Mennonites, with religious views similar in many ways to those of the Quakers.) Many German Protestants went to North Carolina as well, especially after the founding of New Bern in 1710 by a company of 600 German-speaking Swiss. The most numerous of the newcomers were the Scots-Irish/Scottish Presbyterians who had settled in northern Ireland (in the province of Ulster) in the early seventeenth century. The Ulster colonists had prospered for a time despite the barren soil and the constant, never wholly successful, struggle to suppress the Catholic natives. But in the first years of the eighteenth century, Parliament prohibited Ulster from exporting to



England the woollens and other products that had become the basis of the northern Irish economy; at the same time, the English government virtually outlawed the practice of the Presbyterian religion THE SLAVE SHIP BROOKES The British slave ship Brookes provided this plan of its "stowage" of slaves to conform to 1798 legislation from Parliament. It illustrates vividly the terrible conditions under which slaves were shipped from Africa to the Americas— human beings squeezed into every available space like cargo for the long, dangerous passage during which many Africans died. (Library of Congress)



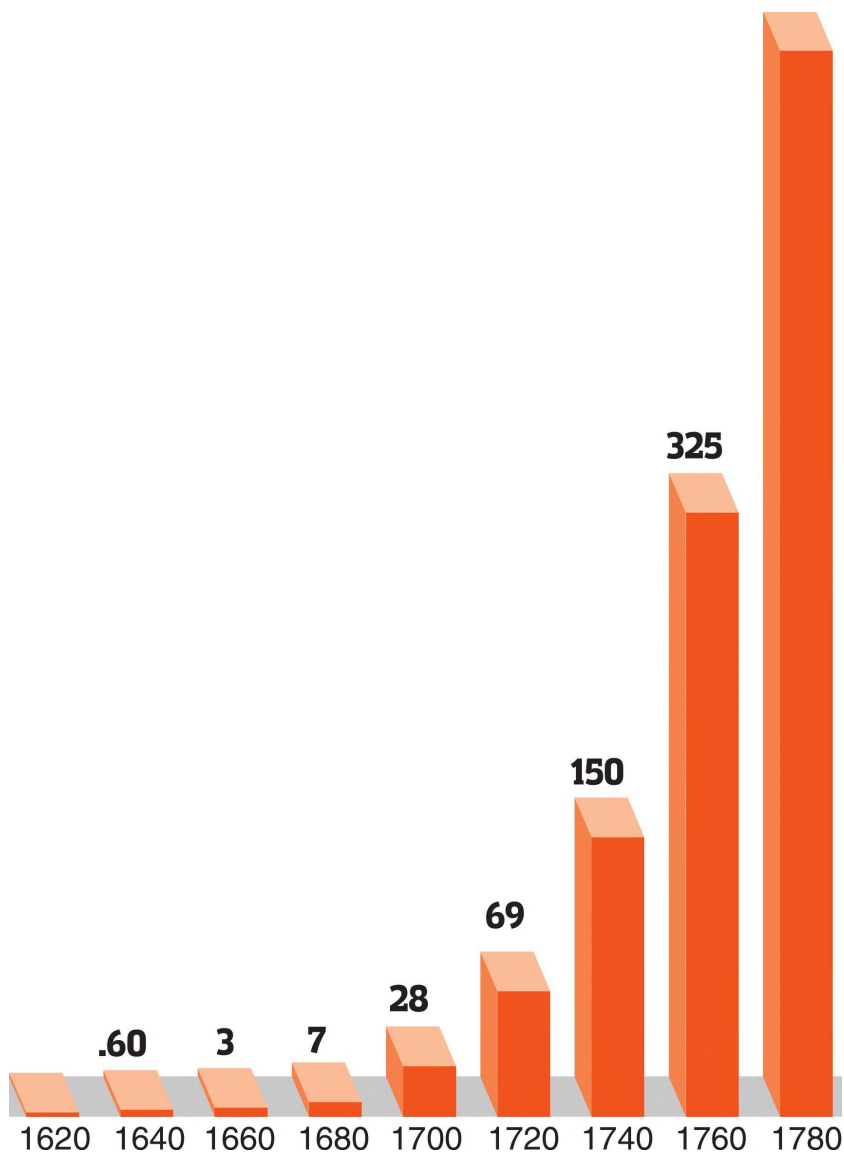


suppression of the Indians as they had been  
 with the native Irish Catholics. Immigrants from Scotland and southern Ireland added other elements to the colonial population in the eighteenth century. Scottish Highlanders, some of them Roman Catholics who had been defeated in rebellions in 1715 and 1745, immigrated into several colonies. North Carolina above all. Presbyterian Lowlanders, faced in Scotland with high rents in the country and unemployment in the towns, left for America in large numbers shortly before the American Revolution, joining earlier groups of Scots, who had arrived in the late seventeenth century. They became a significant influence in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and helped establish Presbyterianism as an important religion in those colonies. The Catholic Irish migrated steadily over a long period, and by the time of the Revolution they were almost as numerous as the Scots, although less conspicuous. Many of them had by then abandoned their Roman Catholic religion and with it much of their ethnic identity. Continuing immigration and natural increase contributed to a rapid population growth in the colonies in the eighteenth century. In 1700, the non-Indian population of the colonies totaled less than 250,000; by 1775, it was over 2 million—a nearly tenfold increase. Throughout the colonial period, the non-Indian population nearly doubled every twenty-five years.

THE AFRICAN POPULATION OF THE BRITISH COLONIES, 1620-1780

THE COLONIAL ECONOMIES To those who remained in Europe, and even to some who settled in North America, the English colonies often appeared so small and isolated as to seem virtually at the end of the world. But from the beginning, almost all the English colonies were commercial ventures and were tied in crucial ways to other economies. They developed substantial trade with the native population of North America, with the French settlers to the north and, to a lesser extent, with Spanish colonists to the south and west. And over time they developed an even more substantial trade within the growing Atlantic economy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which they became a critical part. American colonists engaged in a wide range of economic pursuits. But except for a few areas in the West where the small white From tiny beginnings in the seventeenth century, the African population

of the British colonies grew rapidly in the eighteenth century. The growth of slavery was a result of both supply (a readily available population of African workers in the Caribbean islands) and demand (the growth of tobacco, rice, and cotton cultivation in larger areas of the South). The slave population in the colonies also increased naturally in this period at a far greater rate than in the past, largely because living conditions for African workers improved. • Why did slaveowners invest in better conditions for their slaves? in Ulster and insisted on conformity with the Anglican Church. After 1710, moreover, the long-term leases of many ScotsIrish expired; English landlords doubled and even tripled the rents. Thousands of tenants embarked for America. Often coldly received at the colonial ports, many of the Scots-Irish pushed out to the edges of European settlement. There they occupied land without much regard for who actually claimed to own it, whether absentee whites, Indians, or the colonial governments. They were as ruthless in their displacement and THE “PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH” This folk art painted dish illustrates the traditional dress of the Pennsylvania Dutch. The Pennsylvania Dutch were, in fact, German immigrants, known to their neighbors as "Dutch" because that was how their native word for their nationality ("Deutsch") sounded to most English speakers. (© The Granger Collection, New York)





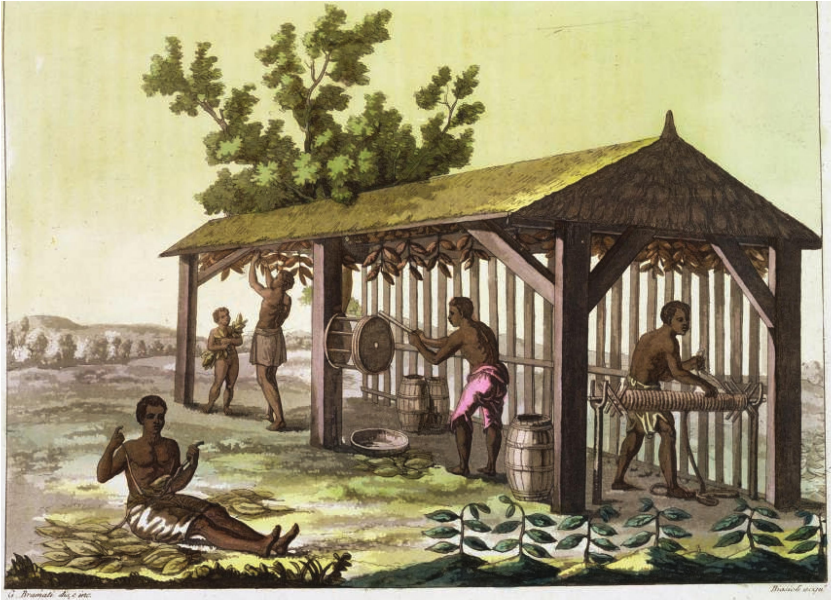
populations subsisted largely on the fur and skin trade with the Indians, farming dominated all areas of European and African settlement throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some farmers engaged in simple subsistence agriculture; but whenever possible, American farmers attempted to grow crops for the local, intercolonial, and export markets. The Southern Economy In the Chesapeake region, tobacco quickly became the basis of the economy. A strong European demand for the crop enabled Tobacco some planters to grow enormously wealthy . and at times allowed the region as a whole to prosper. But production frequently exceeded demand, and as a result the price of tobacco periodically suffered severe declines. The first major bust in the tobacco economy occurred in 1640, and the boom-and-bust pattern continued throughout the colonial period and beyond. Growing more tobacco only made the problem of overproduction worse, but Chesapeake farmers never understood that. Those planters who could afford to do so expanded their landholdings, enlarged their fields, and acquired additional laborers. After 1700, tobacco plantations employing several dozen slaves or more were common. The staple of the economies of South Carolina and Georgia was rice. By building dams and dikes along the many tidal rivers, farmers managed to create rice paddies that could be flooded and then drained. Rice cultivation was arduous work, performed standing knee-deep in the mud of malarial swamps under a blazing sun, surrounded by insects. It was a task so difficult and unhealthful that white laborers generally refused to \MAINE\*Au9usta (MASS.) ^ \* Portland W \* HAMPSHIRE Portsmouth \_ Boston MASSACHUSETTS • Providence Hartford \\* Newport RHODE ISLAND CONNECTICUT \* O o o 3 ATLANTIC OCEAN Wilmington v ^ \ \ GEORGIA & ■V\* Charles Town \N V • v Savannah IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN COLONIAL AMERICA, 1760 Even though the entire Atlantic seaboard of what is now the United States had become a series of British colonies by 1760, the population consisted of people from many nations. As this map reveals, English settlers dominated most of the regions of North America. But note the large areas of German settlement in the western Chesapeake and Pennsylvania; the swath of Dutch settlement in New York and New Jersey; the Scots-Irish areas in the western regions of the South; and the large areas in

which Africans were becoming the majority of the population, even if subjugated by the white minority. • What aspects of the history of these colonies help explain their ethnic composition? o 200 400 km



78 CHAPTER 3 perform it. As a result, planters in South Carolina and Georgia were even more dependent than those elsewhere on African slaves. It was not only because Africans could be compelled to perform difficult work that whites found them so valuable. It was also because they were much better at it. They showed from the beginning a greater resistance to malaria and other local diseases (although the impact of disease on African workers was by no means inconsiderable). And they proved more adept at the basic agricultural tasks required, in part because some of them had come from rice-producing regions of west Africa. In the early 1740s, another staple crop contributed to the South Carolina economy: indigo. Eliza Lucas, a young Antiguan woman who managed her family's North American plantations, experimented with cultivating the West Indian plant (which was the source of a blue dye in great demand in Europe) on the mainland. She discovered that it could grow on the high ground of South Carolina, which was unsuitable for rice planting, and that its harvest came while the rice was still growing. Indigo became an important complement to rice and a popular import in England. Because of the South's early dependence on large-scale cash crops, the southern colonies developed less of a commercial or industrial economy than the colonies of the North. The trading in tobacco and rice was handled largely by merchants based in London and, later, in the northern colonies. Few cities of more than modest size developed in the South. Northern Economic and Technological Life In the North, agriculture was the single most important part of the economy. But unlike in the South, the northern colonies were less dominated by farming. The northern economy was \_\_ more diverse than the economy in the More Diverse . . . r Economy in South in part because conditions for farmthe North ing were less favorable there. In northern New England, in particular, colder weather and hard, rocky soil made it difficult for colonists to develop the kind of large-scale commercial farming system that southerners were creating. Conditions for agriculture were better in southern New England and the middle colonies, where the soil was fertile and the weather more temperate. New York, Pennsylvania, and the Connecticut River valley were the chief suppliers of wheat to much of New England and to parts of the South. Even there, however, a substantial commercial economy emerged alongside the agricultural

one. **PREPARING TOBACCO** This 1790 engraving is designed to illustrate the African origins of the enslaved workers who processed tobacco in Virginia. Their "primitive" costumes seemed to the artist, a French visitor to America, to be in keeping with the crude processes they had created for drying, rolling, and sorting tobacco. (© The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Art Library)





Almost every colonist engaged in a certain amount of industry at home. Occasionally these home industries provided families with surplus goods they could trade or sell. Beyond these domestic efforts, craftsmen and artisans established themselves in colonial towns as cobblers, blacksmiths, riflemakers, cabinetmakers, silversmiths, and printers. In some areas, entrepreneurs harnessed water power to run small mills for grinding grain, processing cloth, or milling lumber. And in several places, large-scale shipbuilding operations began to flourish. The first effort to establish a significant metals industry in the colonies was an ironworks established in Saugus, Massachusetts, in the 1640s after iron ore deposits had been discovered in the region. Iron technology was already advancing rapidly in England, and the colonists attempted to transfer those skills to America. The Saugus works used water power to drive a bellows, which controlled the heat in a charcoal furnace. As the ore melted, it trickled down into molds or was taken in the form of simple "sow bars" to a forge to be shaped into such marketable objects as plows, hoes, axes, pots, and other tools. The Saugus works was a technological success; indeed, it could boast technological capabilities equal to those of any ironworks in Europe at the time. But it was a financial failure. It began operations in 1646; in 1668, its financial problems forced it to close its doors. Metalworks, however, gradually became an important part of the colonial economy. The largest industrial enterprise anywhere in English North America was the ironworks of the German ironmaster Peter Hasenclever in northern New Jersey. Founded in 1764 with British capital, it employed several hundred laborers, many of them imported from ironworks in Germany. There were other, smaller ironmaking enterprises in every northern colony (with particular concentrations in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania), and there were ironworks as well in several southern colonies. Even so, these and other growing industries did not become the basis for the kind of explosive industrial growth that Great Britain experienced in the eighteenth century.

COMMERCE IN NEW ENGLAND This late-eighteenth-century painting of the home, wharves, countinghouse, and fleet of a prosperous New England fisherman gives some indication of how commerce was expanding even in such relatively small places as Duxbury, Massachusetts. The

owner, Joshua Winsor, was active in the mackerel and cod fishing industry. The painting— evidently an effort to celebrate Winsor's great material success and record it for posterity— was by his son-in-law, Dr. Rufus Hathaway. (© Collection American Folk Art Museum, New York. Promised gift of Ralph Esmerian. (PI. 2001.53))



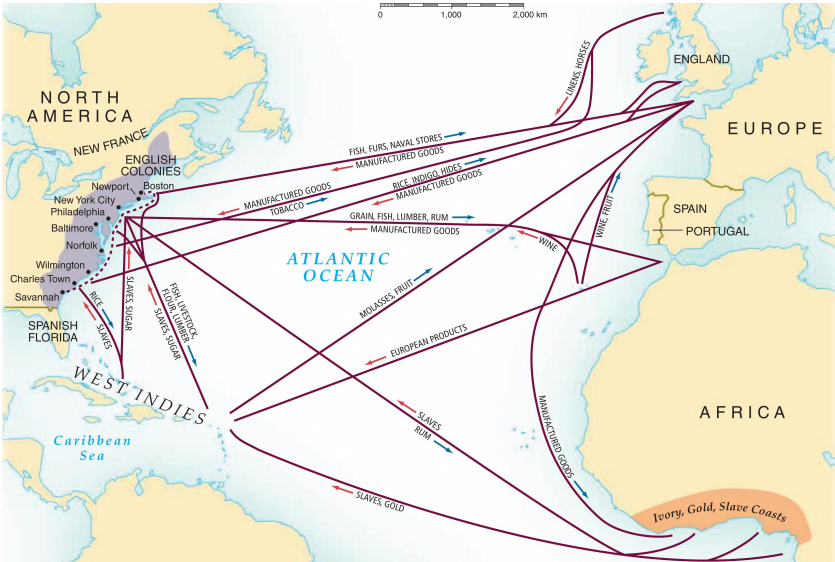
80 CHAPTER 3 experienced in the late eighteenth century- in part because English parliamentary regulations such as the Iron Act of 1750 restricted metal processing in the colonies. Similar prohibitions limited the manufacture of woolens, hats, and other goods. But the biggest obstacles to industrialization in America were an inadequate labor supply, a small domestic market, and inadequate transportation facilities and energy supplies. More important than manufacturing were industries that exploited the natural resources of the continent. By the mid-seventeenth century, the flourishing Extractive Industries of earlier years was in decline. Taking its place were lumbering, mining, and fishing, particularly in the waters off the New England coast. These industries provided commodities that could be exported to England in exchange for manufactured goods. And they helped produce the most distinctive feature of the northern economy: a thriving commercial class. The Extent and Limits of Technology Despite the technological progress that was occurring in some parts of America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much of colonial society was conspicuously lacking in even very basic technologies. Up to half the farmers in the colonies were so primitively equipped that they did not even own a plow. Substantial numbers of households owned no pots or kettles for cooking. And only about half the households in the colonies owned guns or rifles-with rural people almost as unlikely to have firearms as urban people. The relatively low levels of ownership of these and other elementary tools was not because such things were difficult to make, but because most Americans remained too poor or too isolated to be able to afford them. Many households had few if any candles, because they were unable to afford candle molds or tallow (wax), or because they had no access to commercially produced candles. In the early eighteenth century, very few farmers owned wagons. Most made do with two-wheeled carts, which could be hauled by hand (or by horse) around the farm but which were not very efficient for transporting crops to market. The most commonly owned tool on American farms was the axe, which suggests how much time most farmers had to spend clearing land. But throughout the colonies, the ability of people to acquire manufactured implements lagged far behind the capacity to produce them. Even so, few colonists were self-sufficient in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The popular image of early American households is of people who had little market connection to the market, who grew their own food, made their own clothes, and bought little from anyone else. In fact, relatively few colonial families owned spinning wheels or looms, which suggests that most people purchased whatever yarn and cloth they needed, or could afford, from merchants. Most farmers who grew grain took it to centralized facilities for processing. The Rise of Colonial Commerce Perhaps the most remarkable feature of colonial commerce in the seventeenth century was that it was able to survive. American merchants faced such bewildering and intimidating obstacles, and lacked so many basic institutions of trade, they managed to stay afloat only with great difficulty. There was no commonly accepted medium of exchange. The colonies had almost no specie (gold or silver coins). They experimented at times with different forms of paper currency- tobacco certificates, for example, which were secured by tobacco stored in warehouses; or land certificates, secured by property. Such paper was not, however, acceptable as payment for any goods from abroad, and it was in any case ultimately outlawed by Parliament. For many years, colonial merchants had to rely on a haphazard barter system or on crude money substitutes such as beaver skins. A second obstacle was the near impossibility of imposing order on their trade. In the fragmented, jerry-built commercial world of colonial America, no merchants could be certain that the goods they sold would be produced in sufficient quantity; nor could they be certain of finding adequate markets for them. Few channels of information existed to inform traders of what they could expect in foreign ports; vessels sometimes stayed at sea for several years. Journeying from one market to another, trading one commodity for another, attempting to find some way to turn a profit. Engaged in this chaotic commerce, moreover, were an enormous number of small, fiercely competitive companies, which made the problem of stabilizing the system even more acute. Despite these and other problems, commerce in the colonies not only survived but grew. There was an elaborate coastal trade, through which the colonies did business with one another and sold goods to the West Indies- among them rum, agricultural products, meat, and fish. The mainland colonies bought sugar, molasses, and slaves

from the Trade Caribbean markets in return. There was . also an expanding transatlantic trade, which linked the North American colonies in an intricate network of commerce with England, continental Europe, and the west coast of Africa. This commerce has often been described, somewhat inaccurately, as the "triangular trade," suggesting a neat process: merchants carried rum and other goods from New England to Africa; exchanged their merchandise for slaves, whom they then transported to the West Indies (hence the term "middle passage" for the dreaded journey-it was the second of the three legs of the voyage); and then exchanged the slaves for sugar and molasses, which they shipped back to New England to be distilled into rum. In fact, the system was almost never so simple. The "triangular" trade in rum, slaves, and sugar was in fact part of a maze of highly diverse trade routes: between the northern and southern colonies, America and England, America and Africa, the West Indies and Europe, and other combinations. Out of this complex and highly risky trade emerged a group of adventurous entrepreneurs who by the mid-eighteenth

## SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA 81

**SOUTH AMERICA THE "TRIANGULAR TRADE"** This map illustrates the complex pattern of trade that fueled the colonial American economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A simple explanation of this trade is that the American colonies exported raw materials (agricultural products, furs, and others) to Britain and Europe and imported manufactured goods in return. But while that explanation is accurate, it is not complete, largely because the Atlantic trade was not a simple exchange between America and Europe but, rather, a complex network of exchanges involving the Caribbean, Africa, and the Mediterranean. Note the important exchanges between the North American mainland and the Caribbean islands; the important trade between the American colonies and Africa; and the wide range of European and Mediterranean markets in which Americans were active. Not shown on this map, but also very important to colonial commerce, was a large coastal trade among the various regions of British North America. ' Why did the major ports of trade emerge almost entirely in the northern colonies? century were beginning to constitute a distinct merchant class. Concentrated in the port cities of the North (above all, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia), they enjoyed protection Emerging fr°m foreign competition within the Merchant English colonies-the British Navigation Class Acts had excluded all non-British ships . from the colonial carrying trade. They had access to a market in England for such American products as furs, timber, and ships. That did not, however, satisfy all their commercial needs. Many colonial products-hsh, hour, wheat, and meat, all of which England could produce for itself-needed markets outside the British Empire. Ignoring laws restricting colonial trade to England and its possessions, many merchants developed markets in the French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies, where prices were often higher than in the British colonies. The profits from this illegal commerce enabled the colonies to import the manufactured goods they needed from Europe. The Rise of Consumerism Among relatively affluent residents of the colonies, the growing prosperity and commercialism of British America created both new appetites and new opportunities. The result was a growing preoccupation with the consumption of material goods-and of the association of possessions with social status.



## 82 CHAPTER 3 TEA PARTY IN THE TIME OF GEORGE I

This painting by an unknown artist dates from the 1720s and shows a prosperous Virginian posing with a fashionable and expensive tea service, some of it from China. His eagerness to display his possessions in this way is a sign of the growing interest in the badges of refinement among colonial Americans of means in the eighteenth century. (© The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation) The growth of eighteenth-century consumerism was partly a result of the increasing division of American societies by class. As the difference between the upper and lower classes became more glaring, people of means became more intent on demonstrating their own membership in the upper ranks of society. Growing The t0 Purchase and display conConsumerism sumer goods was an important way of doing . so, particularly for affluent people in cities and towns. But the growth of consumerism was also a product of the early stages of the industrial revolution. Although there was relatively little industry in America in the eighteenth century, England and Europe were making rapid advances and producing more and more affordable goods for affluent Americans to buy. The new manufacturing was dependent, of course, on customers for its products. In an increasingly commercial society, therefore, there were many people committed to promoting the purchase of consumer goods as a positive social good. Consumption also grew because of an increasing tendency among colonists to take on debt to finance purchases and because of the willingness of some merchants to offer credit. To facilitate the new consumer appetites, merchants and traders began advertising their goods in journals and newspapers. Agents of urban merchants-the first traveling salesmen-fanned out through the countryside, attempting to interest wealthy landowners and planters in luxury goods. George and Martha Washington, for example, spent considerable time and money ordering elegant furnishings for their home at Mount Vernon, goods that were shipped to them mostly from England and Europe. Things that had once been considered expensive luxuries gradually became commonplace necessitiesamong them tea, household linens, glassware, manufactured cutlery, crockery, and SOCIAL Consequences furniture, and many others.

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiM Another result of consumerism was the association of material goods-of the quality of



a person's home and possessions and clothing, for example-with virtue and "refinement." The ideal of the cultivated "gentleman" and the gracious "lady" became increasingly powerful throughout the colonies in the eighteenth century. That meant striving to become educated and "refined"- "gentlemanly" or "ladylike" in speech and behavior. Americans read books on manners and fashion. They bought magazines about London society. They also commissioned portraits of themselves and their families, devoted large portions of their homes to entertainment, built shelves and cases in which they could display fashionable possessions, constructed formal gardens, and lavished attention on their wardrobes and hairstyles. The growing importance of consumption and refinement was visible in public spaces as well. Eighteenth-century cities-in America as in England and Europe-began to plan their growth to ensure that there would be elegant and gracious public squares, parks, and boulevards. In the past, social interaction in American communities had largely been between neighbors and relatives, or at most among members of church congregations. Now that a wider "society" was emerging within cities, it became important to create not just private but also public stages for social display. PATTERNS OF SOCIETY



Although there were sharp social distinctions in the colonies, the deeply entrenched class system of England failed to reSocial produce itself in America. In England, land Mobility was scarce and the population large. The . relatively small number of people who owned property had power over the great majority who did not; the imbalance between land and population became a foundation of the English economy and the cornerstone of its class system. In early America, the opposite was true. Land was abundant, and people were scarce. Aristocracies emerged in America, to be sure. But they tended to rely less on landownership than on control of a substantial workforce, and they





were generally less secure and less powerful than their English counterparts. Far more than in England, there were opportunities in America for social mobility—both up and down. The Plantation The plantation defined a distinctive way of life for many white and black southerners that would survive, in varying forms, until the Civil War. The first plantations emerged in the early 17th century in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. The plantation defined a distinctive way of life for many white and black southerners that would survive, in varying forms, until the Civil War. The first plantations emerged in the early 17th century in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. The plantation defined a distinctive way of life for many white and black southerners that would survive, in varying forms, until the Civil War. The first plantations emerged in the early 17th century in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

NEW YORK PENNSYLVANIA New York City . VIRGINIA Philadelphia . NEW JERSEY 4? Williams! f/9u DELAWARE s> •Norfolk NORTH CAROLINA SOUTH CAROLINA New Bern Wilmington GEORGIA Savannah ATLANTIC OCEAN Percent of Population That Was Black Per County/Colony in 1775 61 to 71% 51 to 60% 31 to 50% 11 to 30% 0.1 to 10% AFRICAN POPULATION AS A PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, C. 1775 This map illustrates the parts of the colonies in which slaves made up a large proportion of the population— in some areas, a majority. The densest African population was in Tidewater Virginia, but there were black majorities as well in South Carolina and parts of North Carolina. The slave population was smallest in the western regions of the southern colonies and in the area north of the Chesapeake, although there remained a significant African population in parts of New Jersey and New York (some slave, some free).

• What explains the dense concentrations of slaves in certain areas of the South? SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA 83 settlements of Virginia and Maryland, once tobacco became the economic basis of the Chesapeake. Some plantations were enormous—much like some of the great estates of England. The Maryland plantation of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, reputedly the wealthiest man in the colonies, covered 40,000 acres and contained 285 slaves. On the whole, however, seventeenth-century colonial plantations were rough and relatively small estates. In the early days in Virginia, most plantations were crude clearings where landowners and indentured servants worked side by side in conditions so rugged that death was an everyday occurrence. Even in later years, when the death rate declined and the landholdings became more established, plantation workforces seldom exceeded thirty people. The economy of the plantation, like all agricultural economies, was precarious. In good years, successful growers could earn great profits and expand their operations. But since they could not control the economy, their

markets, even the largest planters were constantly at risk. When prices for their crops fell—as tobacco prices did, for example, in the 1660s—they faced ruin. Because plantations were sometimes far from cities and towns—which were relatively few in the South—they tended to become self-contained communities. Residents lived in close proximity to one another in a cluster of buildings that included the “great house” of the planter (a house that was usually far from great), the service buildings, the barns, and the cabins of the slaves. Wealthier planters often created something approaching a full town on their plantations, with a school (for white children only), a chapel, and a large population. Smaller planters lived more modestly, but still in a relatively self-sufficient world. In some parts of the South, for example, the region around Charleston, South Carolina, planters often divided their time between the city and their nearby plantations. On the larger plantations, the presence of a substantial slave workforce altered not only the economic but also the family lives of the planter class. The wives of plantation owners, unlike the wives of small farmers, could rely on servants to perform ordinary household chores. They could thus devote more time to their husbands and children than people in poorer parts of colonial society. But there were also frequent sexual liaisons between their husbands or sons and black women of the slave community. Southern white women generally learned to pretend not to notice these relationships, but they were almost certainly a source of anxiety and resentment. Black women, naturally, had even greater cause to resent such liaisons. Southern society was highly stratified. Within given areas, great landowners controlled not only the lives of those who worked on their own plantations. Wealthy planters also shaped the livelihoods of small farmers, who could not compete with the wealthy Society planters and thus depended on them to market crops and receive credit. Small farmers, working modest plots of land with few or no slaves to help them, formed the majority of the southern agrarian

84 CHAPTER 3 MULBERRY PLANTATION, 1770 This painting of a rice plantation in South Carolina is unusual in placing the slave quarters in the forefront of the picture. The steep roofs of the slave cabins, which were built by the slaves themselves, reflected African architectural styles. The high roofs helped keep the cabins cool by allowing the heat to rise into the rafters. The master's house and adjacent chapel, built in conventional European style, are in the background. (View of Mulberry, House and Street, 1805, by Thomas Coram (American, 1756-1811), Oil on paper. © Image Gibbes Museum of Art/Carolina Art Association, (1968.18.01))

population, but it was the planters who dominated the southern agrarian economy. Most landowners lived in rough cabins or houses, with their servants or slaves nearby. Few landowners lived in anything resembling aristocratic splendor. Plantation Slavery African slaves, of course, lived very differently than white planters. On the smaller farms with only a handful of slaves, there was not always a rigid social separation between whites and blacks. But by the mid-eighteenth century, over threefourths of all blacks lived on plantations of at least ten slaves; nearly half lived in communities of fifty slaves or more. In these larger establishments, Africans developed a society and culture of their own-influenced by their white masters, to be sure, but also partly independent of them. Although whites seldom encouraged formal marriages among slaves, Africans themselves developed an elaborate family structure. This became possible beginning in the eighteenth century as a result of the increased life expectancy of slaves, the gradual equalization of the sex ratio, and the growth of the population through natural increase. Slaves attempted to construct nuclear families, and they managed at times to build stable households, even to work together growing their own food in gardens provided by their masters. But such efforts were in constant jeopardy. Any family member could be sold at any time to another planter, even to one in another colony. As a result, the black family developed in ways different from its white counterpart. Africans placed special emphasis on extended kinship networks, even creating surrogate "relatives" for those who were separated from their own families. They adapted themselves, in short, to difficult conditions over which they had limited control. African workers also developed languages of their own. In South Carolina, for

example, the early slaves communicated with one another in Gullah, a hybrid of English and Slave Culture African tongues, which enabled them to . engage in conversations their white masters could not understand. There emerged, too, a distinctive slave religion, which blended Christianity with African folklore. Nevertheless, slave society was heavily tied to white society. African house servants, for example, at times lived in what was, by the standards of slavery, great luxury; but they were also isolated from their own community and under constant surveillance from whites. Black women were often subjected to unwanted sexual advances from owners and overseers and hence to bearing mulatto children, who were rarely recognized by their white fathers but generally accepted as members of the slave community. On some

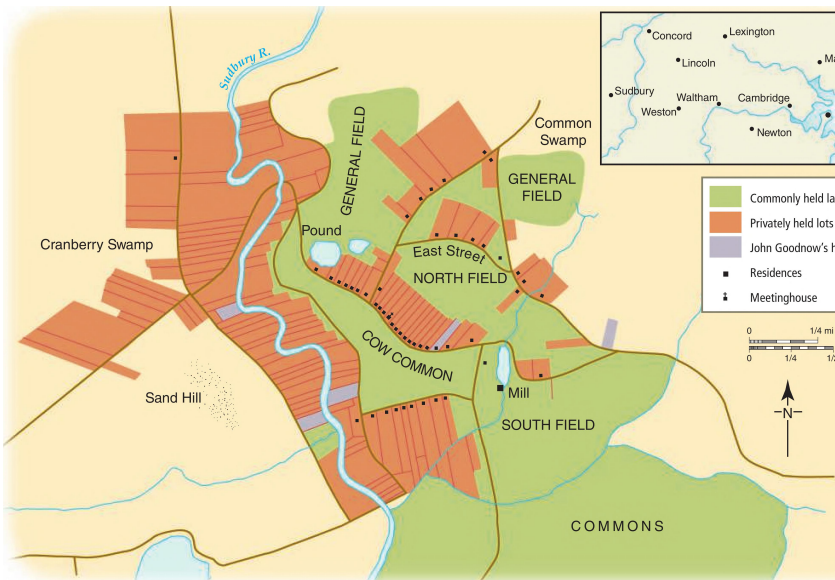


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plantations, African workers received kindness and even affection from their masters and mistresses and displayed genuine devotion in return. On others, they encountered physical brutality and occasionally even sadism, against which they were powerless. There were occasional acts of individual resistance by slaves against harsh masters, and at least twice during the colonial period there were actual slave rebellions. In the most important such revolt, the so-called Stono Rebellion in South Carolina in 1739, about 100 Africans rose up, seized weapons, killed several whites, and attempted to escape south to Florida. Whites quickly crushed the uprising and executed most participants. The most frequent form of resistance was simply running away, but for most slaves that provided no real solution either. There was nowhere to go. Most slaves, male and female, worked as field hands (with women also shouldering the additional burdens of cooking and child rearing). On the larger plantations that aspired to genuine self-sufficiency, some slaves learned trades and crafts: blacksmithing, carpentry, shoemaking, spinning, weaving, sewing, midwifery, and others. These skilled craftsmen and craftswomen were at times hired out to other planters. Some set up their own establishments in towns or cities and shared their profits with their owners. On occasion, they were able to buy their freedom. There was a small free black population living in southern cities by the time of the Revolution. The Puritan Community A very different form of community emerged in Puritan New England, but one that was also distinctively American. The characteristic social unit in New England was not the isolated farm, but the town. Each new settlement drew up a "covenant" among its members, binding all residents in a religious and social commitment to unity and harmony. Some such settlements consisted of people who had emigrated to America from the English colonies. In the 17th century, the most common form of settlement in New England was the town. The town was the most common social unit in the southern colonies, the town was the most common social unit in



New England. This map shows the organization of Sudbury, Massachusetts, a town west of Boston, in the early years in the seventeenth century. Note the location of the houses, which are grouped mostly together around a shared pasture (or "commons") and near the church. Note, too, the outlying fields, which were divided among residents of the town, even though they were often not connected to the land on which they lived. The gray areas of the map illustrate the holdings of a single resident of Sudbury, John Goodnow, whose house was on the common, but whose lands were scattered over a number of areas of Sudbury. (Based on: Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village : The Formation of a New England Town*. Copyright © 1963 by Wesleyan University.) • What aspects of New England life might help explain the clustering of residences at the center of the town?



86 CHAPTER 3 together (occasionally entire Puritan congregations who had traveled to the New World as a group). The structure of the towns reflected the spirit of the covenant. Colonists laid out a village, with houses and a meetinghouse arranged around a central pasture, or "common" They also divided up the outlying fields and woodlands of the town among the residents; the size and location of a family's field depended on the family's numbers, wealth, and social station. But wherever their lands might lie, families generally lived in the village with their neighbors close by, reinforcing the strong sense of community. Once established, a town was generally able to run its own affairs with little interference from the colonial government. Puritan Residents held a yearly "town meeting" to Democracy decide important questions and to choose . a group of "selectmen," who governed until the next meeting. Only adult males were permitted to participate in the meeting. But even among them, important social distinctions remained, the most crucial of which was membership in the church. Only those residents who could give evidence of grace, of being among the elect (the "visible saints") confident of salvation as a result of a conversion experience, were admitted to full membership. Residents who had not experienced "conversion" could participate in the church through what was known as the "halfway covenant." The English system of primogeniture-the passing of all inherited property to the firstborn son-did not take root in New England. Instead, a father divided his lands among all his sons. His control of this inheritance was one of the most effective means of exercising power over the male members of his family. Often a son would reach his late twenties before his father would allow him to move into his own household and work his own land. Even then, sons would usually continue to live in close proximity to their fathers. Young women were generally more mobile than their brothers, since they did not stand to inherit land; their dowries and their inheritances consisted instead of movable objects (furniture, household goods, occasionally money or precious objects) and thus did not tie them to a particular place. As the years passed and the communities grew, the tightknit social structure of the Puritans experienced strains. This was partly because of the increasing commercialization of New England society. But it was also a result of other pressures that developed even within purely agricultural

communities, pressures that were a result primarily of population growth. As towns grew larger, residents tended to cultivate lands farther and farther from the community center. Some farmers' lands moved out of the town center to be nearer. Pressure on their lands and thus began to find them selves far away from the church. Outlying residents would often apply for permission to build a church of their own, which was usually the first step toward creation of a new town. Such applications were frequently the occasion for bitter quarrels between the original townspeople and those who proposed to break away. The dispersion of communities was a result of the practice of distributing land through the patriarchal family structure. In the first generations, fathers generally controlled enough land to satisfy the needs of all their sons. After several generations, however, when such lands were being subdivided for the third or fourth time, there was often too little to go around, particularly in communities surrounded by other towns, with no room to expand outward, forcing younger residents to break off and move elsewhere-at times far away-to form towns of their own where land was more plentiful. Even within the family, economic necessity often undermined the patriarchal model to which most Puritans, in theory at least, subscribed. It was not only the sons who needed their fathers (as a source of land and wealth); fathers needed their sons' as well as their wives and daughters' interdependence, as a source of labor to keep the farm and the household functioning. Thus, while in theory men had nearly dictatorial control over their wives and children, in reality relationships were contractual, with the authority of husbands and fathers limited by economic necessity (and, of course, bonds of affection). The Witchcraft Phenomenon By the late seventeenth century, growth and diversity had begun to undermine the cohesiveness of many New England communities. At times, such tensions could produce bizarre and disastrous events. One example was the widespread hysteria in the 1680s and 1690s over supposed witchcraft in New England. The most famous outbreak (although by no means the only one) was in Salem, Massachusetts, where adolescent girls began to exhibit strange behavior and levitate. Salem Witch Trials fueled accusations of witchcraft against the west Indian servants steeped in voodoo lore. The hysteria they produced spread throughout the town, and before it was over, hundreds of people (most of them women) were accused of

witchcraft. As the crisis in Salem grew, accusations shifted from marginal women like the West Indians to prominent and substantial people. Nineteen residents of Salem were put to death before the trials ended in 1692; the girls who had been the original accusers later recanted and admitted that they had made up the story. The Salem experience was only one of many. Accusations of witchcraft spread through many New England towns in the early 1690s (and indeed had emerged periodically in Puritan society for many years before). Research into the background of accused witches reveals that most were middle-aged women, often widowed, with few or no children. Many accused witches were of low social position, were often involved in domestic conflicts, had frequently been accused of other crimes, and were considered abrasive by their neighbors. Others were women who, through inheritance or enterprise, had come into possession of substantial land and property on their own and hence also challenged the gender norms of the community. Puritan society had little tolerance for

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**SALEM WITCH TRIALS** In his painting *The Trial of George Jacobs*, Fifth August 1692, Tompkins Harrison Matteson (1813-1884) depicts the trial of George Jacobs, who was accused by his granddaughter of practicing witchcraft. At his trial, Jacobs failed to recite the Lord's Prayer—a failure that was interpreted as evidence of his status as sorcerer. He was found guilty and hanged on August 19, 1692. (© Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library) "independent" women. That so many "witches" were women who were not securely lodged within a male-dominated family structure (and that many seemed openly to defy the passive, submissive norms society had created for them) suggests that tensions over gender roles played a substantial role in generating the crisis. Above all, however, the witchcraft controversies were a reflection of the highly religious character of these societies. New Englanders believed in the power of Satan and his ability to assert his power in the world. Belief in witchcraft was not a marginal superstition, rejected by the mainstream. It was a common feature of Puritan religious conviction. Cities To call the commercial centers that emerged along the Atlantic coast in the eighteenth century "cities" would be to strain the modern definition of that word. Even the largest colonial community was scarcely bigger than a modern small town. Yet, by the standards of the eighteenth century, cities \_ did indeed exist in America. By the Growth of Colonial Cities 1 770s two lar8est ports-Philadelphia mi mi mi him mi mi mi him mi mi minim mi mi minim mi mi minim mi M and New York had populations of 28,000 and 25,000, respectively, which made them larger than most English urban centers. Boston (16,000), Charles Town (later Charleston), South Carolina (12,000), and Newport, Rhode Island (11,000), were also substantial communities by the standards of the day. Colonial cities served as trading centers for the farmers of their regions and as marts for international trade. Their leaders were generally merchants who had acquired substantial estates. Disparities of wealth were features of almost all communities in America, but in cities they seemed particularly glaring. Moving beside the wealthy merchants were numerous minor tradesmen, workers, and indigents who lived in crowded and often filthy conditions. More than in any other



## 88 CHAPTER 3 Boston Philadelphia New York City

**ECONOMIC STATUS** Percentage of taxable wealth in each group  
1687 2.6% Richest Poorest The growth of commerce (and of great fortune) occurred later in New York City than in Boston and Philadelphia. 1693 2.2% 1695 3.6% **WEALTH DISTRIBUTION IN COLONIAL CITIES, 1687-1771** Although the gap between rich and poor in colonial America was not as large as it would become in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the rise of commerce in the early eighteenth century did produce increasing inequality. This chart shows the distribution of wealth in three important commercial cities— Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. The upper pie charts show the distribution of wealth in the late seventeenth century, and the lower charts show how that distribution had changed by the mid- or late eighteenth century. Note the heavy concentration of wealth in the top 10 percent of the population in the seventeenth century, and the even heavier concentration of wealth in Boston and Philadelphia in the eighteenth century. In New York, by contrast, wealth distribution became slightly more equal between 1695 and 1730, because of the breaking up of the great Dutch estates once the colony came under the control of the British. In later years, New York would show the same pattern of growing inequality that Boston and Philadelphia experienced. • What aspects of colonial commerce helped concentrate so much wealth in the hands of a relatively small group? area of colonial life (except, of course, in the relationship between masters and slaves), social distinctions were real and visible in urban areas. Cities were also the centers of much of what industry there was in the colonies, such as ironworks and distilleries for turning imported molasses into exportable rum. And they were the locations of the most advanced schools, the most sophisticated commercial and cated cultural activities, and shops Cultural where imported goods could be bought. Importance In addition, they were communities  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii \_ ill with peculiarly urban social problems: crime, vice, pollution, epidemics, traffic. Unlike smaller towns, cities were required to establish elaborate governments. They set up constables' offices and fire departments. They developed systems for supporting the urban poor, whose numbers grew steadily and became especially large in times of economic crisis. Cities were also particularly vulnerable to

fluctuations in trade. When a market for a particular product became glutted and prices fell, the effects on merchants and other residents could be severe. In the countryside, the impact of economic instability was generally more muted than in cities. Farmers were still somewhat independent from the larger world of the markets. Of particular importance for the political future of the colonies, cities became places where new ideas could circulate and be discussed. Because there were printers, it was possible to have regular newspapers. Books and other publications from abroad introduced new intellectual influences. And the taverns and coffeehouses of cities provided forums in which people could gather and debate the issues of the day. It was not surprising that when the revolutionary crisis began to build in the 1760s and 1770s, it was first visible in the cities. Inequality New England, for all its belief in community and liberty, was far from an egalitarian society. "Some must be rich and some poor," John Winthrop wrote early in the seventeenth century, and his prediction perhaps exceeded his expectations. Wealthy families and socially distinguished ones (which were usually the same people) had privileges and rights that were not available to poor citizens. Elites were called "ladies" and "gentleman," while



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people in the lower levels of society were known as "goodman" or "goodwife." Elites were given the best seats in their churches and had the most influence over the parish. Men had more power than women. Servants had few rights. The church itself taught that inequality reflected God's intention. In cities, such economic stratification was significant although, unlike in later eras, the ranks of the richest were the largest group in the population and, in Boston in the eighteenth century, the majority. That was partly because wealthy people were more likely than poor people to move to cities and participate in commerce. In the agricultural countryside, many fewer people accumulated significant wealth.

**AWAKENINGS AND ENLIGHTENMENTS** Two powerful forces were competing in American intellectual life in the eighteenth century.

One was the traditional outlook of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with its emphasis on a personal God, intimately involved with the world, keeping watch over individual lives. The other was the new spirit of the Enlightenment, a movement sweeping both Europe and America, which stressed the importance of science and human reason. The old views supported such phenomena as the belief in witchcraft, and they placed great value on a stern moral code in which intellect was less important than faith. The Enlightenment, by contrast, suggested that people had substantial control over their own lives and the course of their societies, that the world could be explained and therefore could be structured along rational scientific lines. Much of the intellectual climate of colonial America (and long after) was shaped by the tension between these two impulses. **The Pattern of Religions Roots of Religious Toleration**

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii Religious toleration flourished in many parts of America to a degree unmatched in any European nation, not because Americans deliberately sought to produce it but because conditions virtually required it. Settlers in America brought with them so many different religious practices that it proved difficult to impose a single religious code on any large area. The Church of England was established as the official faith in Virginia, Maryland, New York, the Carolinas, and Georgia. But with few exceptions, the laws establishing the Church of England as the official colonial religion

were largely ignored. Even in New England, where the Puritans had originally believed that they were all part of a single faith, there was a growing tendency in the eighteenth century for different congregations to affiliate with different denominations, especially Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. In parts of New York and New Jersey, Dutch settlers had established their own Calvinist denomination, Dutch Reformed, which survived after SINNERS IN HELL, 1744 This mid-eighteenth-century religious image illustrates both the fears and prejudices of many colonial Christians. The idyllic city of Sion, in the center of the drawing, is threatened on all sides by forces of evil, which include images not just of Satan and sin, but also of some of the perceived enemies of Protestants— the Catholic Church (symbolized by the image of the pope) and Islam (symbolized by Turks). (© The Granger Collection, New York) the colonies became part of the British Empire. American Baptists (considered to have been introduced to Americans by Roger Williams) developed a great variety of sects. All Baptists shared the belief that rebaptism, usually by total immersion, was necessary when believers reached maturity. But while some Baptists remained Calvinists (believers in predestination), others came to believe in salvation by free will. Protestants extended toleration to one another more readily than they did to Roman Catholics. Many Protestants in Anti-Catholicism America, like many in England, feared . and hated the pope. New Englanders, in particular, viewed their Catholic neighbors in New France (Canada) not only as commercial and military rivals but also as dangerous agents of Rome. In most of the English colonies.



x\_ „ DEBATING THE PAST The Witchcraft Trials m fj ^

witchcraft trials of the 1690s— which began in Salem, Massachusetts, and spread to 11 u other areas of New England— have been the stuff of popular legend for centuries. They have also engaged the interest of generations of historians, who have tried to explain why these seventeenth-century Americans became so committed to the belief that some of their own neighbors were agents of Satan. Although there have been many explanations of the witchcraft phenomenon, some of the most important in recent decades have focused on the central place of women in the story. Through the first half of the twentieth century, most historians dismissed the witchcraft trials as "hysteria," prompted by the intolerance and rigidity of Puritan society. This interpretation informed perhaps the most prominent popular portrayal of witchcraft in the twentieth century: Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible*, first produced in 1953, which was clearly an effort to use the Salem trials as a comment on the great anticommunist frenzy of his own time. But at almost the same time, the renowned scholar of Puritanism Perry Miller argued in a series of important studies that belief in witchcraft was not a product of hysteria or intolerance but, rather, a widely shared part of the religious worldview of the seventeenth century. To the Puritans, witchcraft seemed not only plausible, but scientifically rational as well. A new wave of interpretation of witchcraft began in the 1970s, with the publication of *Salem Possessed* (1976), by Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum. Their examination of the town records of Salem in the 1690s led them to conclude that the witchcraft controversy there was a product of class tensions between the poor, marginal residents of one part of Salem and the wealthy, privileged residents of another. These social tensions, which could not find easy expression on their own terms, led some poor Salemites to lash out at their rich neighbors by charging them, or their servants, with witchcraft. A few years later, John Demos, in *Entertaining Satan* (1983), examined witchcraft accusations in a larger area of New England and similarly portrayed them as products of displaced anger about social and economic grievances that could not be expressed otherwise. Demos provided a far more complex picture of the nature of these grievances than had Boyer and Nissenbaum but, like them, saw witchcraft as a symptom of a persistent set of social

and psychological tensions. At about the same time, however, a number of scholars were beginning to look at witchcraft through the scholarly lens of gender. Carol Karlsen's *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* (1987) demonstrated however, Roman Catholics were too few to cause serious conflict. They were most numerous in Maryland, and even there they numbered no more than 3,000. Perhaps for that reason they suffered their worst persecution in that colony. After the overthrow of the original proprietors in 1691, Catholics in Maryland not only lost their political rights but also were forbidden to hold religious services except in private houses. Jews in provincial America totaled no more than about 2,000 at any time. The largest community lived in New York City. Smaller groups settled in Newport and Charles Town, and there were scattered Jewish families in all the colonies. Nowhere could they vote or hold office. Only in Rhode Island could they practice their religion openly. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, some Americans were growing troubled by the apparent decline in religious piety in their society. The movement of the population westward and the wide scattering of settlements had caused many communities to lose touch with organized religion. The rise of commercial prosperity created a secular outlook in urban areas. The progress of science and free thought in Europe-and the importation of Enlightenment ideas to America-caused at least some colonists to doubt traditional religious beliefs. Concerns about weakening piety surfaced as early as the 1660s in New England, where the Puritan oligarchy warned of a decline in the power of the church. Sabbath  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii after Sabbath, ministers preached sermons of despair (known as "jeremiads"), deploring the signs of waning piety. By the standards of other societies or other eras, the Puritan faith remained remarkably strong. But New Englanders measured their faith by their own standards, and to them the "declension" of religious piety seemed a serious problem. The Great Awakening By the early eighteenth century, concerns about declining piety and growing secularism were emerging in other regions and among members of other faiths. The result was the first major American revival: the Great Awakening. The Great Awakening began in earnest in the 1730s, reached its climax in the 1740s, and brought a new spirit of religious fervor to the colonies. The revival had particular appeal to women (who constituted the majority of converts) and to younger

sons of the third or fourth generation of settlers-those who stood to inherit the least land and who faced the most uncertain futures. The rhetoric of the revival emphasized the potential for every person to break away from the constraints of the past and start anew in his or her relationship with God. Such beliefs may have reflected the desires of many people to break away from their families or communities and start a new life. Powerful evangelists from England helped spread the revival. John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism, visited Georgia and other colonies in the 1730s. George 90 • iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

through intensive scrutiny of records across New England that a disproportionate number of those accused of witchcraft were property-owning widows or unmarried women— in other words, women who did not fit comfortably into the normal pattern of male-dominated families. Karlsen concluded that such women were vulnerable to these accusations because they seemed threatening to people (including many women) who were accustomed to women as subordinate members of the community. Mary Beth Norton's *In the Devil's Snare* (2002) placed the witchcraft trials in the context of other events of their time— particularly in the terrifying upheavals and dislocations that the Indian wars of the late seventeenth century created in Puritan communities. In the face of this crisis, in which refugees from King William's War were fleeing towns destroyed by the Indians and flooding Salem and other eastern towns, fear and social instability helped create a more-than-Tbi Wmdsrs of the InvifbU World : | Bctrvg an Atctmut of tbc T R Y A L S O ¥ ^rbral y^L (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-51641)) I'uliMliil Iff the Sami' OfflEraapd flf lik EXCELLENCY tbe (Ig'ft&t'-'\* "rbf I'rwiUK\* c4 Tfof M\$\*k\*rTti i> \*Vw-f> sta£ normal readiness to connect aberrant behavior (such as the actions of unusually independent or eccentric women) to supernatural causes. The result was a wave of witchcraft accusations that ultimately led to the execution of at least twenty people, mostly women. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did the Salem witchcraft trials reflect attitudes toward women and the status of women in colonial New England? 2. Why were colonial New Englanders willing to believe accusations of witchcraft about their fellow colonists? 3. What contemporary parallels are there to the Salem witchcraft trials? Whitefield, a powerful open-air preacher and for a time an associate of the Wesleys, made several evangelizing tours through the colonies and drew tremendous crowds. But the outstanding preacher of the Great Awakening was the New England Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards, a deeply orthodox Puritan but a highly original theologian. From his pulpit in Northampton, Massachusetts, Edwards attacked the new doctrines of easy salvation for all. He preached anew the traditional Puritan ideas of the absolute sovereignty of God, predestination, and salvation by God's

grace alone. His vivid descriptions of hell could terrify his listeners. The Great Awakening led to the division of congregations between "New Light" revivalists and "Old Light" traditionalists. It also affected areas of society outside the churches. Some of Old Lights revivalists denounced book learning as and New a hindrance to salvation, and some commuLighT nities repudiated secular education. But other evangelists saw education as a means of furthering religion, and they founded or led schools for the training of New Light ministers. The Enlightenment The Great Awakening caused one great upheaval in the culture of the colonies. The Enlightenment, a very different-and in many ways competing-phenomenon, caused another. The Enlightenment was largely the product of some of the great scientific and intellectual discoveries in seventeenthcentury Europe. As scientists and other thinkers discovered natural laws that they believed regulated the workings of nature, they came to celebrate the power of human reason and scientific inquiry. Enlightenment thinkers argued that reason, not just faith, could create progress and advance knowledge. They argued that humans had a moral sense on which they could rely to tell the difference between right and wrong-that they did not need always to turn to God for guidance in making decisions. They insisted that men and women could, through the power of their own reason, move civilization to ever-greater heights. In celebrating reason, the Enlightenment slowly helped undermine the power of traditional authority-something the Great Awakening did as well. But unlike the Great Awakening, the Enlightenment encouraged men and women to look to themselves-not to God-for guidance as to how to live their m lives and to shape society. Enlightenment Traditional , , , , , Authority thought, with its emphasis on human ratioChallenged nality, encouraged a new emphasis on education and a heightened interest in politics and government (for through governments, the believers in reason argued, society had its best chance of bettering itself). Most Enlightenment figures did not challenge religion and insisted that rational inquiry would support, not undermine. 91  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



Colonial Almanacs were scarce and expensive in colonial America, and many families owned only one: the Bible. But starting very early in the life of the English colonies, men and women had another important source of information: almanacs, the most popular nonreligious literature in early America. Almanacs first appeared in America in 1638 or 1639 when printers in Cambridge, Massachusetts, began publishing the *Philomath Almanac*, which combined an elaborate calendar of religious holidays with information about astronomy, astrology, and other popular interests. By the 1680s, the *Farmer's Almanac*, a heavily illustrated publication that added medical advice, practical wisdom, navigational information, and humor, began to rival the *Philomath*. Through a combination of superstition, popular folklore, and astronomical (and astrological) devices, the *Farmer's Almanac* also predicted weather patterns throughout the year, crop yields, and many other things. Almanac predictions were notoriously unreliable, but many people relied on them nevertheless. By 1700, there were dozens, perhaps hundreds, of almanacs circulating throughout the colonies and even in the sparsely settled lands to the west and north. The most popular almanacs sold tens of thousands of copies every year. Most families had at least one, and many had several. "It is easy to prove," one almanac writer claimed in the mid-eighteenth century, "that no book we read (except the Bible) is so much valued and so serviceable to the community." America was a multilingual society, and although most almanacs were in English, some appeared in French, Dutch, Hebrew, Norwegian, Spanish, German, and various Indian languages. For five years just after the Revolution, Benjamin Banneker of Maryland was the only African American almanac writer, publishing a book that occasionally included harsh commentary on slavery and the slave trade. The best-known almanac in the colonies in the years before the American Revolution was *Poor Richard's Almanack*, published in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin under the pseudonym Richard Saunders. "I endeavor'd to make it both entertaining and useful," Franklin later wrote in his autobiography. "And observing that it was generally read, ... I consider'd it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books." In issue after issue, Franklin accompanied his calendars, astronomical information, and other

standard almanac fare with "proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality." Poor Richard's many sayings became among the most familiar passages in America. Franklin was among many writers who used the almanac to promote the new scientific discoveries of his time and to try to discredit what he considered the backward superstitions standing in the way of knowledge. Almanacs were the only widely read publications in America that contained popular humor, and they are one of the best sources today for understanding what early Americans considered funny. Not unlike later generations, they delighted in humor that ridiculed the high and mighty (aristocrats, lawyers, clergymen, politicians), made fun of relationships between men and women, and expressed stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups. In the 1760s and 1770s, almanac humor was often used to disguise political ideas, in the way it ridiculed British officials and American Tories. During the war itself, humorous anecdotes about military officers and political leaders reflected the uneasy views of Americans about the long and difficult struggle. During and after the Revolution, much almanac humor consisted of admiring anecdotes about the man who was by then perhaps the most famous and beloved man in Christianity. But they challenged the notion of some religious groups that the answer to all questions about human society should, or could, come directly from God. In the early seventeenth century. Enlightenment ideas in America were largely borrowed from abroad—from such earlier giants as Francis Bacon and John Locke, and from more contemporary Enlightenment thinkers in England and Scotland. Few Americans had yet made important contributions of their own to the new age of science and reason. Later, however, such Americans as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and James Madison made their own contributions to the Enlightenment tradition. Education Even before Enlightenment ideas became common in America, colonists had placed a high value on education, despite the difficulties they confronted in gaining access to it. Some families tried to teach their children to read and write at home, although the heavy burden of work in most agricultural households limited the time available for schooling. In Massachusetts, a 1647 law required every town to support a public school, and while many communities failed to comply, a modest network of educational establishments emerged as a result. Elsewhere, the Quakers and other sects operated church

schools. And in some communities, widows or unmarried women conducted Marne schools” by holding private classes in their homes. In cities, master craftsmen set up evening schools for their apprentices; at least a hundred such schools appeared between 1723 and 1770. Only a relatively small number of children received education beyond the primary level; but white male Americans, at High White leasL achieved a high degree of literacy. By Literacy Rates the r<sup>TM</sup>e the Revolution, well over half . of all white men could read and write, a rate substantially higher than in most European countries. The large number of colonists who could read helped create a market for the first widely circulated publications in America other than the Bible: almanacs (see "Patterns of Popular Culture,” above). The literacy rate of women lagged behind that of men until the nineteenth century; and while opportunities for education beyond primary school were scarce for males, they were almost nonexistent for females. Nevertheless, in their early years  
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94 CHAPTER 3 physics, geometry, astronomy, rhetoric, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek as well. From the beginning. Harvard attempted not only to provide an educated ministry but also to Liberal, a j Curricula "advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity." Members of the Harvard faculty made strenuous efforts to disseminate new scientific ideas particularly the ideas of Copernican astronomy to a larger public, often publishing their ideas in popular almanacs. By doing so, they hoped to stamp out popular belief in astrology, which they considered pagan superstition. King's College, founded in New York in 1754 and later renamed Columbia, was even more devoted to the spread of secular knowledge. Although it was founded in part by the Anglican Trinity Church in New York, it had no theological faculty and was interdenominational from the start. The Academy and College of Philadelphia, which became the University of Pennsylvania, was a completely secular institution, founded in 1755 by a group of laymen under the inspiration of Benjamin Franklin. It offered courses in utilitarian subjects—mechanics, chemistry, agriculture, government, commerce, and modern languages—as well as in the liberal arts. It also became the site of the first medical school in British America, founded in 1765. The Spread of Science GEORGE WHITEFIELD Whitefield succeeded John Wesley as leader of the Calvinist Methodists in Oxford, England. Like Wesley, he was a major force in promoting religious revivalism in both England and America. He made his first missionary journey to the New World in 1738 and returned in the mid-1740s for a celebrated journey through the colonies that helped spark the Great Awakening. (© Francis G. Mayer/Corbis) !

&SMfe\*\*\*\*\* ) jVow tbe aHi being mrtitn bit \*c A I will honour my Father & I will Obey my Superiors. I will Submit to my Elder\*. I will Love my Friend\*. J will hate no M-m\* I will forgive my Enemies, and pray to God for them. I will as much as in me lies keep God's Holy Commandment\*. Time cuts down all Both great and IraaHj Made David leek his Life, WhaUi in the Sea. God's Voice obey.. Xirxes the great dad die, And fo mull you & I. Youth forward flip! Death foonelt nips. Zacheus he Did climb the Tree- . His Lord to ice. A "DAME SCHOOL" PRIMER More than the residents of any other region of North America (and far more than those of most of Europe), the New England colonists strove to educate their children and achieved perhaps the highest level of literacy in the world.

Throughout the region, young children attended institutions known as "dame schools" (because the teachers were almost always women) and learned from primers like this one. Puritan education emphasized both basic skills (the alphabet and reading) and moral and religious precepts, as this sample page suggests. (© American Antiquarian Society) The clearest indication of the spreading influence of the Enlightenment in America was an increasing interest in scientific knowledge. Most of the early colleges established chairs in the natural sciences and introduced some of the advanced scientific theories of Europe, including Copernican astronomy and Newtonian physics, to their students. But the most vigorous promotion of science in these years occurred outside the colleges, through the private efforts of amateurs and the activities of scientific societies. Leading merchants, planters, and even theologians became corresponding members of the Royal Society of London, the leading English scientific organization. Benjamin Franklin, the most celebrated amateur scientist in America, won international fame through his experimental proof of the nature of lightning and electricity and his invention of the lightning rod. His 1752 demonstration, using a kite, of his theory that lightning and electricity were the same was widely celebrated in the colonies. The high value that influential Americans were beginning to place on scientific knowledge was clearly demonstrated by the most daring and controversial Smallpox scientific experiment of the eighteenth century: inoculation against smallpox. The Puritan theologian Cotton Mather heard, reportedly from his own slave, of the practice of deliberately infecting people with mild cases of smallpox in order to immunize them against the deadly disease. He learned, too, that experiments in inoculation were being conducted, with some success, in England. Mather was not.



experiments AND OBSERVATIONS o n ELECTRICITY, J AT  
 PHILADELPHIA in AMERICA\* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, L\*L,D. and  
 F.R .8, Member or rf\* Ati&mjr of Sriracn ir P^j, \*f ^ Koytl Soeittv wt  
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 Bfc Ptoil'i ctadi.YWa. Mjscc4jutnr\* t \* \* . , ' 1 • BENJAMIN  
 FRANKLIN ON ELECTRICITY The discovery of electricity was one of  
 the great scientific events of the eighteenth century, even though  
 large-scale practical use of electrical energy emerged much later.  
 Benjamin Franklin was one of the first Americans, and certainly the  
 most famous one, to experiment with electricity. This is the  
 frontispiece for a book, originally published in 1750 in  
 Philadelphia, that describes his "experiments and observations." The  
 pages shown here are from the London edition, which appeared in  
 1774. (© Getty Images) certainly, a wholly committed scientist. He  
 continued to believe that disease was a punishment for sin. Yet,  
 despite strong opposition from many of his neighbors, he urged  
 inoculation on his fellow Bostonians during an epidemic in the  
 1720s. The results confirmed the effectiveness of the technique.  
 Other theologians (including Jonathan Edwards) took up the cause,  
 along with many physicians. By the mid-eighteenth century,  
 inoculation had become a common medical procedure in America.  
 Concepts of Law and Politics In seventeenth- and eighteenth-  
 century law and politics, as in other parts of their lives, Americans  
 of European descent believed that they were re-creating in the New  
 World the practices and institutions of the Old. But as in other  
 areas, they managed to create something very different. Changes in  
 the law in America resulted in part from the scarcity of English-  
 trained lawyers, who were almost unknown in the colonies until  
 Colonial after i70o. Not until well into the Legal System . . . , . . .  
 . eighteenth century did authorities Till! ducking itoal u ^juiohjii  
 jjumidiinwii lor scolds in all tire A mum tin colnnws\* saw til JYuw  
 EngJrriuf PUNISHMENT IN NEW ENGLAND New England  
 communities prescribed a wide range of punishments for  
 misconduct and crime in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.







96 CHAPTER 3 in England try to impose the common law and the statutes of the realm upon the provinces. By then, it was already too late. Although the American legal system adopted most of the essential elements of the English system, including such ancient rights as trial by Jury, significant differences had already become well established. Pleading and court procedures were simpler in America than in England, and punishments were different. Instead of the gallows or prison, colonists more commonly resorted to the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks, and (for "gossipy" women) the ducking stool. In a labor-scarce society, it was not in the interests of communities to execute or incarcerate potential workers. Crimes were redefined. In England, a printed attack on a public official, whether true or false, was considered libelous. In the 1734-1735 trial of the New York publisher John Peter Zenger, who was powerfully defended by the Philadelphia lawyer Andrew Hamilton, the courts ruled that criticisms of the government were not libelous if factually true—a verdict that removed some restrictions on the freedom of the press: there was a subtle but decisive transformation in legal philosophy. Some colonists came to think of law as a reflection of the divine will; others saw it as a result of the natural order. In neither case did they consider it an expression of the power of an earthly sovereign. Colonial Even more significant for the future of Governments the relationship between the colonies and England were important differences between the American and British political systems. Because the royal government was so far away, Americans created a group of institutions of their own that gave them—in reality, if not in theory—a large measure of self-government. In most colonies, local communities grew accustomed to running their own affairs with minimal interference from higher authorities. Communities also expected to maintain strict control over their delegates to the colonial assemblies, and those assemblies came to exercise many of the powers that Parliament exercised in England (even though in theory Parliament remained the ultimate authority in America). Provincial governors appointed by the Crown had broad powers on paper, but in fact their influence was sharply limited. They lacked control over appointments and contracts; such influence resided largely in England or with local colonial leaders. They could never be certain of their tenure in office; because governorships were

patronage appointments, a governor could be removed any time his patron in England lost favor. And in many cases, governors were not even familiar with the colonies they were meant to govern. Some governors were native-born Americans, but most were Englishmen who came to the colonies for the first time to assume their offices. The result of all this was that the focus of politics in the colonies became a local one. The provincial governments became accustomed to acting more or less independently of Parliament, and a set of assumptions and expectations about the rights of the colonists began to take hold in America that policymakers in England did not share. These differences caused few problems before the 1760s, because the British did little to exert the authority they believed they possessed. But when, beginning in 1763, the English government began attempting to tighten its control over the American colonies, a great imperial crisis developed.

LOOKING BACK What began as a few small, isolated, precarious settlements in the wilderness had evolved by the mid-eighteenth century into a large and complex society. The English colonies in America grew steadily between the 1650s and the 1750s: in population, in the size of their economies, and in the sophistication-and diversity-of their cultures. In many ways the colonies had become more like England by the mid-eighteenth century than they had been during their frail early years. In other ways, life in America and life in Britain had begun to diverge. Many distinct societies developed in the colonies, but the greatest distinction was between the colonies of the North and those of the South. In the North, society was dominated Regional by small family farms and by towns and Differences cities of growing size. A thriving commercial class was developing and, with it, an increasingly elaborate urban culture. In the South, there were many family farms as well. But there were also large plantations cultivating tobacco, rice, indigo, and cotton for export. By the late seventeenth century, these plantations were relying heavily on African workers who had been brought to the colonies forcibly as slaves. There were few significant towns and cities in the South, and little commerce other than the marketing of crops. The colonies did, however, also have much in common. Most white Americans accepted common assumptions about racial inequality. That enabled them to accept (and at times celebrate) the enslavement of African men and women and to justify a campaign of displacement

and often violence against Native Americans that would continue for two centuries. Most white Americans (and, in different ways, most nonwhite Americans as well) were deeply religious. The Great Awakening, therefore, had a powerful impact throughout the colonies. North and South. And most white colonists shared a belief in certain basic principles of law and politics, which they considered embedded in the English constitution, and which in the years after the 1750s would lead to a great imperial crisis.

## SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PROVINCIAL AMERICA 97

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RECALL AND REFLECT

1. How did patterns of family life and attitudes toward women differ in the northern and southern colonies?
2. How did the lives of African slaves change over the course of the first century of slavery?
3. Which groups emigrated to North America in the seventeenth century, and why did they come?
4. What was the intellectual culture of colonial America, as expressed in literature, philosophy, science, education, and law?
5. How and why did life in the English colonies diverge from life in England?

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1636 Harvard College founded in Massachusetts 1662 Halfway Covenant established in New England 1685 Edict of Nantes revoked in France; Huguenots begin migrating to North America 1692 Witchcraft trials begin in Salem 1697 Slave importations increase 1720 Cotton Mather initiates smallpox inoculations in Massachusetts 1739 George Whitefield arrives in North America Stono slave rebellion in South Carolina 1746 College of New Jersey founded at Princeton 1755 Academy and College of Philadelphia (later University of Pennsylvania) founded 1647 Massachusetts law requires a public school in every town 1670s Slave traders begin importing slaves directly from Africa to North America 1691 Official toleration of Catholics ends in Maryland 1693 College of William and Mary founded in Virginia 1701 Yale College founded in Connecticut 1734 Great Awakening begins in Massachusetts Peter Zenger tried in New York 1740s Indigo production begins in South Carolina 1754 King's College (later Columbia University) founded in New York

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LA DESTRUCTION DE LA STATUE ROYALE A NOUVELLE YORK.



Die Zerstörung der Königlichen Bild  
Säule zu New York

La Destruction de la Statue royale  
à Nouvelle York

*Paris. Chez M. de la Harpe, le 24. Août 1793.*

SETTING THE STAGE AS LATE AS THE 1750S, few Americans objected to their membership in the British Empire. The imperial system provided them with many benefits: opportunities for trade and commerce, military protection, political stability. And for the most part, the English government left the colonies alone. Beginning in 1763, however, the British government embarked on a series of new policies toward its colonies— policies dictated by changing international realities and new political circumstances within England itself. In the beginning, most Americans reacted to the changes with relative restraint. Gradually, however, as crisis followed crisis, a large group of Americans found themselves fundamentally disillusioned with the imperial relationship. By the mid-1770s, the relationship between the American colonies and their British rulers had become so strained, so poisoned, so characterized by suspicion and resentment, the once seemingly unbreakable bonds of empire were ready to snap. And in the spring of 1775, the first shots were fired in a war that would ultimately win America its independence.

LOOSENING TIES After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England and the collapse of the Dominion of New England in America, the English government (which became the British government after 1707, when a union of England and Scotland created Great Britain) made no serious or sustained effort to tighten its control over the colonies for over seventy years. During those years, an increasing number of colonies were brought under the direct control of the king. New Jersey in 1702, North and South Carolina in 1729, Georgia in 1754—all became royal colonies, bringing the total to eight; in all of them, the king had the power to appoint the governors and other colonial officials. During those years, Parliament also passed new laws supplementing the original Navigation Acts and strengthening the mercantilist program—laws restricting colonial manufactures, prohibiting paper currency, and regulating trade. On the whole, however, the British government remained uncertain and divided about the extent to which it ought to interfere in colonial affairs. The colonies were left, within broad limits, to go their separate ways.

A Tradition of Neglect In the fifty years after the Glorious Revolution, the British Parliament established a growing supremacy over the king. During the reigns of George I (1714-1727) and George II (1727-1760), both Growing of whom were German born and unaccustomed to English ways, the



prime Power of minister and his cabinet ministers began to become the nation's real executives. They held their positions not by the king's favor but by their ability to control a majority in Parliament. These parliamentary leaders were less inclined than the seventeenth-century monarchs had been to try to tighten imperial organization. They depended heavily on the support of the great merchants and landholders, most of whom feared that any such experiments would require large expenditures, increase taxes, and diminish the profits they were earning from the colonial trade. The first of the modern prime ministers, Robert Walpole, deliberately refrained from strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts, believing that relaxed trading restrictions would stimulate commerce. Meanwhile, the day-to-day administration of colonial affairs remained decentralized and inefficient. There was no colonial office in London. The nearest equivalent was the Board of Trade and Decentralized Plantations, established in 1696-a mere advisory body that had little role in Colonial any actual decisions. Real authority rested in the Privy Council (the central Administration administrative agency for the government as a whole), the admiralty, and the treasury. But those agencies were responsible for administering laws at home as well as overseas; none could concentrate on colonial affairs. To complicate matters

100 CHAPTER 4 further, there was considerable overlapping and confusion of authority among the departments. Few of the London officials, moreover, had ever visited America; few knew very much about conditions there. What information they did gather came in large part from agents sent to England by the colonial assemblies to lobby for American interests. These agents, naturally, did nothing to encourage interference with colonial affairs. (The best known of them, Benjamin Franklin, represented not only his own colony, Pennsylvania, but also Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.) It was not only the weakness of administrative authority in London and the policy of neglect that weakened England's hold on the colonies. It was also the character of the royal officials in America—among them the governors, the collectors of customs, and naval officers. Some of these officeholders were able and intelligent; most were not. Appointments generally came as the result of bribery or favoritism, not as a reward for merit. Many appointees remained in England and, with part of their salaries, hired substitutes to take their places in America. Such deputies received paltry wages and thus faced great temptations to augment their incomes with bribes. Few resisted the temptation. Customs collectors, for example, routinely waived duties on goods when merchants paid them to do so. Even honest and well-paid officials usually found it expedient, if they wanted to get along with their neighbors, to yield to the colonists' resistance to trade restrictions. Resistance to imperial authority centered in the colonial legislatures. By the 1750s, the American assemblies had claimed the right to levy taxes, make appropriations, approve appointments, and pass laws for their respective colonies. Powerful Their legislation was subject to veto by Colonial the governor or the Privy Council. But the Legislatures assemblies had leverage over the governor through their control of the colonial budget, and they could circumvent the Privy Council by repassing disallowed laws in slightly altered form. The assemblies came to look upon themselves as little parliaments, each practically as sovereign within its colony as Parliament itself was in England. The Colonies Divided Despite their frequent resistance to the authority of London, the colonists continued to think of themselves as loyal English subjects. In many respects, in fact, they felt stronger ties to England than they did to one another. "Fire and water," an

English traveler wrote, "are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America." New Englanders and Virginians viewed each other as something close to foreigners. A Connecticut man denounced the merchants of New York for their "frauds and unfair practices," while a New Yorker condemned Connecticut because of the "low craft and cunning so incident to the people of that country." Only an accident of geography, it seemed, connected these disparate societies to one another.

**AN APPEAL FOR COLONIAL UNITY** This sketch, one of the first American editorial cartoons, appeared in Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, on May 9, 1754. It was meant to illustrate the need for intercolonial unity and, in particular, for the adoption of Franklin's Albany Plan. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC4-5315)) Yet, for all their differences, the colonies could scarcely avoid forging connections with one another. The growth of the colonial population produced an almost continuous line of settlement along the seacoast and led to the gradual construction of roads and the rise of intercolonial trade. The colonial postal service helped increase communication. In 1691, it had operated only from Massachusetts to New York and Pennsylvania. In 1711, it extended to New Hampshire in the North; in 1732, to Virginia in the South; and ultimately, all the way to Georgia. Still, the colonists were loath to cooperate even when, in 1754, they faced a common threat from their old rivals, the Albany Plan French, and France's Indian allies.

A conference of colonial leaders—with delegates from Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, and New England—was meeting in Albany in that year to negotiate a treaty with the Iroquois, as the British government had advised the colonists to do. The delegates stayed on to talk about forming a colonial federation for defense against the Indians. Benjamin Franklin proposed, and the delegates tentatively approved, a plan by which Parliament would set up in America "one general government" for all the colonies (except Georgia and Nova Scotia). Each colony would "retain its present constitution," but would grant to the new general government such powers as the authority to govern all relations with the Indians. The central government would have a "president general" appointed and paid by the king (just as colonial governors were) and a legislature (a "grand council") elected by the colonial assemblies. War with the French and Indians was already beginning when this Albany Plan was presented to the colonial assemblies. None approved it.

"Everyone cries, a union is necessary," Franklin wrote to the Massachusetts governor, "but when they come to the manner and form of the union, their weak noodles are perfectly distracted."

## THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 101 THE STRUGGLE FOR

THE CONTINENT In the late 1750s and early 1760s, a great war raged through North America, changing forever the balance of power both on the continent and throughout much of the world. The war in America was part of a titanic struggle between England and France for dominance in world trade and naval power. The British victory in that struggle, known in Europe as the Seven Years' War, rearranged global power and cemented England's role as the world's great commercial and imperial nation. It also cemented its control of most of the settled regions of North America. In America, however, the conflict was the final stage in a long battle among the three principal powers in northeastern North America: the English, the French, and the Iroquois. For more than a century prior to the conflict known in America as the French and Indian War, these three groups had maintained an uneasy balance of power. The events of the 1750s upset that balance, produced a prolonged and open conflict, and established a precarious dominance for the English societies throughout the region. The French and Indian War was important to the English colonists in America for another reason as well. By bringing the Americans into closer contact with British authority than ever before, it raised to the surface some of the underlying tensions in the colonial relationship. New France and the Iroquois Nation The French and the English had coexisted peacefully in North America for nearly a century. But by the 1750s, religious and commercial tensions began to produce new conflicts. The crisis began in part because of the expansion of the French presence in America in the late seventeenth century—a result of Louis XIV's search for national unity and of increased world power. The lucrative fur trade drew immigrant French peasants deeper into the wilderness, while missionary zeal drew large numbers of French Jesuits into the interior in search of potential converts. The bottomlands of the Mississippi River valley attracted French farmers discouraged by the short growing season in Canada. By the mid-seventeenth century, the French Empire in America comprised a vast territory. Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette, French explorers of the 1670s, journeyed together by canoe from Green Bay on Lake Michigan as far south as the junction of the Arkansas

and Mississippi Rivers. A year later, Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, began the explorations that in 1682 took him to the delta of the Mississippi, where he claimed the surrounding country for France and named it Louisiana in the king's honor. Subsequent traders and missionaries wandered to the southwest as far as the Rio Grande; and the explorer Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Verendrye, pushed westward in 1743 from Lake Superior to a point within sight of the Rocky Mountains. The French had by then revealed the outlines of, and laid claim to, almost the whole continental interior. To secure their hold on these enormous claims, they founded a string of widely separated communities, fortresses, France's missions, and trading posts. Fort LouisNorth bourg, on Cape Breton Island, guarded the American approach to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Empire Would-be feudal lords established large estates (seigneuries) along the banks of the St. Lawrence River; and on a high bluff above the river stood the fortified city of Quebec, the center of the French Empire in America. To the south was Montreal, and to the west Sault Sainte Marie and Detroit. On the lower Mississippi emerged plantations much like those in the southern colonies of English America, worked by black slaves and owned by "Creoles" (white immigrants of French descent). New Orleans, founded in 1718 to service the French plantation economy, soon was as big as some of the larger cities of the Atlantic seaboard; Biloxi and Mobile to the east completed the string of French settlement. But the French were not, of course, alone in the continental interior. They shared their territories with a large and powerful Indian population-in regions now often labeled the "middle grounds" (see p. 60)-and their relations with the natives were crucial to the shaping of their empire. They also shared the interior with a growing number of English traders and settlers, who had been moving beyond the confines of the colonial boundaries in the East. Both the French and the English were aware that the battle for control of North America would be determined in part by which group could best win the allegiance of native tribes-as trading partners and, at times, as military allies. The Indians, for their part, were principally concerned with protecting their independence. Whatever alignments they formed with the European societies growing up around them were generally marriages of convenience, determined by which group offered the most attractive terms. The English-with their more advanced commercial economy-could

usually offer the Indians better and more plentiful goods. But the French offered something that was often more important: tolerance. Unlike the English settlers, most of whom tried to impose their own social norms on the Native Americans they encountered, the French settlers in the interior generally adjusted their own behavior to Indian patterns. French fur traders frequently married Indian women and adopted tribal ways. Jesuit missionaries interacted comfortably with the natives and converted them to Catholicism by the thousands without challenging most of their social customs. By the mid-eighteenth century, therefore, the French had better and closer relations with most of the tribes of the interior than did the English. The most powerful native group, however, had a different relationship with the French. The Iroquois Confederacy-the five Indian nations (Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Oneida) that had formed a defensive alliance in the fifteenth

102 CHAPTER 4 century-had been the most powerful tribal presence in the Northeast since the 1640s, when they had fought-and won-a The Iroquois bitter war against the Hurons. Once their Confederacy major competitors were largely gone from the region, the Iroquois forged an important commercial relationship with the English and Dutch along the eastern seaboard-although they continued to trade with the French as well. Indeed, the key to the success of the Iroquois in maintaining their independence was that they avoided too close a relationship with either group and astutely played the French and the English against each other. As a result, they managed to maintain an uneasy balance of power in the Great Lakes region and beyond. The principal area of conflict among these many groups was the Ohio Valley. The French claimed it. Several competing Indian tribes (many of them refugees from lands farther east, driven into the valley by the English expansion) lived there. English settlement was expanding into it. And the Iroquois were trying to establish a presence there as traders. With so many competing groups jostling for influence, the Ohio Valley quickly became a potential battleground. Anglo-French Conflicts As long as England and France remained at peace in Europe, and as long as the precarious balance in the North American interior survived, the tensions among the English, French, and Iroquois remained mild. But after the Glorious Revolution in England, the English throne passed to one of Louis XIV's principal enemies, William III, who was also Seeds of the stadholder (chief magistrate) of the Conflict Netherlands and who had long opposed French expansionism. William's successor. Queen Anne (the daughter of James II), ascended the throne in 1702 and carried on the struggle against France and its new ally, Spain. The result was a series of Anglo-French wars that continued intermittently in Europe for nearly eighty years. The wars had important repercussions in America. King William's War (1689-1697) produced a few, indecisive clashes between the English and French in northern New England. Queen Anne's War, which began in 1701 and continued for nearly twelve years, generated substantial conflicts: border fighting with the Spaniards in the South as well as with the THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1758 The fortress of Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia, was one of the principal French



outposts in eastern Canada during the French and Indian War. It took a British fleet of 157 ships nearly two months to force the French garrison to surrender. "We had not had our Batteries against the Town above a Week," wrote a British soldier after the victory, "tho we were ashore Seven Weeks; the Badness of the Country prevented our Approaches. It was necessary to make Roads for the Cannon, which was a great Labour, and some Loss of Men; but the spirits the Army was in is capable of doing any Thing." (© The New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, NB)



THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 103 French and their Indian allies in the North. The Treaty of Utrecht, which brought the conflict to a close in 1713, transferred substantial areas of French territory in North America to the English, including Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Newfoundland. Two decades later, European rivalries led to still more conflicts in America. Disputes over British trading rights in the Spanish colonies produced a war between England and Spain and led to clashes between the British in Georgia and the Spaniards in Florida. (It was in the context of this conflict that the last English colony in America, Georgia, was founded in 1733; see pp. 57-60.) The Anglo-Spanish conflict soon merged with a much larger European war, in which England and France lined up on opposite sides of a territorial dispute between Frederick the Great of Prussia and Maria Theresa of Austria. The English colonists in America were soon drawn into the struggle, which they called King George's War; and between 1744 and 1748, they engaged in a series of conflicts with the French. New Englanders captured the French bastion at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island; but the peace treaty that finally ended the conflict forced them (in bitter disappointment) to abandon it. In the aftermath of King George's War, relations among the English, French, and Iroquois in North America quickly deteriorated. The Iroquois (in what in retrospect appears a major blunder) began to grant trading concessions in the interior to English merchants. In the context of the already tense Anglo-French relationship in America, the decision to side with the British set in motion a chain of events disastrous for the Iroquois Confederacy. The French feared that the English were using the concessions as a first step toward expansion into French lands (which to some extent they were). They began in 1749 to construct new fortresses in the Ohio Valley. The English interpreted the French activity as a threat to their western settlements. They protested and began making military preparations and building fortresses of their own. The balance of power that the Iroquois had striven to maintain for so long rapidly disintegrated, and the five Indian nations allied themselves with the British and assumed an essentially passive role in the conflict that followed. For the next five years, tensions between the English and the French increased. In the summer of 1754, the governor of Virginia sent a militia force (under the command of an Fort inexperienced young colonel,

George Washington) into the Ohio Valley to challenge French expansion. Washington built a crude stockade (Fort Necessity) not far from the larger French outpost, Fort Duquesne, on the site of what is now Pittsburgh. After the Virginians staged an unsuccessful attack on a French detachment, the French countered with an assault on Fort Necessity, trapping Washington and his soldiers inside. After a third of them died in the fighting, Washington surrendered. That clash marked the beginning of what became the French and Indian War, the American part of the much larger Seven Years' War that spread through Europe at the same time. It was the climactic event in the long Anglo-French struggle for empire. The Great War for the Empire The French and Indian War lasted nearly nine years, and it proceeded in three distinct phases. The first phase lasted from the Fort Necessity debacle in 1754 until the expansion of the war to Europe in 1756. It was primarily a North American conflict, which the English colonists managed largely on their own. The British provided modest assistance during this period, but they provided it so ineptly that it had little impact on the Braddock struggle. The British fleet failed to prevent the landing of large French reinforcements in Canada; and the newly appointed commander in chief of the British army in America, General Edward Braddock, failed miserably in a major effort in the summer of 1755 to retake the crucial site at the forks of the Ohio River where Washington had lost the battle at Fort Necessity. A French and Indian ambush a few miles from the fort left Braddock dead and his remaining forces in disarray. The local colonial forces, meanwhile, were preoccupied with defending themselves against raids on their western settlements by the Indians of the Ohio Valley. Virtually all of the tribes (except the Iroquois) were now allied with the French, having interpreted the defeat of the Virginians at Fort Duquesne as evidence of British weakness. Even the Iroquois, who were nominally allied with the British, remained fearful of antagonizing the French. They engaged in few hostilities and launched no offensive into Canada, even though they had, under heavy English pressure, declared war on the French. By late 1755, many English settlers along the frontier had withdrawn to the east of the Allegheny Mountains to escape the hostilities. The second phase of the struggle began in 1756, when the governments of France and England formally opened hostilities and a truly

international conflict (the Seven Years' War) began. In Europe, the war was marked by a realignment within the complex system of alliances. France allied with its former enemy, Austria; England joined France's former ally, Prussia. The fighting now spread to the West Indies, India, and Europe. But the principal struggle remained the one in North America, where so far England had suffered nothing but frustration and defeat. Beginning in 1757, William Pitt, the English secretary of state (and future prime minister), began to transform the war William Pitt effort in America by bringing it for the first Takes Charge time fully under British control. Pitt himself began planning military strategy for the North American conflict, appointing military commanders, and issuing orders to the colonists. Military recruitment had slowed dramatically in America after the defeat of Braddock. To replenish the army, British commanders began forcibly enlisting colonists (a practice known as "impressment"). Officers also began to seize supplies and equipment from local farmers and tradesmen and compelled colonists to offer shelter to British troops-all generally without compensation. The Americans had long ago become accustomed to running their own affairs and had been fighting for over two years without

## AMERICA IN THE WORLD The First Global War |T| fj ^

French and Indian War in North America was only a small part of a much larger Genii FI C flict. Known in Europe as the Seven Years' War it was one of the longest, most widespread, and most important wars in modern history. "Ministers in this country, where every part of the World affects us, in some way or another, should consider the whole Globe," the Duke of Newcastle wrote in Britain in 1758, reflecting the international achievements and war aims of the British in the mid-eighteenth century. Two centuries later, Winston Churchill, the former British prime minister, wrote of the Seven Years' War as the first "World War." In North America, the war was a result of tensions along the frontiers of the British Empire, but a larger war resulted from conflicts among the great powers in Europe. It began in the 1750s with what historians have called a "diplomatic revolution." Well-established alliances between Britain and the Austro-Flungarian Empire, and between France and Prussia, collapsed, replaced by new alliances that set Britain and Prussia against France and Austria. The instability that these changing alliances produced helped speed the European nations toward war. The one thing that did not change was the continuing rivalry between Britain and France. The Austrian-British alliance collapsed because Austria suffered a series of significant defeats at the hands of the Prussians. To the British government, these failures suggested that the Austro-Flungarian Empire was now too weak to help Britain balance French power. As a result, Britain sought new partnerships with the rising powers of northern Germany, Austria's enemies. Seeking protection from the power of their former British allies, the Austrians allied with France. Russia, concerned about the Austro-Flungarian Empire's possible dominance in central Europe, allied with Britain and Prussia. The tensions that these complicated realignments created eventually led to war (just as the complicated alliances in Europe in the early twentieth century helped produce World War I). The European part of the war was a result of the continuing conflict between Prussia and Austria and the effect of those wars on the allies of both. The Seven Years' War soon spread across much of the world, engaging not only most of the great powers in Europe, from England to Russia, but also the emerging THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR was one of the first great colonial conflicts. This etching shows a fireworks display at the Hotel de

Ville in Paris on February 10, 1763, to celebrate the end of the hostilities. (© The Granger Collection, New York) 104  
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**THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR** was one of the first great colonial conflicts. This engraving shows a fireworks display at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris on February 10, 1763, to celebrate the end of the hostilities. (© The Granger Collection, New York)

THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION • 105 colonial world— India, West Africa, the Caribbean, and the Philippines — as the powerful British navy worked to strip France, and eventually Spain, of their valuable colonial holdings. Like most modern conflicts, the Seven Years' War was a struggle for economic power. Colonial possessions, many European nations believed, were critical to their future wealth, well worth fighting for. The war's outcome affected not only the future of America, but also the distribution of power through much of the world. It destroyed the French navy and much of the French Empire, and it elevated Great Britain to undisputed preeminence among colonial powers— especially when, at the conclusion of the war, India and all of eastern North America fell firmly under English control. The war also reorganized the balance of power in Europe, with Britain now preeminent among the great powers and Prussia (later to become the core of modern Germany) rapidly rising in wealth and military power. The Seven Years' War was not only one of the first great colonial wars; it was also one of the last great wars of religion. It extended the dominance of Protestantism in Europe. In what is now Canada, the war replaced French with British rule and thus Catholic with Protestant rule. The Vatican, no longer a military power itself, had relied on the great Catholic empires— Spain, France, and Austria-Hungary— as bulwarks of the Vatican's power and influence. The shift of power toward Protestant governments in Europe and North America weakened the Catholic Church and reduced its geopolitical influence. The conclusion of the Seven Years' War strengthened Britain and Germany and weakened France. But it did not provide any lasting solution to the rivalries among the great colonial powers. In North America, a dozen years after the end of the war, the American Revolution— the origins of which were in many ways a direct result of the Seven Years' War— stripped the British Empire of one of its most important and valuable colonial appendages. By the time the American Revolution came to an end, the French Revolution had sparked another lengthy period of war, culminating in the Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century, which once again redrew the map of Europe and, for a while, the world. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did the Seven Years' War change the balance of power among the nations of Europe? Who gained and who lost in the war? 2. What effect did

the war's outcome have on the European colonies in North America? 3. Why is the Seven Years' War described as "one of the most important wars in modern history"? much assistance or direction from the British. They resented these new impositions and firmly resisted them-at times, as in a 1757 riot in New York City, violently. By early 1758, the friction between the British authorities and the colonists was threatening to bring the war effort to a halt. Beginning in 1758, therefore, Pitt initiated the third and final phase of the war by relaxing many of the policies that Americans found oppressive. He agreed to reimburse the colonists for all supplies requisitioned by the army. He returned control over military recruitment to the colonial assemblies (which resulted in an immediate and dramatic increase in enlistments). And he dispatched large numbers of additional troops to America. Finally, the tide of battle began to turn in England's favor. The French had always been outnumbered by the British colonists; after 1756, the French colonies suffered as well from a series of poor harvests. As a result, they were unable to sustain their early military successes. By mid- 1758, the British regulars (who did the bulk of the fighting) and the colonial militias were Sieging one French stronghold after another. Quebec Two brilliant English generals, Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe, captured the fortress at Louisbourg in July 1758; a few months later Fort Duquesne fell without a fight. The next year, at the end of a siege of Quebec, supposedly impregnable atop its towering cliff, the army of General James Wolfe struggled up a hidden ravine under cover of darkness, surprised the larger forces of the B I C , K E R S T 4 F b \ BOSTON ALMANACK. For the Year of our LORD, 1772. Being LEAP YEAR. Firth of Patriots ! whose exertions mind\* Involves the vafl c&McerL«ieiiti of minhind i Contend! ii £ realms accept tontrouJ from thee i And Butdn'i giorjr hantrsud thy decree : deals dehrufthmn, jPf afi her nlivfc brings\* Ai rhy fupreme direct ran, governs Kin'sWlureVr rhmi btd'ft, tHa wreaths of cuftijiteft ts 11, The fufi^e, the tiemf, the guardian of in all. ■ g P s a\* G K i jWmI Vr JOHN FILMING, jad c\* lie SoU M SKOP tit XJMC STREET. Djvpntoc the SiuiJli-D«r che TOWS- HWSE\* [Price frvrn Capers fotfe. and aj j. Old Teeur ^ iLe Dmca. WILLIAM PITT THE ELDER This dedication on the cover of the Bickerstaff Boston Almanac in 1772 honors the British statesman who voiced his support for the American colonialists in the years leading to the Revolution. (©



Corbis)

106 CHAPTER 4 Marquis de Montcalm, and defeated them in a battle in which both commanders died. The dramatic fall of Quebec on September 13, 1759, marked the beginning of the end of the American phase of the war. A year later, in September 1760, the French army formally surrendered to Amherst in Montreal. Not all aspects of the struggle were as romantic as Wolfe's dramatic assault on Quebec. The British resorted at times to such brutal military expedients as population dispersal. In Nova Scotia, for example, they uprooted several thousand French inhabitants, whom they suspected of disloyalty, and scattered them throughout the English colonies. (Some of these Acadians eventually made their way to Louisiana, where they became the ancestors of the present-day Cajuns.) Elsewhere, English and colonial troops inflicted even worse atrocities on the Indian allies of the French for example, offering "scalp bounties" to those who could bring back evidence of having killed a native. The French and their Indian allies retaliated, and hundreds of families along the English frontier perished in brutal raids on their settlements. Peace finally came after the accession of George III to the British throne and the resignation of Pitt, who, unlike the new king, wanted to continue hostilities. The British achieved most of Pitt's aims nevertheless in the Peace of Paris, signed in 1763. Under its terms, the French ceded to Great Britain some of their West Indian islands and most of their colonies in India. They also transferred Canada and all other French territory east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, to Great Britain. They ceded New Orleans and their claims west of the Mississippi to Spain, thus surrendering all title to the mainland of North America. The French and Indian War had profound effects on the British Empire and the American colonies. It greatly expanded England's territorial claims in the New World. At the same time, it greatly enlarged Britain's debt; financing the vast war had been a major drain on the treasury. It also generated substantial resentment toward the Americans among British.

French victory — ► British advance — ► French advance  
 British forces led by Wolfe capture Quebec on Sept. 18, 1759. & French surrender Montreal on Sept. 8, 1760 / British troops capture Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) | French surrender Louisbourg on July 26, 1758 MAINE (PART OF MASS.) Fort Frontenac captured by the British on August 28, 1758 yTj Mrcv ° — ,o on July 8, 1758 we

Albany\* NEW YORK v L > T Colonial troops defeated at Crown Point, fall of 1755 ~ British surrender Fort William Henry on August 9, 1757 N.H. British deport 6,000 Acadian farmers and disperse them among the colonies, summer of 1755 ATLANTIC OCEAN CONN. PENNSYLVANIA Braddock defeated by French and Indian troops at Fort Duquesne on July 9, 1755 Washington surrenders at ~ Fort Mifflin on September 26, 1776 MARYLAND VIRGINIA New York City N.J. Philadelphia DELAWARE THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR After Washington's surrender and Braddock's defeat in the Pennsylvania backcountry, the British and French waged their final contest for supremacy in North America in northern New York and New France. But the rivalry for empire between France and Britain was worldwide, with naval superiority providing the needed edge to Britain.



THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION \* 107

leaders, many of whom were contemptuous of the colonists for what they considered American military ineptitude during the war. They were angry as well that the colonists had made so few financial contributions to a struggle waged largely for American benefit; they were particularly bitter that some colonial merchants had been selling food and other goods to the French in the West Indies throughout the conflict. All these factors combined to persuade many English leaders that a major reorganization of the empire, giving London increased authority over the colonies, would be necessary in the aftermath of the war. The war had an equally profound but very different effect on the American colonists. It forced them, for the first time, to act in concert against a common foe. The friction of 1756-1757 over British requisition and impressment policies, and the 1758 return of authority to the colonial assemblies, consequences established an important precedent in the minds of the colonists: it seemed to confirm the illegitimacy of English interference in local affairs. For thousands of Americans—the men who served in the colonial armed forces—the war was an important socializing experience. The colonial troops, unlike the British regiments, generally viewed themselves as part of a "people's army." The relationship of soldiers to their units was, the soldiers believed, in some measure voluntary; their army was a communal, not a coercive or hierarchical, organization. The contrast with the British regulars, whom the colonists widely resented for their arrogance and arbitrary use of power, was striking; and in later years, the memory of that contrast helped to shape the American response to British imperial policies. For the Indians of the Ohio Valley, the third major party in the French and Indian War, the British victory was disastrous. Those tribes that had allied themselves with the French had earned the enmity of the victorious English. The Iroquois Confederacy, which had allied with Britain, fared only slightly better. English officials saw the passivity of the Iroquois during the war (a result of their effort to hedge their bets and avoid antagonizing the French) as evidence of duplicity. In the aftermath of the peace settlement, the Iroquois alliance with the British quickly unraveled, and the Iroquois Confederacy itself began to crumble from within. The Iroquois nations would continue to

contest the English for control of the Ohio Valley for another fifty years; but increasingly divided and increasingly outnumbered, they would seldom again be in a position to deal with their white rivals on terms of military or political equality.

### THE NEW IMPERIALISM

With the treaty of 1763, England found itself at peace for the first time in more than fifty years. But saddled with enormous debts and responsible for vast new lands in the New World, the imperial government could not long avoid expanding its involvement in its colonies.

#### Burdens of Empire Commercial versus Territorial Imperialists

The experience of the French and Indian War suggested that such increased involvement would not be easy to achieve. Not only had the colonists proved so resistant to British control that Pitt had been forced to relax his policies in 1758, but the colonial assemblies had continued after that to respond to British needs slowly and grudgingly. Unwilling to be taxed by Parliament to support the war effort, the colonists were generally reluctant to tax themselves as well. Defiance of imperial trade regulations and other British demands continued, and even increased, through the last years of the war. The problems of managing the empire became more difficult after 1763 because of a basic shift in Britain's imperial design. In the past, the English had viewed their colonial empire primarily in terms of trade; they had opposed acquisition of territory for its own sake. But by the mid-eighteenth century, a growing number of English and American leaders (including William Pitt and Benjamin Franklin) were beginning to argue that land itself was of value to the empire—because of the population it could support, the taxes it could produce, and the imperial splendor it would confer. The debate between the old commercial imperialists and the new territorial ones came to a head at the conclusion of the French and Indian War. The mercantilists wanted England to return Canada to France in exchange for Guadeloupe, the most commercially valuable of the French "sugar islands" in the West Indies. The territorialists, however, prevailed. The acquisition of the French territories in North America was a victory for, among others, Benjamin Franklin, who had long argued that the American people would need these vast spaces to accommodate their rapid and, he believed, limitless growth. With the territorial annexations of 1763, the area of the British Empire was suddenly twice as great as it had been, and the problems of governing it were thus considerably more complex. Some British officials argued that the

empire should restrain rapid settlement in the western territories. To allow Europeans to move into the new lands too quickly, they warned, would run the risk of stirring up costly conflicts with the Indians. Restricting settlement would also keep the land available for hunting and trapping. Many colonists wanted to see the new territories opened for immediate development, but they disagreed among themselves about who should control the western lands. Colonial governments made fervent, and often conflicting, claims of jurisdiction. Other colonists argued that control should remain in England, and that the territories should be considered entirely new colonies, unlinked to the existing settlements. There were, in short, a host of problems and pressures that the British could not ignore. At the same time, the government in London was running out of options in its effort to find a way to deal with its staggering war debt. Landlords and merchants in England itself were objecting strenuously to increases in what they already considered

108 CHAPTER 4 Montreal ^J\ | ★Portsmouth Bennington - Gloucester ★Boston MASS. • Plymouth ★Providence R 'Newport Fort Stanwix/ Albany\* Hartford CONN. Kingston • Poughkeepsie' Fort' Duquesne SOUTH CAROLINA •Camden Columbia Kingston GEORGIA HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY Fort Michilimackinac" La Baye •• St. Joseph • St. Louis ii <1 w o MAINE (Mass.) Fort Frontenac Falmouth Fort Niagara Petersburg • DISPUTED TERRITORY (Claimed by Spain and Britain) PENNSYLVANIA ■coB . Reading Philadelphia^BHB O \*New Castle 3^ Baltimore O ' \* Dover ★Annapolis ^ - DELAWARE ★New Haven •Southampton ★ New York ★Perth Amboy .Trenton NEW JERSEY VIRGINIA Richmond ★Williamsburg •Norfolk Edenton NORTH CAROLINA •Greenville New, Fayetteville\* Bern ^Portsmouth Wilmington Charles Town Savannah NON-INDIAN SETTLEMENT Before 1 700 1700-1763 - Frontier Line - Proclamation line of 1763 - Fort ★ Provincial Capital THE THIRTEEN COLONIES IN 1763 This map is a close-up of the thirteen colonies at the end of the Seven Years' War. It shows the line of settlement established by the Proclamation of 1763 (the red line), as well as the extent of actual settlement in that year (the blue line). Note that in the middle colonies (North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and southern Pennsylvania), settlement had already reached the red line— and in one small area of western Pennsylvania moved beyond it— by the time of the Proclamation of 1763. Note also the string of forts established beyond the Proclamation line. • How do the forts help to explain the efforts of the British to restrict settlement? And how does the extent of actual settlement help explain why it was so difficult for the British to enforce their restrictions? excessively high taxes. The necessity of stationing significant numbers of British troops on the Indian border after 1763 was Britain's adding even more to the cost of defending Staggering the American settlements. And the halfWar Debt hearted response of the colonial assemblies  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii to the war effort had suggested that in its search for revenue, England could not rely on any cooperation from the colonial governments. Only a system of taxation administered by London, the leaders of the empire believed, could effectively meet England's needs. At this crucial moment in Anglo-American relations, with the imperial system in desperate need of redefinition, George III became king in 1760 on

the death of his grandfather. He brought two particularly unfortunate qualities to the office.





First, he was determined, unlike his two predecessors, to be an active and responsible monarch. In part because of pressure from his ambitious mother, he removed from power the long-standing and stable coalition of Whigs, who had (under Pitt and others) governed the empire for much of the century and whom the new king mistrusted. In their place, he created a new coalition of his own through patronage and bribes and gained an uneasy control of Parliament. The new ministries that emerged as a result of these changes were unstable, each lasting in office only about two years. Second, the king had serious intellectual and psychological limitations that compounded his political difficulties. He suffered, apparently, from a rare disease that produced intermittent bouts of insanity. (Indeed, in the last years of his long reign he was, according to most accounts, deranged, George III confined to the palace and unable to perform any official functions.) Yet, even when George III was lucid and rational, which in the 1760s and 1770s was most of the time, he was painfully immature (he was only twenty-two when he ascended the throne) and insecure-striving constantly to prove his fitness for his position but time and again finding himself ill equipped to handle the challenges he seized for GEORGE III. George III was twenty-two years old when he ascended the throne in 1760, and for many years almost all portraits of him were highly formal, with the king dressed in elaborate ceremonial robes. This less formal painting dates from much later in his reign, after he had begun to suffer from the mental disorders that eventually consumed him. After 1810, he was blind and permanently deranged, barred from all official business by the Regency Act of 1811. His son (later King George IV) served as regent in those years until he became king after his father's death in 1820. (© The Granger Collection, New York) himself. The king's personality, therefore, contributed to both the instability and the intransigence of the British government during these critical years. More immediately responsible for the problems that soon emerged with the colonies, however, was George Grenville, whom the king made prime minister in 1763. Grenville did not share his brother-in-law William Pitt's sympathy with the American point of view. He agreed instead with the prevailing opinion within Britain that the colonists had been too long indulged and that they should be

compelled to obey the laws and to pay a part of the cost of defending and administering the empire. He promptly began trying to impose a new system of control upon what had been a loose collection of colonial possessions in America. The British and the Tribes The western problem was the most urgent. With the departure of the French, settlers and traders from the English colonies moved immediately into the upper Ohio Valley. The Indians of the region objected to this intrusion, and an alliance of tribes, under the Ottawa chieftain Pontiac, struck back. To prevent an escalation of the fighting that might threaten western trade, the British government issued a ruling-the Proclamation of 1763-forbidding settlers to advance beyond a line drawn along the Appalachian Mountains. Proclamation The Proclamation of 1763 was appealing of 1763 to the British for several reasons. It would allow London, rather than the provincial governments and their land-hungry constituents, to control the westward movement of the white population. Hence, westward expansion would proceed in an orderly manner, and conflicts with the tribes, which were both militarily costly and dangerous to trade, might be limited. Slower western settlement would also slow the population exodus from the coastal colonies, where England's most important markets and investments were. And it would reserve opportunities for land speculation and fur trading for English rather than colonial entrepreneurs. Although the tribes were not enthusiastic about the Proclamation, which required them to cede still more land to the white settlers, many tribal groups supported the agreement as the best bargain available to them. The Cherokee, in particular, worked actively to hasten the drawing of the boundary, hoping to end white encroachments. Relations between the western tribes and the British improved in some areas after the Proclamation, partly as a result of the work of the Indian superintendents the British appointed. John Stuart was in charge of Indian affairs in the southern colonies, and Sir William Johnson in the northern ones. Both were sympathetic to Native American needs and lived among the tribes; Johnson married a Mohawk woman, Mary Brant, who was later to play an important role in the American Revolution. In the end, however, the Proclamation of 1763 failed to meet even the modest expectations of the Native Americans. It had some effect in limiting colonial land speculation in the West and



110 CHAPTER 4 in controlling the fur trade, but on the crucial point of the line of settlement it was ineffective. White settlers continued to swarm across the boundary and to claim Encroachment lands farther and farther into the Ohio Valley. The British authorities tried repeatedly to establish limits to the expansion but continually failed to prevent the white colonists from pushing the line of settlement still farther west. The Colonial Response The Grenville ministry soon moved to increase its authority in the colonies in more direct ways. Regular British troops, London announced, would now be stationed permanently in America; and under the Mutiny Act of 1765 the colonists were required to assist in provisioning and maintaining the army. Ships of the British navy were assigned to patrol American waters and search for smugglers. The customs service was reorganized and enlarged. Royal officials were ordered to take up their colonial posts in person instead of sending substitutes. Colonial manufacturing was to be restricted so that it would not compete with the rapidly expanding industry of Great Britain. The Sugar Act of 1764, designed in part to eliminate the illegal sugar trade between the continental colonies and the French and Spanish West Indies, strengthened enforcement of the duty on sugar (while lowering the duty on molasses, further damaging the market for sugar grown in the colonies). It also established new vice-admiralty courts in America to try accused smugglers—thus depriving them of the benefit of sympathetic local juries. The Currency Act of 1764 required the colonial assemblies to stop issuing paper money (a widespread practice during the war) and to retire on schedule all the paper money already in circulation. Most momentous of all, the Stamp Act of 1765 imposed a tax on most printed documents in the colonies: newspapers, almanacs, pamphlets, deeds, wills, licenses. The new imperial program was an effort to reapply to the colonies the old principles of mercantilism. And in some ways, it proved highly effective. British officials were soon collecting more than ten times as much annual revenue from America as before 1763. But the new policies created many more problems than they solved. The colonists may have resented the new imperial regulations, but at first they found it difficult to resist them effectively. Americans continued to harbor as many grievances against one another as

against the authorities in London. Often, the conflicts centered around tensions between the Paxton Boys established societies of the Atlantic coast and the "backcountry" farther west, whose residents often felt isolated from, and underrepresented in, the colonial governments. These western settlers sometimes felt resentful because they lived closer to the worlds of the Indian tribes than the societies of the East. In 1763, for example, a band of people from western Pennsylvania known as the "Paxton Boys" descended on Philadelphia with demands for relief from colonial (not British) taxes and for money to help them defend themselves against Indians; the colonial government averted bloodshed only by making concessions to them. In 1771, a small-scale civil war broke out as a result of the so-called Regulator movement in North Carolina. The Regulator Regulators were farmers of the Carolina Movement upcountry who organized in opposition to the high taxes that local sheriffs (appointed by the colonial governor) collected. The western counties were badly underrepresented in the colonial assembly, and the Regulators failed to win redress of their grievances there. Finally, they armed themselves and began resisting tax collections by force. To suppress the revolt, Governor William Tryon raised an army of militiamen, mostly from the eastern counties, who defeated a band of 2,000 Regulators in the Battle of Alamance. Nine on each side were killed, and many others were wounded. Afterward, six Regulators were hanged for treason. The bloodshed was exceptional, but bitter conflicts within the colonies were not. After 1763, however, the new policies of the British government began to create common grievances among virtually all colonists that to some degree counterbalanced these internal divisions. Indeed, there was something in the Grenville program to antagonize everyone. Northern merchants believed they would suffer from restraints on commerce, closing opportunities for manufacturing, and increased taxes. Settlers in the northern backcountry resented the closing of the West to land speculation and fur trading. Southern planters, in debt to English merchants, feared having to pay additional taxes and losing their ability to ease their debts by speculating in western land. Professionals-ministers, lawyers, professors, and others depended on merchants and planters for their livelihood and thus shared their concerns about the effects of English law. Small farmers, the largest group in the colonies, believed they would suffer from increased taxes and from the

abolition of paper money, which had enabled them to pay their loans. Workers in towns opposed the restraints on manufacturing. The new restrictions came, moreover, at the beginning of an economic depression. The British government, by pouring Postwar money into the colonies to finance the Depression fighting, had stimulated a wartime " . . . . . boom. When the flow of funds stopped after the peace in 1763, an economic bust followed. The imperial policies would, many colonists feared, doom them to permanent economic stagnation and a declining standard of living. In reality, most Americans soon found ways to live with (or circumvent) the new British policies. The American economy was not, in fact, being destroyed. But economic anxieties were rising in the colonies nevertheless, and they created a growing sense of unease. Whatever the economic consequences of the British government's programs, the political consequences were-in the Sugar, Currency, and Stamp Acts

## THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION • 111 • ARCTIC OCEAN

Greenland Bering Sea \* -f Hudson Bay French Fishing Rights  
PACIFIC OCEAN w Newfoundland St. Pierre and Miquelon NOVA  
SCOTIA ATLANTIC OCEAN Gulf of Mexico 9\ Cuba Santo Domingo  
Puerto I Rico A/ BELIZE ‘ . St. Dominigue Jamaica Caribbean Sea  
MOSQUITO COAST NORTH AMERICA IN 1763 The victory of the  
English over the French in the Seven Years’ War (or, as it was  
known in America, the French and Indian War) reshaped the map of  
colonial North America. Britain gained a vast new territory,  
formerly controlled by France— Canada, and a large area west of  
the Mississippi River— thus more than doubling the size of the  
British Empire in America. French possessions in the New World  
dwindled to a few islands in the Caribbean. Spain continued to  
control a substantial empire in the North American interior. The red  
line along the western borders of the English colonies represents the  
line of settlement established by Britain in 1763. White settlers  
were not permitted to move beyond that line. • Why did the British  
wish to restrict settlement of the western lands? eyes of the  
colonists-far worse. Perhaps nowhere else in the late-eighteenth-  
century world did so large a proportion of the people take an active  
interest in public affairs. That was partly because Anglo-Americans  
were deeply attached to broad powers of self-government; and the  
colonists were determined to protect those powers. The keys to self-  
government, they believed, were the provincial assemblies; and the  
key to the power of the provincial assemblies was their long-  
established right to give or withhold appropriations for the colonial  
governments, a right the British were now challenging. Home rule,  
therefore, was not something new and different that the colonists  
were striving to attain, but something old and familiar that they  
desired to keep. The movement to resist the new imperial policies, a  
movement for which many would ultimately Political Consequences  
of the Grenville Program

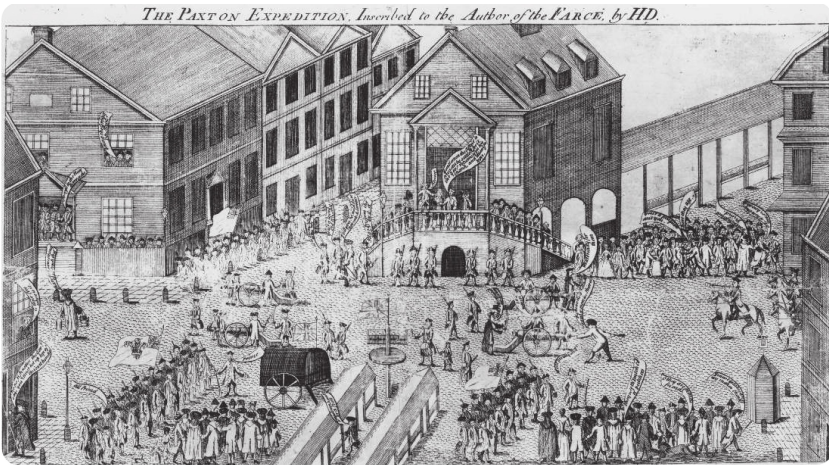


## 112 CHAPTER 4 PREPARING TO MEET THE PAXTON

**BOYS** The "Paxton Boys" were residents of western Pennsylvania who were declared outlaws by the assembly in Philadelphia after they launched an unauthorized attack on neighboring Conestoga Indians. Instead of surrendering, they armed themselves and marched on Philadelphia. This engraving satirizes the haphazard military preparations in the city for the expected invasion. An accompanying poem, expressing the contempt some colonists felt toward the urbanized, pacifist Quakers of Philadelphia, commented: "To kill the Paxtonians, they then did Advance, With Guns on their Shoulders, but how did they Prance." Benjamin Franklin finally persuaded the Paxton rebels not to attack in return for greater representation in the legislature. (© Fotosearch/Getty Images) fight and die, was at the same time democratic and conservative. It was a movement to conserve liberties Americans believed they already possessed.

**STIRRINGS OF REVOLT** By the mid- 1760s, a hardening of positions had begun in both England and America that would bring the colonies into increasing conflict with the mother country. The victorious war for empire had given the colonists a heightened sense of their own importance and a renewed commitment to protecting their political autonomy. But it had also given the British a strengthened belief in the need to tighten administration of the empire and use the colonies as a source of revenue. The result was a series of events that, more rapidly than anyone had imagined, shattered the British Empire in America. The Stamp Act Crisis Even if he had tried. Prime Minister Grenville could not have devised a better method for antagonizing and unifying the Effects of the colonies than the Stamp Act of 1765. Stamp Act The Sugar Act of a year earlier had affected few people other than the New England merchants. But the new tax fell on all Americans, and it evoked particular opposition from some of the most powerful members of the population. Merchants and lawyers were obliged to buy stamps for ships' papers and legal documents. Tavern owners, often the political leaders of their neighborhoods, were required to buy stamps for their licenses. Printersthe most influential group in distributing information and ideas in colonial society-had to buy stamps for their newspapers and other publications. The actual economic burdens of the Stamp Act were relatively light; the stamps were not expensive. What made the law offensive to the colonists

was the precedent it seemed to set. In the past, Americans had rationalized the taxes and duties on colonial trade as measures to regulate commerce, not raise money. Some Americans had even managed to persuade themselves that the Sugar Act, which was in fact designed primarily to raise money, was not fundamentally different from the traditional imperial duties. The Stamp Act, however, they could interpret in only one way: it was a direct attempt by England to raise revenue in the colonies without the consent of the colonial assemblies. If this new tax passed without resistance, the door would be open for more burdensome taxation in the future. Few colonists believed that they could do anything more than grumble and buy the stamps-until the Virginia House of



## THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 113 THE ALTERNATIVES

OF WILLIAM BURG In the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party and in response to the Coercive Acts Great Britain enacted to punish the colonists, the First Continental Congress called on Americans to boycott British goods until the acts were repealed. In this drawing, a prosperous Virginia merchant is seen signing a pledge to honor the nonimportation agreement— not surprising, given the alternative, visible in the background of the picture: tar and feathers hanging from a post labeled "A Cure for the Refractory." (© The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation) Burgesses sounded what one colonist called a "trumpet of sedition" that aroused Americans to action almost everywhere. The "trumpet" was the collective voice of a group of young Virginia aristocrats. They hoped, among other things, to challenge the power of tidewater planters who (in alliance with the royal governor) dominated Virginia politics. Foremost among the malcontents was Patrick Henry, who had already achieved fame for his fiery oratory and his occasional defiance of British authority. Henry made a dramatic speech to the House of Burgesses in May 1765, concluding with a vague prediction that if present policies were not revised, George III, like earlier tyrants, might lose his head. There were shocked cries of "Treason!" and, according to one witness, an immediate apology from Henry (although many years later he was quoted as having made the defiant reply: "If this be treason, make the most of it"). Henry introduced a set of resolutions declaring that Americans possessed the same rights as the English, especially Virginia the ri'r t0 taxec^ onty W their own Resolves representatives; that Virginians should pay no taxes except those voted by the Virginia assembly; and that anyone advocating the right of Parliament to tax Virginians should be deemed an enemy of the colony. The House of Burgesses defeated the most extreme of Henry's resolutions. All of them, however, were printed and circulated as the "Virginia Resolves" (creating an impression in other colonies that the people of Virginia were more militant than they actually were). In Massachusetts at about the same time, James Otis persuaded his fellow members of the colonial assembly to call an intercolonial congress for action against the new tax. In October 1765, the Stamp Act Congress met in New York with delegates from nine colonies and decided to petition the king and the two houses of Parliament.

Their petition conceded that Americans owed to Parliament "all due subordination," but it denied that the colonies could rightfully be taxed except through their own provincial assemblies. Meanwhile, in several colonial cities, crowds began taking the law into their own hands. During the summer of 1765, Sons of serious riots broke out up and down Liberty the coast, the largest of them in Boston. Men belonging to the newly organized Sons of Liberty terrorized stamp agents and burned the stamps. The agents, themselves Americans, hastily resigned; and the sale of stamps in the continental colonies ceased. In Boston, a crowd also attacked such pro-British "aristocrats" as the lieutenant governor, Thomas Hutchinson (who had privately opposed passage of the Stamp Act but who, as an officer of the crown, felt obliged to support it once it became law). The protesters pillaged Hutchinson's elegant house and virtually destroyed it. The Stamp Act crisis was a dangerous moment in the relationship between the colonies and the British government. But the crisis subsided, largely because England backed down. The authorities in London changed their attitude not because of the colonists' defiance but because of economic pressure. Even before the Stamp Act, many New Englanders had stopped buying English goods to protest the Sugar Act of 1764. Now the colonial boycott spread, and the Sons of Liberty intimidated colonists who were reluctant to participate in it. The merchants of England, feeling the loss of much of their colonial market, begged Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act; and stories of unemployment, poverty, and discontent arose from English seaports and manufacturing towns. The Marquis of Rockingham, who succeeded Grenville as prime minister in July 1765, tried to appease both the English merchants and the American colonists, and he finally conParliament vinced the king to kill the Stamp Act. Retreats On March 18, 1766, Parliament repealed it. Rockingham's opponents were strong and vociferous, and they insisted that unless England compelled the colonists to obey the Stamp Act, they would soon cease to obey any laws of Parliament. So, on the same day, to satisfy such critics. Parliament passed the Declaratory Act, asserting Parliament's authority over the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." In their rejoicing over the repeal of the Stamp Act, most Americans paid little attention to this sweeping declaration of power.



114 CHAPTER 4 Internal Rebellions The conflicts with Britain were not the only uprisings emerging in the turbulent years of the 1760s. In addition to the Stamp Act crisis and other challenges to London, there were internal rebellions that had their roots in the class system in New York and New England. In the Hudson Valley in New York, great estates had grown up, whose owners had rented their land to small farmers. The revolutionary fervor of the time led many of these tenants to demand ownership of the land they worked. To emphasize their determination, they stopped paying rents. The challenge to landownership soon failed. But other challenges to landownership continued in other colonies. In Vermont, which still was governed by New York, insurgent farmers challenged landowners (many of them the same owners whom tenants had challenged on the Hudson) by taking up arms and demanding ownership of the land they “THE TORY’S DAY OF JUDGMENT” A mob of American Patriots hoists a Loyalist neighbor up a flagpole in this woodcut, which is obviously sympathetic to the victim. The crowd is shown as fat, rowdy, and drunken. Public humiliations of Tories were not infrequent during the war. More common, however, was seizure of their property. (Library of Congress) worked. Ethan Allen (later a hero of the Revolutionary War and himself a land speculator) took up the cause of the Green Mountain farmers and accused the landowners of trying to “enslave a free people.” Allen eventually succeeded in making Vermont into a separate state, which broke up some of the large estates. The Townshend Program The reaction in England to the Rockingham government’s policy of appeasement was less enthusiastic than it was in America. English landlords, a powerful political force, angrily protested that the government had “sacrificed the landed gentlemen to the interests of traders and colonists.” They feared that backing down from taxing the colonies would lead the government to increase taxes on them. The king finally bowed to their pressure and dismissed the Rockingham ministry. To replace it, he called upon the aging but still powerful William Pitt to form a government. Pitt had been a strong critic of the Stamp Act and had a reputation in America as a friend of the colonists. Once in office, however, Pitt (now Lord Chatham) was so hobbled by gout and at times so incapacitated by mental illness that the actual leadership of his administration fell to the chancellor of the exchequer, Charles

Townshend-a brilliant, flamboyant, and at times reckless politician known to his contemporaries variously as "the Weathercock" and "Champagne Charlie." Among Townshend's first challenges was dealing with the continuing American grievances against Parliament, now Mutiny Act most notably the Mutiny (or 11 Quartering) Act of 1765 which required the colonists to provide quarters and supplies for the British troops in America. The British considered this a reasonable requirement. The troops were stationed in North America to protect the colonists from Indian or French attack and to defend the frontiers; lodging the troops in coastal cities was simply a way to reduce the costs to England of supplying them. To the colonists, however, the law was another assault on their liberties. They did not so much object to quartering the troops or providing them with supplies; they had been doing that voluntarily ever since the last years of the French and Indian War. They resented that these contributions were now mandatory, and they considered it another form of taxation without consent. The Massachusetts Assembly refused to vote the mandated supplies to the troops. The New York Assembly soon did likewise, posing an even greater challenge to imperial authority, since the army headquarters were in New York City. To enforce the law and to try again to raise revenues in the colonies, Townshend steered two inflammatory measures through Parliament in 1767. The first disbanded the New York Assembly until the colonialists agreed to obey the Mutiny Act. Taxes (By singling out New York, Townshend . thought he would avoid Grenville's







THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION - 115 mistake of arousing all the colonies at once.) The second levied new taxes (known as the Townshend Duties) on various goods imported to the colonies from England—lead, paint, paper, and tea. The colonists could not logically object to taxation of this kind, Townshend reasoned, because it met standards they themselves had accepted. Benjamin Franklin, as a colonial agent in London trying to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act, had long ago argued for the distinction between "internal" and "external" taxes and had denounced the stamp duties as internal taxation. Townshend himself had considered the distinction laughable; but he was nevertheless imposing duties on what he believed were clearly external transactions. Yet Townshend's efforts to satisfy colonial grievances were to no avail. He might call them external taxes, but they were no more acceptable to colonial merchants than the Stamp Act. Their purpose, Americans believed, was the same as that of the Stamp Act: to raise revenue from the colonists without their consent. And the suspension of the New York Assembly, far from isolating New York, aroused the resentment of all the colonies. They considered this assault on the rights of one provincial government a precedent for the annihilation of the rights of all of them. The Massachusetts Assembly took the lead in opposing the new measures by circulating a letter to all the colonial governments urging them to stand up against every tax, external or internal, imposed by Parliament. At first, the circular evoked little response in some of the legislatures (and ran into strong opposition in Pennsylvania's). Then Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, issued a circular letter of his own from London in which he warned that assemblies endorsing the Massachusetts letter would be dissolved. Massachusetts defiantly reaffirmed its support for the circular. (The vote in the Assembly was 92 to 17, and for a time "ninety-two" became a patriotic rallying cry throughout British America.) The other colonies, including Pennsylvania, promptly rallied to the support of Massachusetts. In addition to his other unpopular measures, Townshend tried to strengthen enforcement of commercial regulations in the colonies by, among other things, establishing a new board of customs commissioners in America. Townshend hoped the new board would stop the rampant corruption in the colonial customs houses, and to some extent his

hopes were fulfilled. The new commissioners ended smuggling in Boston, their headquarters, although smugglers continued to carry on a busy trade in other colonial seaports. The Boston merchants-accustomed to loose enforcement of the Navigation Acts and doubly aggrieved now that the new commission was diverting the lucrative smuggling trade-were Colonial indignant and took the lead in organizing another boycott. In 1768, the merchants of Philadelphia and New York joined them in a nonimportation agreement, and later some southern merchants and planters also agreed to cooperate. Colonists boycotted British goods subject to the Townshend Duties; and throughout the colonies, American homespun and other domestic products became fashionable overnight, while English luxuries fell from favor. Late in 1767, Charles Townshend suddenly died-before the consequences of his ill-conceived program had become fully apparent. The question of dealing with colonial resistance to the Townshend Duties fell, therefore, to the new prime minister. Lord North. Hoping to break the nonimportation agreement and divide the colonists. Lord North secured the repeal of all the Townshend Duties except the tax on tea in March 1770. The Boston Massacre The withdrawal of the Townshend Duties never had a chance to pacify colonial opinion. Before news of the repeal reached America, an event in Massachusetts raised colonial resentment Competition to a new level of intensity- The col<sup>n</sup> for Scarce nists' harassment of the new customs Employment commissioners in Boston had grown so intense that the British government had placed four regiments of regular troops inside the city. The presence of the "redcoats" was a constant affront to the colonists' sense of their independence and a constant reminder of what they considered British oppression. In addition, British soldiers, poorly paid and poorly treated by the army, wanted jobs in their off-duty hours; and they competed with local workers in an already tight market. Clashes between them were frequent. On the night of March 5, 1770, a few days after a particularly intense skirmish between workers at a ship-rigging factory and British soldiers who were trying to find work there, a crowd of dockworkers, "liberty boys," and others began pelting the sentries at the customs house with rocks and snowballs. Hastily, Captain Thomas Preston of the British regiment lined up several of his men in front of the building to protect it. There was some scuffling; one of the soldiers was knocked down; and in the midst of

it all, apparently, several British soldiers fired into the crowd, killing five people (among them a mulatto sailor, Crispus Attucks). This murky incident, almost certainly the result of panic and confusion, was quickly transformed by local resistance leaders into the "Boston Massacre"-a graphic symbol of British oppression and brutality. The victims became popular martyrs; the event became the subject of many lurid (and inaccurate) accounts. A famous engraving by Paul Revere, widely reproduced and circulated, falsely portrayed the "massacre" as a carefully organized, calculated assault on a peaceful crowd. A jury of Massachusetts colonists found two British soldiers guilty of manslaughter and acquitted six others. Colonial pamphlets and newspapers, however, convinced many Americans that all of the soldiers were guilty of official murder. Year after year, resistance leaders marked the anniversary of the massacre with demonstrations and speeches. The leading figure in fomenting public outrage over the Boston Massacre was Samuel Adams, the most effective radical in the colonies. Adams (a distant cousin of John Adams,



The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King-<sup>st</sup> Street on the 5th of March 1770 by a party of the 29<sup>th</sup> REG<sup>t</sup>



Engraved Printed & Sold by Paul Revere 1770

Unhappy Boston! for thy Sins deplore,  
Thy lawless Walls defend with hostile Gore;  
While faithless E-n and his savage Bands  
With murderous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands,  
Like fierce Barbarians ginning o'er their Prey,  
Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

If falling drops from Rage for Anger's King  
If speechless Sorrow thus has for a Tongue  
O'er our poor World can ought express  
The plaintive Ghosts of Victims Rich as Kings  
The Patriots' agonising for Country dead,  
A glorious Title which embalm the Dead

Just know how precious to that awful God,  
More joyous than drops the Mind re-erect the Good,  
Should weal to the Eternal of the Lamb,  
Watch the reluctant Villain from her Hand,  
Even Executions on this Plate infernal,  
Shall reach a Juno who never could be mild.

The unhappy sufferers were a Noble SAM<sup>l</sup> GRAY SAM<sup>l</sup> MAVERICK J<sup>o</sup> WALDWELL CRISPUS ATTUCKS & PAT<sup>h</sup> CARE

Killed, Six wounded; two of them (CHRISTOPHER & JOHN CLARK) Mortally

Published in 1770 by Paul Revere

Revolt A superficial calm settled on the colonies for approximately three years after the Boston Massacre. But the crises of the 1760s had helped arouse enduring ideological challenges to England and had produced powerful instruments for publicizing colonial grievances. Gradually a political outlook gained a following in America that would ultimately serve to justify revolt. The ideas that would support the Revolution emerged from many sources. Some were drawn from religious (particularly Puritan) sources or from the political experiences of the colonies. Others came from abroad. Most important, perhaps, were the "radical" ideas of those in Great Britain who stood in opposition to their government. Some were Scots, who considered the English state tyrannical. Others were embittered "country Whigs," who felt excluded from power and considered the existing political system corrupt and oppressive. Drawing from some of the great philosophical minds of earlier generations-most notably John Locke these English dissidents framed a powerful argument against their government. Central to this emerging ideology was a new concept of what government should be. Because humans were inherently corrupt and selfish, government was necessary to protect individuals from the evil in one another. But because any government was run by corruptible people, the people needed safeguards against its possible abuses of power. Most people in both England and America had long considered the English constitution the best system ever devised to meet these necessities. By distributing power among the „ , three elements of society-the monarchEngland's ii. Balanced monarchy, aristocracy > an (the common Constitution people-the English political system ensured that no individual or group could exercise authority unchecked by another. Yet, by the mid-seventeenth century, dissidents in both England and America had become convinced that the constitution was in danger. A single center of power-the king and his ministers was becoming so powerful that it could not be effectively checked. The system, the dissidents believed, was becoming a corrupt and dangerous tyranny. Such arguments found little sympathy in most of England. The English constitution was not a written document or a fixed set of unchangeable rules. It was a general sense of the "way things are done," and most people in England were willing to accept changes

in it. Americans, by contrast, drew from their experience with colonial charters, in which the shape and powers of government were permanently inscribed on paper. They resisted the idea of a flexible, changing set of basic principles. One basic principle, Americans believed, was the right of people to be taxed only with their own consent—a belief that gradually took shape in the widely repeated slogan "No taxation without representation." This clamor about "representation" made little sense to the English. According to "THE CRUEL FATE OF THE LOYALISTS" This British cartoon, published near the end of the American Revolution, shows three Indians, representing American revolutionaries, murdering six Loyalists: four by hanging, one by scalping, and one—appealing to Fate—about to be killed by an axe-wielding native. By using Indians to represent Anglo-American soldiers, the British were trying to equate the presumed savagery of Native Americans with the behavior of the revolutionaries. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-1540))

English constitutional theory, members of Parliament did not represent individuals or particular geographic areas. Instead, each member represented the interests of the whole nation and indeed the whole empire, no matter where the member came from. The many boroughs of England that had no representative in Parliament, the whole of Ireland, and the colonies thousands of miles away—all were thus represented in the Parliament at London, even though they elected no representatives of their own. This was the theory of "virtual" representation. But Americans, drawing from their experiences with their town meetings and their colonial assemblies, believed in "actual" representation: every community was entitled to its own representative, elected by the people of that community and directly responsible to them. Since the colonists had none of their own representatives in Parliament, it followed that they were not represented there. Instead, Americans believed that the colonial assemblies played the same role within the colonies that Parliament did within England. The British Empire, the Americans began to argue, was a sort of federation of commonwealths, each with its own legislative body, all tied together by common loyalty to the king. Such ideas illustrated a fundamental difference of opinion between England and America over the nature of sovereignty. Virtual versus actual over the question of where ultimate power lay. By arguing that Parliament Representation had the right to legislate for England

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii and for the empire as a whole, but that only the provincial assemblies could legislate for the individual colonies, Americans were in effect arguing for a division of sovereignty. Parliament would be sovereign in some matters; the assemblies would be sovereign in others. To the British, such an argument was absurd. In any system of government



118 CHAPTER 4 there must be a single, ultimate authority. And since the empire was, in their view, a single, undivided unit, there could be only one authority within it: the English government of king and Parliament. The Tea Excitement The relatively calm first years of the 1770s disguised a growing sense of resentment at the increasingly heavy-handed British enforcement of the Navigation Acts. The customs commissioners, who remained in the colonies despite the repeal of the Townshend Duties, were mostly clumsy, intrusive, and arrogant officials. They harassed colonial merchants and seamen constantly with petty restrictions, and they also enriched themselves through graft and illegal seizures of merchandise. Colonists also kept revolutionary sentiment alive through writing and talking. Dissenting leaflets, pamphlets, and books circulated widely through the colonies. In towns and cities. Revolutionary men gathered in churches, schools. Discourse town squares, and above all in taverns ii 1 1 ini 1 1 in 1 1 1 in 1 1 iiiitiinii 1 1 1 in 1 1 1 in 1 1 1 in 1 1 1 in 1 1 1 in i ( i in (( ( mi i . (see "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 122-123) to discuss politics and express their growing disenchantment with English policy. The rise of revolutionary ideology was not simply a result of the ideas of intellectuals. It was also a product of a social process by which ordinary people heard, discussed, and absorbed new ideas. The popular anger lying just beneath the surface was also visible in occasional acts of rebellion. At one point, colonists seized a British revenue ship on the lower Delaware River. And in 1772, angry residents of Rhode Island boarded the British schooner Gaspee, set it afire, and sank it in Narragansett Bay. The British response to the Gaspee affair further inflamed American opinion. Instead of putting the accused attackers on trial in colonial courts, the British sent a special commission to America with power to send the defendants back to England for trial. What finally revived the revolutionary fervor of the 1760s, however, was a new act of Parliament-one that the English government had expected to be relatively uncontroversial. It involved the business of selling tea. In 1773, Britain's East India Company (which had an official monopoly on trade with the Far East) was on the verge of bankruptcy and sitting on large stocks of tea that it could not sell in England. In an effort to save the company, the government passed the Tea Act of 1773, which gave the company the right to export its merchandise

directly to the colonies without paying any of the navigation taxes that were imposed on the colonial merchants, who had traditionally served as the middlemen in such transactions. With these privileges, the East India Company could undersell American merchants and monopolize the colonial tea trade. The Tea Act angered many colonists for several reasons. First, it enraged influential colonial merchants, who feared being replaced and bankrupted by a powerful monopoly. The East India Company's decision to grant franchises to certain American merchants for the sale of its tea created further resentment among those excluded from this lucrative trade. More important, however, the Tea Act revived American passions about the issue of taxation without representation. The law provided no new tax on tea. But it exempted the East India Company from having to pay the normal customs duties. That put colonial Monday M. jrmng Hccffinber 47. 177a THE TEA SUIT being Jirivni,



THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION • 119

merchants at a grave competitive disadvantage. British Prime Minister Lord North assumed that most colonists would welcome the new law because it would reduce the price of tea to consumers by removing the middlemen. But resistance leaders in America argued that it was another insidious example of the results of an unconstitutional tax. Many colonists responded by boycotting tea. The boycott was an important event in the history of colonial resistance. Unlike earlier protests, most of which had involved small numbers of people, the boycott mobilized large segments of the population. It also helped link the colonies in a common experience of mass popular protest. Particularly important to the movement were the activities of colonial women, who were among the principal consumers of tea and now became leaders of the effort to boycott it. Women had played a significant role in resistance activities from the beginning. Several women (most prominently Mercy Otis Warren) had been important in writing the dissident literature-in Warren's case, satirical plays-that did much to fan colonial resentments in the 1760s. Women had participated actively in anti-British riots and crowd activities in the 1760s; they had formed an informal organization-the Daughters of Liberty-that occasionally mocked their male counterparts as insufficiently militant. Now, as the sentiment for a boycott grew, some women mobilized as never before, determined (as the Daughters of Liberty had written) "that rather than Freedom, we'll part with our Tea." In the last weeks of 1773, with strong popular support, leaders in various colonies made plans to prevent the East India Company from landing its cargoes in colonial ports. In Philadelphia and New York City, determined colonists kept the tea from leaving the company's ships. In Charles Town, they stored it in a public warehouse. In Boston, after failing to turn Boston Tea back the three ships in the harbor, local Party Patriots staged a spectacular drama. On . the evening of December 16, 1773, three companies of fifty men each, masquerading as Mohawks, passed through a tremendous crowd of spectators (which served to protect them from official interference), went aboard the three ships, broke open the tea chests, and heaved them into the harbor. As the electrifying news of the Boston "tea party" spread, other seaports followed the example and staged similar acts of resistance. When the Bostonians refused to pay for the property

they had destroyed, George III and Lord North decided on a policy of coercion, to be applied only against Massachusetts-the chief center of resistance. In four acts of 1774, Parliament closed the port of Boston, drastically reduced colonial self-government, permitted royal officers to be tried in other colonies or in England when accused of crimes, and provided for the quartering of troops in the colonists' barns and empty houses. Parliament followed these Coercive Acts-or, as they were more widely known in America, Intolerable Acts-with the Coercive Acts Quebec Act, which was separate from . them in origin and quite different in purpose. Its object was to provide a civil government for the PAYING THE EXCISEMAN This eighteenth-century satirical drawing by a British artist depicts Bostonians forcing tea down the throat of a customs official, whom they have tarred and feathered. In the background, colonists are dumping tea into the harbor (presumably a representation of the 1773 Boston Tea Party); and on the tree at right is a symbol of the Stamp Act, which the colonists had defied eight years earlier. (© GL Archive/Alamy)

French-speaking Roman Catholic inhabitants of Canada and the Illinois country. The law extended the boundaries of Quebec to include the French communities between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. It also granted political rights to Roman Catholics and recognized the legality of the Roman Catholic Church within the enlarged province. In many ways it was a tolerant and long-overdue piece of legislation. But in the inflamed atmosphere of the time, many people in the thirteen English-speaking colonies considered it a threat. They were already alarmed by rumors that the Church of England was scheming to appoint a bishop for America who would impose Anglican authority on all the various sects. Since the line between the Church of England and the Church of Rome had always seemed to many Americans dangerously thin, the passage of the Quebec Act convinced some of them that a plot was afoot in London to subject Americans to the tyranny of the pope. Those interested in western lands, moreover, believed that the act would hinder westward expansion. The Coercive Acts, far from isolating Massachusetts, made it a martyr to residents of other colonies and sparked new resistance up and down the coast. Colonial legislatures passed a series of resolves

Consequences







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TEA PARTIES THE BOSTON Tea Party of 1773 was a revolt against "taxation without representation." The poem "Tea, Destroyed by Indians" celebrates the action of the Boston Tea Party, expresses the colonists' resentments and complaints against the distant London government, and calls upon Boston patriots to continue to resist British actions. The twenty-first-century Tea Party movement became prominent in 2009. Although not an official political party, members tend to endorse Republican candidates. The modern Tea Party movement has borrowed its name from the Boston event that took place over 200 years ago, and has picked up some (although not all) of the ideas of the 1773 Boston Tea Party: hostility to distant authority (London then, Washington now) and resentment of taxes (imposed by Britain then, and by Washington now). Although taxation in our time does not really take place "without representation," today's Tea Partiers certainly feel that contemporary taxation is as illegitimate as the Bostonians felt it was in 1773.

BOSTON TEA PARTY-1773  
Tea, Destroyed by Indians  
Poem honoring the Boston Tea Party, Dec. 1773  
CHORUS:  
Bostonian's SONS keep up your Courage good , Or Dge, like  
Martyrs, in fair Free-born Blood. YE GLORIOUS SONS OF  
FREEDOM, brave and bold, That has flood forth-fair LIBERTY to  
hold; Though you were INDIANS, come from distant shores. Like  
MEN you acted-not like savage Moors. CHORUS Our LIBERTY, and  
LIFE is now invaded. And FREEDOM'S brightest Charms are darkly  
shaded; But, we will STAND-and think it noble mirth. To DART the  
man that dare oppress the Earth. CHORUS \ CHORUS Must we be  
still- and live on Blood-bought Ground, And not oppose the Tyrants  
cursed found? We Scorn the thought-our views are well refin'd We  
Scorn those slavish shackles of the Mind, "We've Souls that were not  
made to be confin'd." CHORUS Could our Fore-fathers rise from  
their cold Graves, And view their Land, with all their Children  
SLAVES; What would they say! how would their Spirits rend. And,  
Thunder-strucken, to their Graves descend. CHORUS Let us with  
hearts of steel now stand the task. Throw off all darksome ways, nor  
wear a Mask. Oh! may our noble Zeal support our frame. And brand  
all Tyrants with eternal SHAME. How grand the Scene!-(No Tyrant  
shall oppose) The TEA is sunk in spite of all our foes. A NOBLE

SIGHT-to see th' accursed TEA Mingled with MUD-and ever for to  
be; For KING and PRINCE shall know that we are FREE. \_ CHORUS  
Bostonian's SONS keep up your Courage good. And sink all Tyrants  
in their GUILTY BLOOD. Source: WAAAAA.masshist.org J

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE I III III III III III III III  
III IIIIIIIIIIIII III III III III IIII III III IIIIIIIIIIIII III III III III III III  
MINI IIIIIIIIIIIII III III III III III MINI IIIIIIIIIIIII III MINI MINI  
MINI III IIIIIIIIIIM 1. What is the prevailing tone of the document?  
To whom is the poem addressed? What specific complaints or  
resentments against the British government are expressed in the  
poem? 2. How does the style of the document contribute to the  
sentiments it expresses? Why might this style have been more  
effective in arousing the colonists' feelings about the Tea Party than  
an objective account of the event? 120 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimmmiii



TEA PARTY MOVEMENT-2010 Although the Tea Party movement has no centralized leadership, one organization that claims to be the "official\* home of the American Tea Party movement is TeaParty.org. A description and set of core beliefs provided by this organization appear below. TeaParty.org Description and Core Beliefs What Is the Tea Party? The Tea Party is a grassroots movement that calls awareness to any issue that challenges the security, sovereignty, or domestic tranquility of our beloved nation, the United States of America. From our founding, the Tea Party is the voice of the true owners of the United States, WE THE PEOPLE. We are the beneficiaries of their courage. By joining the Tea Party, you are taking a stand for our nation. You will be upholding the grand principles set forth in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. Non-negotiable core beliefs Illegal Aliens Are Here Illegally. Pro-Domestic Employment Is Indispensable. Stronger Military Is Essential. Special Interests Eliminated. Gun Ownership Is Sacred. Government Must Be Downsized. National Budget Must Be Balanced. Deficit Spending Will End. Bail-Out and Stimulus Plans Are Illegal. Reduce Personal Income Taxes A Must. Reduce Business Income Taxes Is Mandatory. Political Offices Available To Average Citizens. Intrusive Government Stopped. English As Core Language Is Required. Traditional Family Values Are Encouraged. Common Sense Constitutional. Conservative Self-Governance. (Source: Tea Party/ 1773 Tea Party) Many claim to be the founders of this movement however, it was the brave souls of the men and women in 1773, known today as the Boston Tea Party, who dared defy the greatest military might on earth. \ j MAKE CONNECTIONS

1. How does the statement from TeaParty.org echo the sentiments expressed in the broadside about the Boston Tea Party of 1773? 2. The message from TeaParty.org makes a specific connection to the Boston Tea Party of 1773. Do you think TeaParty.org is justified in claiming a connection to the original Tea Party? 121

Taverns in Revolutionary Massachusetts in colonial Massachusetts, as in many other American colonies in the 1760s and 1770s, taverns (or "public houses," or "pubs," as they came to be known) were crucial to the development of popular resistance to British rule. The Puritan culture of New England created some resistance to taverns, and there were continuing efforts by reformers to regulate or close them to reduce the problems caused by "public drunkenness," "lewd behavior," and anarchy. But as the commercial life of the colonies expanded, and as increasing numbers of people began living in towns and cities, taverns became a central institution in American social life— and eventually in its political life as well. Taverns were appealing, of course, because they provided alcoholic drinks in a culture where the craving for alcohol— and the extent of drunkenness— was very high. But taverns had other attractions as well. There were few other places where people could meet and talk openly in public, and to many colonists the life of the tavern came to seem the most democratic experience available to them. Gradually, many began to see the attacks on the public houses as efforts to increase the power of existing elites and suppress the freedoms of ordinary people. The tavern was a mostly male institution, just as politics was considered a mostly male concern. And so the fusion of male camaraderie and political discourse emerged naturally out of the tavern culture. As the revolutionary crisis deepened, taverns and pubs became the central meeting places for discussions of the ideas that fueled resistance to British policies. Educated and uneducated men alike joined in animated discussions of events. Those who could not read — and there were many— could learn about the contents of revolutionary pamphlets from listening to tavern discussions. They could join in the discussion of the new republican ideas emerging in the Americas by participating in tavern celebrations of, for example, the anniversaries of resistance to the Stamp Act. Those anniversaries inspired elaborate toasts in public houses throughout the colonies. Such toasts were the equivalents of political speeches, and illiterate men could learn much from them about the political concepts that were circulating through the colonies. THE SCALES OF JUSTICE This sign for a Hartford tavern promises hospitality (from "the charming Patroness") and "entertainment" as well as food and drink. (© The Connecticut Historical Society, Gift of Mrs.

[illegible]

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Taverns were important sources of information in an age before any wide distribution of newspapers. Tavernkeepers were often trusted informants and confidants to the Sons of Liberty and other activists, and they were fountains of information about the political and social turmoil of the time. Taverns were also the settings for political events. In 1770, for example, a report circulated through the taverns of Danvers, Massachusetts, about a local man who was continuing to sell tea despite the colonial boycott. The Sons of Liberty brought the seller to the Bell Tavern and persuaded him to sign a confession and apology before a crowd of defiant men. Almost all politicians found it necessary to visit taverns in colonial Massachusetts if they wanted any real contact with the public. Samuel Adams spent considerable time in the public houses of Boston, where he sought to encourage resistance to British rule while taking care to drink moderately > V jU ■ /C,

**TAVERNS AND POLITICS** The Green Dragon Tavern is where protestors planned the Boston Tea Party. (© The Granger Collection, New York) so as not to erode his stature as a leader. His cousin John Adams was somewhat more skeptical of taverns, more sensitive to the vices they encouraged. But he, too, recognized their political value. In taverns, he once said, "bastards, and legislatores are frequently begotten."

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

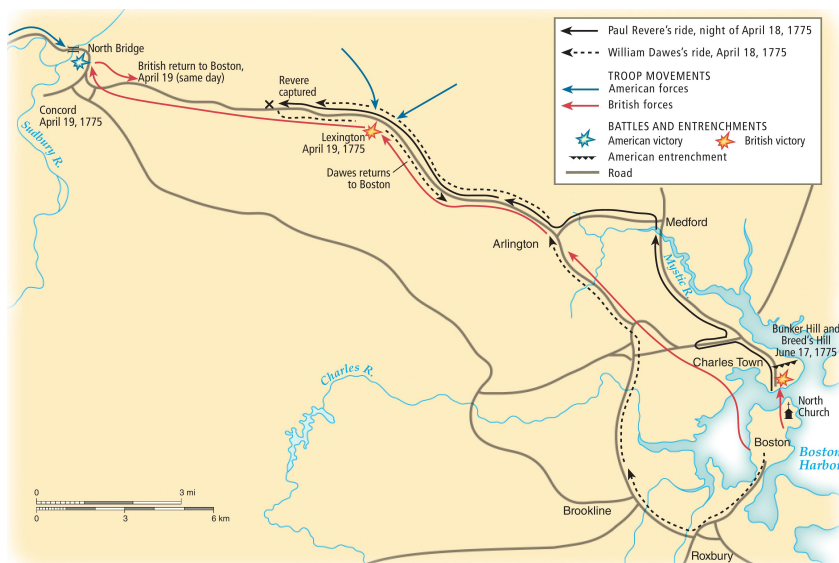
1. Why were taverns so important in educating colonists about the relationship with Britain?
2. The tavern is described as a "mostly male institution" yet women often participated in political activities. Where might women have gathered and discussed political ideas (if not in the tavern)?
3. What gathering places today serve the same purposes that taverns did in colonial America?

**TO ALL BRAVE, HEALTHY, ABLE BODIED, AND WELL DISPOSED YOUNG MEN, IN' THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHO HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO JOËN THE TROOPS, NOW R AISING UNDER GENERAL WASHINGTON, f o ft TBE defence of the LIBERTIES AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, Agsiiast the Saftite fGKLgr \*\*\*mit4, takeTTotice, RECRUITING PATRIOTS** This Revolutionary War recruiting poster attracted recruits by appealing to their patriotism (asking them to defend "the liberties and independence of the United States"), their vanity (by showing the "handsome clothing" and impressive bearing of soldiers), and their greed (by offering them "a bounty of twelve dollars" and "sixty

dollars a year”). (Library of Congress) Continental Congress convened in Carpenter’s Hall in Philadelphia. They made five major decisions. First, in a very close vote, they rejected a plan (proposed by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania) for a colonial union under British authority (much like the earlier Albany Plan). Second, they endorsed a statement of grievances, whose tortured language reflected the conflicts among the delegates between moderates and extremists. The statement seemed to concede Parliament’s right to regulate colonial trade and addressed the king as "Most Gracious Sovereign"; but it also included a more extreme demand for the repeal of all the oppressive legislation passed since 1763. Third, they approved a series of resolutions, recommending, among other things, that the colonists make military preparations for defense against possible attack by the British troops in Boston. Fourth, they agreed to nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption as means of stopping all trade with Great Britain, and they formed a "Continental Association" to enforce the agreements. And fifth, when the delegates . 123 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

124 CHAPTER 4 Lexington April 19, 1775 Dawes returns to Boston Medford Arlington ^ Charles Town Church Boston Roxbury 3 mi = d - Paul Revere's ride, night of April 18, 1775 - < - William Dawes's ride, April 18, 1775 TROOP MOVEMENTS - < - American forces - British forces BATTLES AND ENTRENCHMENTS <sup>ijr</sup>\* American victory British victory American entrenchment Road north Bridge "v British return to Boston ^ j^ April 19 (same day) Revere captured Concord ^ April 19, 1775 North Brookline Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill June 17, 1775 7 Boston Harbor THE BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD, 1775 This map shows the fabled series of events that led to the first battle of the American Revolution. On the night of April 18, 1775, Paul Revere and William Dawes rode out from Boston to warn the outlying towns of the approach of British troops. Revere was captured just west of Lexington, but Dawes escaped and returned to Boston. The next morning, British forces moved out of Boston toward Lexington, where they met armed American minutemen on the Lexington common and exchanged fire. The British dispersed the Americans in Lexington. But they next moved on to Concord, where they encountered more armed minutemen, clashed again, and were driven back toward Boston. All along their line of march, they were harassed by riflemen. • What impact did the Battles of Lexington and Concord (and the later Battle of Bunker Hill, also shown on this map) have on colonial sentiment toward the British? adjourned, they agreed to meet again the next spring, thus indicating that they considered the Continental Congress a continuing organization. Through their representatives in Philadelphia the colonies had, in effect, reaffirmed their autonomous status within the empire and declared something close to economic war to maintain that position. The more optimistic of the Americans hoped that this economic warfare alone would win a quick and bloodless victory, but the more pessimistic had their doubts, "I expect no redress, but, on the contrary, increased resentment and double vengeance," John Adams wrote to Patrick Henry; "we must fight." And Henry replied, "By God, I am of your opinion." During the winter, the Parliament in London debated proposals for conciliating the colonists. Lord Chatham (William Pitt), the former prime minister, urged The the withdrawal of troops from America. Edmund Burke called for the repeal of the Coercive Acts. But their efforts Conciliatory

Propositions were in vain. Lord North finally won approval early in 1775 for a series of measures known as the Conciliatory Propositions, but they were far less conciliatory than the approaches Burke or Chatham had urged. Parliament now proposed that the colonies, instead of being taxed directly by Parliament, would tax themselves at Parliament's demand. With this offer, Lord North hoped to divide the American moderates, who he believed represented the views of the majority, from the extremist minority. But his offer was too little and too late. It did not reach America until after the first shots of war had been fired. Lexington and Concord For months, the farmers and townspeople of Massachusetts had been gathering arms and ammunition and training as "minutemen," preparing to fight on a minute's notice. The Continental Congress had approved preparations for a defensive war, and the citizen-soldiers awaited an aggressive move by the British regulars in Boston.

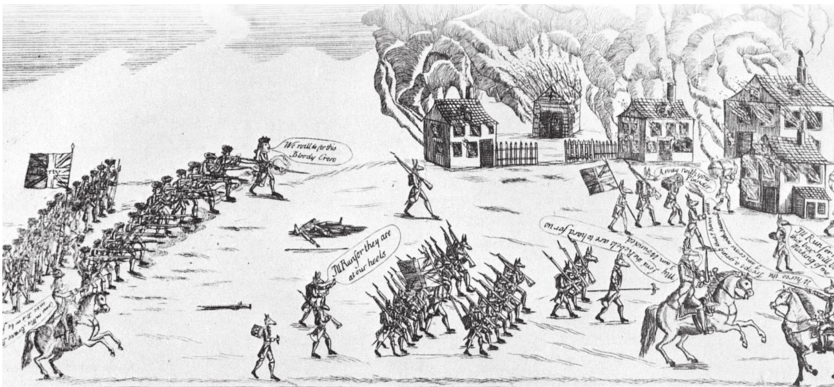




## THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 125 1 he Retreat Jrm

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horsemen, William Dawes and Paul Revere, rode out to warn the villages and farms. When the British troops arrived in Lexington the next day, several dozen minutemen awaited them on the town common. Shots were fired and minutemen fell; eight of them were killed and ten more wounded. Advancing to Concord, the British discovered that the Americans had hastily removed most of the powder supply, but the British burned what was left of it. All along the road from Concord back to Boston, farmers hiding behind trees, rocks, and stone fences harassed the British with continual gunfire. By the end of the day, the British had lost almost three times as many men as the Americans. The first shots-the "shots heard round the world," as Americans later called them-had been fired. But who had fired them? According to one of the minutemen at Lexington, Major Pitcairn had shouted to the colonists on his arrival, "Disperse, ye rebels!" When the Americans ignored the command, he had given the order to fire. British officers and soldiers told a different story. They claimed that the minutemen had fired first, that only after seeing the flash of American guns had the British begun to shoot. Whatever the truth, the rebels succeeded in circulating their account well ahead of the British version, adorning it with lurid tales of British atrocities. The effect was to rally to the rebel cause thousands of colonists, north and south, who previously had had little enthusiasm for



126 CHAPTER 4 war. Jeremy Lister, a minuteman in Lexington, wrote later: "We got all over the bay and landed on the opposite shore betwixt twelve and one O'clock and was on our March by one, which was at first through some swamps and slips of the Sea till we got into the Road leading to Lexington soon after which the Country people begun to fire their alarm guns light their Beacons, to raise the Country. ... To the best of my recollection about 4 o'clock in the morning being the 19th of April the 5 front Compys. was ordered to Load which we did." It was not immediately clear to the British, and even to many Americans, that the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord were the first battles of a war. Many saw them as simply yet another example of the tensions that Revolution had been afflicting Anglo-American relations for years. But whether they recognized it at the time or not, the British and the Americans had taken a decisive step. The War for Independence had begun. LOOKING BACK When the French and Indian War ended in 1763, it might have seemed reasonable to expect that relations between the English colonists in America and Great Britain itself would have been cemented more firmly than ever. America and Britain had fought together in a great war against the French and their Indian allies. They had won impressive victories. They had vastly expanded the size of the British Empire. But the end of the French and Indian War altered the imperial relationship forever, in ways that ultimately drove Americans to rebel against English rule and begin another war for independence. To the British, the lesson of the war was that the colonies in America needed firmer control from London. The empire was now much bigger, and it needed better administration. The war had produced great debts, and the Americans—among the principal beneficiaries of the war—should help pay them. And so for more than a decade after the end of the fighting, the British tried one strategy after another to tighten control over and extract money from the colonies, all of them in the end failures. To the colonists, this effort to tighten imperial rule was both a betrayal of the sacrifices they had made in the war and a challenge to their long-developing assumptions about the rights of English people to rule themselves. Gradually, white Americans came to see in the British policies evidence of a conspiracy to establish tyranny in the New World. And so throughout the 1760s and 1770s, the colonists developed

ever more overt and effective forms of resistance. By the time the first shots were fired in the American Revolution in 1775, Britain and America-once bonded so closely to one another that most white Americans considered themselves Just as English as any resident of London-had come to view each other as two very different societies. Their differences, which came to seem irreconcilable, propelled them into a war that would change the course of history. • Key Terms/People/ Places/Events Albany Plan 100 Benjamin Franklin 100 Boston Massacre 115 Boston Tea Party 119 Charles Townshend 114 Coercive Acts 119 Committees of correspondence 123 Creoles 101 Currency Act 111 Daughters of Liberty 119 First Continental Congress 123 George Grenville 109 Impressment 103 Iroquois Confederacy 101 Lord North 115 Mutiny Act 110 Patrick Henry 113 Proclamation of 1763 109 Quebec Act 119 Samuel Adams 116 Sons of Liberty 122 Stamp Act 111 Stamp Act Congress 113 Sugar Act 113 Tea Act 118 Townshend Duties 115 Virginia Resolves 113 William Pitt 103 RECALL AND REFLECT

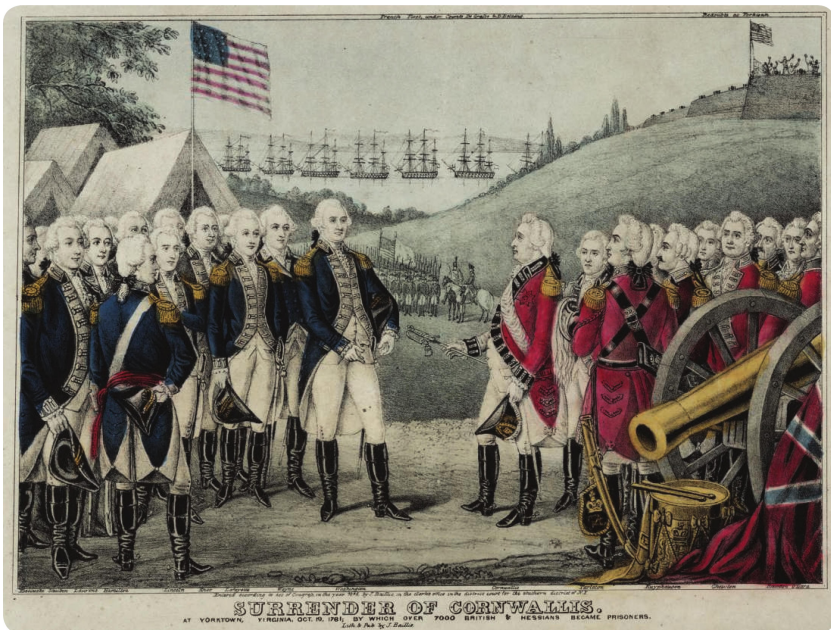
1. How did the Seven Years' War and its outcome affect Britain's attitude and policies toward its North American colonies? 2. Which Native American tribes fought in the French and Indian War, and how did the war's outcome affect them? What were the war's effects on Native Americans? 3. How and why did the colonists' attitude toward Britain change from the time of the Seven Years' War to the beginning of the American Revolution? 4. What were the philosophical underpinnings of the colonists' revolt against Britain? 5. What did the slogan "No taxation without representation" mean, and why was it a rallying cry for the colonists?

## THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION 127 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1754 ^ . • • Albany Plan for intercolonial cooperation rejected  
French and Indian War begins in North America © 1756 Seven  
Years' War begins in Europe 1771 Regulator movement quelled in  
North Carolina 1770 Boston Massacre Most Townshend Duties  
repealed 1760 ^ George III becomes king French army surrenders to  
Amherst at Montreal O 1765 O Stamp Act crisis Mutiny Act passed  
1764 Sugar Act passed Currency Act passed 1766 Stamp Act  
repealed Declaratory Act passed 1773 Tea Act passed Bostonians  
stage tea party 1775 Clashes at Lexington and Concord begin  
American Revolution 1772 Committees of correspondence  
established in Boston Gaspee incident in Rhode Island O ^ 1774  
Intolerable Acts passed First Continental Congress O meets at  
Philadelphia 1767 Townshend Duties imposed

## 5| THE AMERICAN I REVOLUTION LOOKING AHEAD

1. What were the military strategies (both British and American) of each of the three phases of the American Revolution? How successful were these strategies during each phase? 2. How did the American Revolution become an international conflict, not just a colonial war against the British? 3. How did the new national government of the United States reflect the assumptions of republicanism? SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS On October 19, 1781, Lord Charles Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown. This painting by James S. Baillie depicts the event that ended the hostilities between Britain and the United States. (© Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library)



**SETTING THE STAGE TWO STRUGGLES OCCURRED SIMULTANEOUSLY** during the seven years of war that began in April 1775. One was the military conflict with Great Britain. The second was a political battle within America. The military conflict was, by the standards of later wars, relatively modest. By the standards of its own day, however, it was unusually savage, pitting not only army against army, but also the civilian population against an external force. The shift of the war from a traditional, conventional struggle to a new kind of conflict— a revolutionary war for liberation— made it possible for the American army finally to defeat the vastly more powerful British. At the same time, Americans were wrestling with the great political questions the conflict necessarily produced: first, whether to demand independence from Britain; second, how to structure the new nation they had proclaimed; and third, how to deal with questions the Revolution had raised about slavery, the rights of Indians, the role of women, and limits of religious tolerance in the new American society. Only the first question had been resolved when the British surrendered at Yorktown in 1781. But by then the United States had already established itself as a new kind of nation, one dedicated to enlightened ideals. Neither at the time nor later did the United States always follow those ideals. At the same time that revolutionaries were celebrating the "rights of man," they were consolidating the enslavement of African Americans, depriving Loyalists (American colonists who supported the British during the Revolution) of rights and property, barring women from participation in public life, and denying Indian tribes the limited rights the British had accorded them. Yet despite these contradictions, they believed that the nation should try to live up to the ideals proclaimed in the Revolution as a continuing influence on the future history of the United States.

**THE STATES UNITED**

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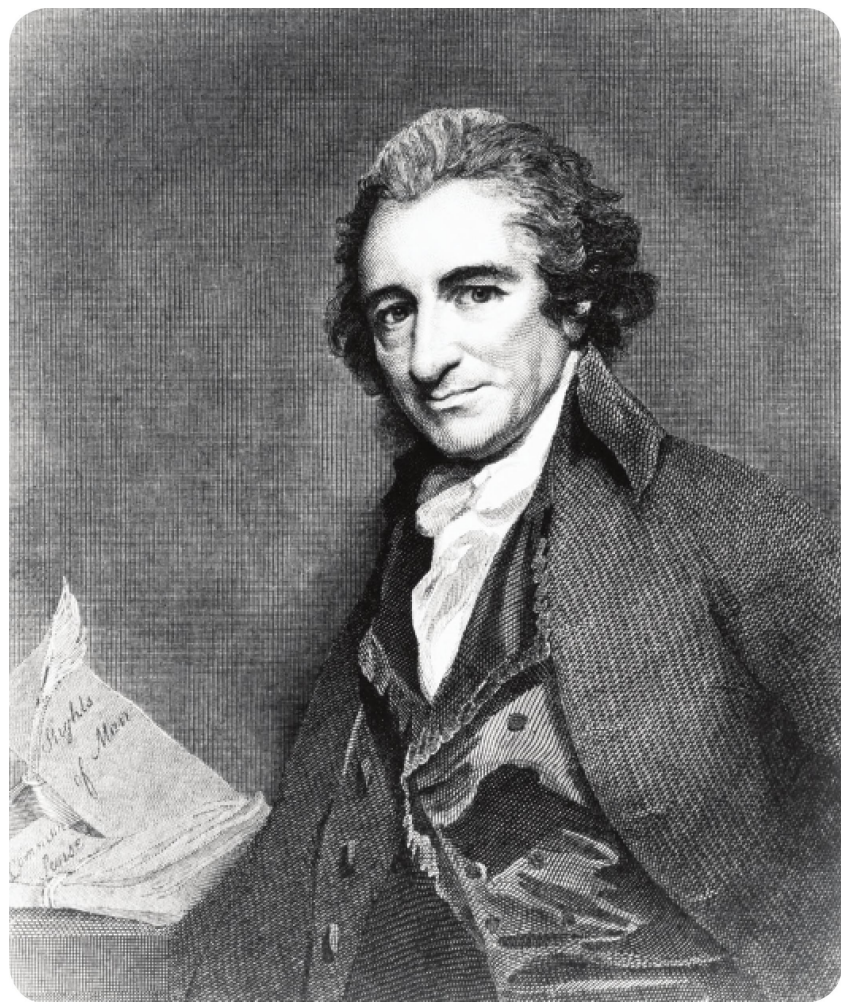
Although many Americans had been anticipating a military conflict with Britain for months, even years, the actual beginning of hostilities in 1775 found the colonies generally unprepared for the enormous challenges awaiting them. America was an unformed nation, with a population less than a third as large as the 9 million of Great Britain, and with vastly inferior economic and military resources. It faced the task of mobilizing for war against the world's

greatest armed power at the same time Americans were deeply divided about what they were fighting for. Defining American War Aims Three weeks after the Battles of Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress met in the State House in Philadelphia, with delegates from every colony except Georgia, which sent no representative until the following autumn. The members agreed to support the war, but they disagreed, at times profoundly, about its purpose. At one pole was a group led by the Adams cousins (John and Samuel), Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, and others, who favored complete independence from Great Britain. At the other pole was a group led by such moderates as John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, who hoped for modest reforms in the imperial relationship that would permit an early reconciliation with Great Britain. Most of the delegates tried to find some middle ground between these positions. They demonstrated their uncertainty in two very different declarations, which they adopted in quick succession. The first was the "Olive Branch Petition," a conciliatory appeal to the king, which the British government rejected. Then, on July 6, 1775, they adopted an antagonistic "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms." It proclaimed that the British government had left the American people with only two alternatives: "unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers or resistance by force."



130 CHAPTER 5 The attitude of much of the public mirrored that of the Congress. At first, most Americans believed they were fighting not for independence but for a redress of grievances within the British Empire. During the first year of fighting, however, many of them began to change their minds, for several reasons. First, the costs of the war-human and financial-were so high that the original war aims began to seem too modest to justify them. Second, what lingering affection American Patriots retained for England greatly diminished when the British began trying to recruit Indians, African slaves, and foreign mercenaries (the hated Hessians) against them. Third, and most important, colonists came to believe that the British government was forcing them toward independence by rejecting the Olive Branch Petition and instead enacting a "Prohibitory Act." It closed the colonies to all overseas trade and made no concessions to American demands except an offer to pardon repentant rebels. The British enforced the Prohibitory Act with a naval blockade of colonial ports. But the growing support for independence remained to a large degree unspoken until January 1776, when an impassioned pamphlet appeared that galvanized many Americans. It was called, simply, *Common Sense*. Its author, unmentioned on the title page, was thirty-eight-year-old Thomas Paine, who THOMAS PAINE Paine emigrated to America in 1774 and quickly became involved in the revolutionary circles in Philadelphia. Early in 1776, he published an anonymous pamphlet titled *Common Sense*, which called for an end to British rule in America. He served in the American army during the Revolution in New Jersey, while also writing additional tracts promoting independence. In later years, he joined the French Revolution and published *The Rights of Man* in 1791-1792. (© Corbis) had emigrated from England to America fifteen months before. *Common Sense* He barely survived the transatlantic voyage . to America. For much of his life he lived in poverty, and he was ostracized because he openly ridiculed Christianity. But his pamphlets influenced the developing ideals of the United States. A failure in various trades, Paine now proved a brilliant success as a Revolutionary propagandist. His *Common Sense* helped change the American outlook toward the war. Paine wanted to turn the anger of Americans away from the specific parliamentary measures they were resisting and toward what he considered the root of the

problem-the English constitution itself. It was not enough, he argued, for Americans to continue blaming their problems on particular ministers, or even on Parliament. It was the king, and the system that permitted him to rule, that was to blame. It was, he argued, simple common sense for Americans to break completely with a government that could produce so corrupt a monarch as George III, a government that could inflict such brutality on its own people, a government that could drag Americans into wars in which America had no interest. The island kingdom of England was no more fit to rule the American continent, Paine claimed, than a satellite was fit to rule the sun. The *Decision for Independence* Common Sense sold more than 100,000 copies in its first few months. To many of its readers it was a revelation. Although sentiment for independence remained far from unanimous, support for the idea grew rapidly in the first months of 1776. At the same time, the Continental Congress was moving slowly and tentatively toward a final break with England. It declared American ports open to the ships of all nations except Great Britain's. It entered into communication with foreign powers. It recommended to the various colonies that they establish new governments independent of the British Empire, as most already were doing. Congress also appointed a committee to draft a formal declaration of independence. On July 2, 1776, it adopted a resolution: "That these United Colonies are, and, of right, ought to be, free and independent states; that ^ they are absolved from all allegiance to Declaration of British crown, and that all political Independence connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Two days later, on July 4, Congress approved the Declaration of Independence, which provided the formal justifications for the actions the delegates had in fact taken two days earlier. Thomas Jefferson, a thirty-three-year-old delegate from Virginia, wrote most of the Declaration, with help from Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. As Adams later observed, Jefferson said little in the document that was new. Its power lay in the eloquence with which it expressed beliefs already widespread in America. In particular, it repeated ideas that had been voiced throughout the colonies in the preceding months in the form of at least ninety local "declarations of independence"-declarations



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 131 drafted up and down the coast by town meetings, artisan and militia organizations, county officials, grand juries. Sons of Liberty, and colonial assemblies. Jefferson borrowed heavily from these texts, both for the ideas he expressed and, to some extent, for the precise language he used. The document was in two parts. In the first, the Declaration restated the familiar contract theory of John Locke: that governments were formed to protect the rights of life, liberty, and property; Jefferson gave the theory a more idealistic tone by replacing "property" with "the pursuit of happiness." In the second part, the Declaration listed the alleged crimes of the king, who, with the backing of Parliament, had violated his "contract" with the colonists and thus had forfeited all claim to their loyalty. The Declaration's ringing endorsement of the idea that "all men are created equal"-a phrase borrowed from an earlier document by Jefferson's fellow Virginian George Mason-later helped inspire movements of liberation and reform of many kinds in the United States and abroad, among them the French Revolution's own Declaration of the Rights of Man. More immediately, the Declaration-and its bold claim that the American colonies were now a sovereign nation, "The United States of America"-led to increased foreign aid for the struggling rebels and prepared the way for France's intervention on their side. The Declaration also encouraged American Patriots, as those opposing the British called themselves, to fight on and to reject the idea of a peace that stopped short of winning independence. At the same time, it created deep divisions within American society. Responses to Independence At the news of the Declaration of Independence, crowds in Philadelphia, Boston, and other places gathered to cheer, fire guns and cannons, and ring church bells. But there were many in America who did not rejoice. Some had disapproved of the war from the beginning. Others had been willing to support it only so long as its aims did not conflict with their basic loyalty to the king. Such people were a minority, but a substantial one. They called themselves Loyalists; supporters of independence called them Tories. In the aftermath of the Declaration of Independence, the colonies began to call themselves "states"-a reflection of their belief that each province was now in some respects a separate and sovereign entity. Even before the Declaration, colonies were beginning to operate independently of

royal authority. Divided The Parliament in London had suspended Americans representative government in America. That suspension did not end colonial self-government. It increased it, since the colonial assemblies continued to meet, now independent of imperial law. After the Declaration of 1776, the former colonies marked their independence by writing formal constitutions for themselves. By 1781, most of the new states had produced such constitutions, which established republican governments. Some of these constitutions survived for many decades without significant change. At the national level, however, the process of forming a government was more halting and less successful. For a time, Americans were uncertain whether they even wanted a real national government; the Continental Congress had not been much more than a coordinating mechanism, and virtually everyone considered the individual colonies (now states) the real centers of authority. Yet fighting a war required a certain amount of central direction. Americans began almost immediately to do something they would continue to do for more than two centuries: balance the commitment to state and local autonomy against the need for some centralized authority. In November 1777, Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation (which were not finally ratified until 1781). They did little more than confirm the weak, decentralized system already in operation. The Continental Congress Articles of would survive as the chief coordinating Confederation agency of the war effort. Its powers over the individual states would be very limited. Indeed, the Articles did not make it entirely clear that the Congress was to be a real government. As a result, the new nation had to fight a war for its own survival with a weak and uncertain central government, never sure of its own legitimacy. Mobilizing for War The new governments of the states and the nation faced a series of overwhelming challenges: raising and organizing armies, providing them with supplies and equipment, and finding a way to pay for it all. Without access to the British markets on which the colonies had come to depend, finding necessary supplies was exceptionally difficult. America had many gunsmiths, but they could not come close to meeting the wartime demand for guns and ammunition, let alone the demand for heavy arms. Although Congress created a government arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1777, the Americans managed to manufacture only a small fraction of the equipment they needed. Instead, they

relied heavily on weapons and materiel they were able to capture from the British. But they got most of their war supplies from European nations, mainly from France. Financing the war proved in many ways the most nettlesome problem. Congress had no authority to levy taxes directly on the people; it had to requisition funds from the state governments. But hard money was scarce in America, and the states were little better equipped to raise it than Congress was. None of them contributed more than a small part of their expected share. Congress tried to raise money by selling longterm bonds, but few Americans could afford them and those who could generally preferred to invest in more-profitable ventures, such as privateering. In the end, the government had no choice but to issue paper money. Continental currency came from the printing presses in large and repeated batches. The states printed sizable amounts of paper currency of their own.

The American Revolution in the long-standing debate over the origins of the American Revolution has tended to reflect two broad schools of interpretation. One sees the Revolution largely as a political and intellectual event and argues that the revolt against Britain was part of a defense of ideals and principles. The other views the Revolution as a social and economic phenomenon and contends that material interests were at its heart. The Revolutionary generation itself portrayed the conflict as a struggle over ideals, and their interpretation prevailed through most of the nineteenth century. But in the early twentieth century, historians influenced by the reform currents of the progressive era (1873-1920) began to identify social and economic forces that they believed had contributed to the rebellion. In a 1909 study of New York, Carl Becker wrote that two questions had shaped the Revolution: "The first was the question of home rule; the second was the question ... of who should rule at home." Not only were the colonists fighting the British, they were also engaged in a kind of civil war, a contest for power between radicals and conservatives that led to the "democratization of American politics and society." Other "progressive" historians elaborated on Becker's thesis. In *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (1926), J. Franklin Jameson argued that "many economic desires, many social aspirations, were set free by the political struggle, many aspects of society profoundly altered by the forces thus let loose." In a 1917 book, Arthur M. Schlesinger maintained that colonial merchants, motivated by their own interest in escaping the restrictive policies of British mercantilism, aroused American resistance in the 1760s and 1770s. Beginning in the 1950s, a new generation of scholars began to re-emphasize the role of ideology and to de-emphasize the role of economic interests. Robert E. Brown (in 1955) and Edmund S. Morgan (in 1956) both argued that most eighteenth-century white Americans shared basic political principles and that the social and economic conflicts the progressives had identified were not severe. The rhetoric of the Revolution, they suggested, was not propaganda but, rather, a real reflection of the colonists' ideas. Bernard Bailyn, in *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967), demonstrated the complex roots of the ideas behind the Revolution and argued that this carefully constructed political stance was not a disguise for economic interests but a

genuine ideology, rooted in deeply held convictions about rights and power. By the late 1960s, however, a group of younger historians were challenging the ideological interpretation again by illuminating social and economic tensions within colonial society that they claimed helped shape the Revolutionary struggle. Jesse Lemisch and Dirk Floerder The result, predictably, was inflation. Prices rose to fantastic heights, and the value of paper money plummeted. Many Financing the American farmers and merchants began to War prefer doing business with the British, who could pay for goods in gold or silver com. (That was one reason why George Washington's troops suffered from severe food shortages at Valley Forge in the winter of 17771778; many Philadelphia merchants would not sell to them.) Congress tried and failed repeatedly to stem the inflationary spiral. In the end, the new American government was able to finance the war effort only by borrowing heavily from other nations. After the first great surge of patriotism faded in 1775, few Americans volunteered for military service. As a result, the states had to resort to persuasion and force: to paying bounties to attract new recruits and to drafting them. Even when it was possible to recruit substantial numbers of militiamen, they reGeneral mained under the control of their respecGeorge tive states- Congress quickly recognized Washington the disadvantages of this decentralized

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii ill system and tried, with some success, to correct it. In the spring of 1775, it created a Continental army with a single commander in chief. George Washington, the forty-three-year-old Virginia planter-aristocrat who had 132 commanded colonial forces during the French and Indian War, and-despite his defeat at the battle at Fort Necessity in 1754possessed more experience than any other American-born officer available. He had also been an early advocate of independence. Above all, he was admired, respected, and trusted by nearly all Patriots. He was the unanimous choice of the delegates, and he took command in June 1775. Congress had chosen well. Throughout the war, Washington never flagged, despite difficulties and discouragements that would have daunted a lesser man. There were serious problems of morale among soldiers who consistently received short rations and low pay. Open mutinies broke out in 1781 among the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops. The Continental Congress always seemed too little interested in



supplying him with manpower and equipment and too much interested in interfering with his conduct of military operations. Washington had some shortcomings as a military commander. But he was, in the end, a great war leader. With the Foreign aid °f foreign military experts such as the Assistance Marquis de Lafayette from France and Baron von Steuben from Prussia, he succeeded in building and holding together an army of fewer than 10,000 men that, along with state militias, ultimately iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

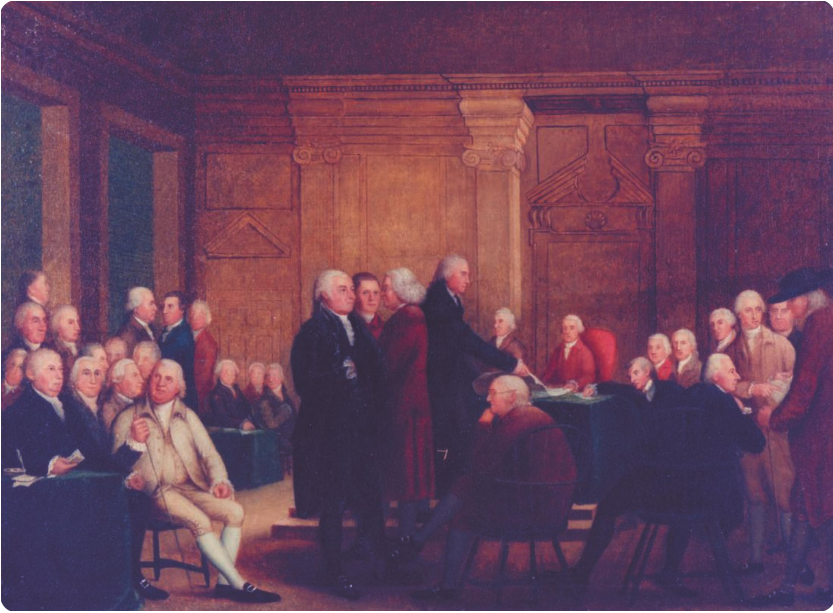
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## 134 CHAPTER 5 VOTING FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Continental Congress actually voted in favor of independence from Great Britain on July 2, 1776. July 4, the date Americans now celebrate as Independence Day, is when the Congress formally ratified the Declaration of Independence. This painting by Edgar Pine-Savage re-creates the scene in Philadelphia as delegates from the various colonies made their momentous decision. (© Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent/Courtesy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection,/The Bridgeman Art Library)

war. Many English authorities continued to believe that British forces were simply attempting to quell pockets of rebellion in the contentious area around Boston. Gradually, however, colonial forces took the offensive and made almost the entire territory of the American colonies a battleground. After the British withdrawal from Concord and Lexington in April 1775, American forces besieged the army of General Bunker Hill Thomas Gage in Boston. The Patriots suffered severe casualties in the Battle of Bunker Hill (actually fought on Breed's Hill) on June 17, 1775, and were ultimately driven from their position there. But they inflicted much greater losses on the enemy than the enemy inflicted on them. Indeed, the British suffered their heaviest casualties of the entire war at Bunker Hill. After the battle, the Patriots continued to tighten the siege. By the first months of 1776, the British had concluded that Boston was not the best place from which to wage war. Not only was it in the center of the most fervently anti-British region of the colonies, it was also tactically indefensible—a narrow neck of land, easily isolated and besieged. By late winter, in fact, Patriot forces had surrounded the city and occupied strategic positions on the heights. On March 17, 1776 (a date still celebrated in Boston as Evacuation Day), the British departed Boston for Halifax in Nova Scotia with hundreds of Loyalist refugees. Less than a year after the firing of the first shots, the Massachusetts colonists had driven the British temporarily from American soil. Elsewhere, the war proceeded fitfully and inconclusively. To the south, at Moore's Creek Bridge in North Carolina, a band of Patriots crushed an uprising of Loyalists on February 27, 1776, and in the process discouraged a British plan to invade the southern states. The British had expected substantial aid from local Tories in the South; they realized now that such aid might not be as effective as they had

hoped. To the north, Americans launched an invasion of Canada-  
hoping to remove the British threat and win the Canadians to their  
cause. Benedict Arnold, the



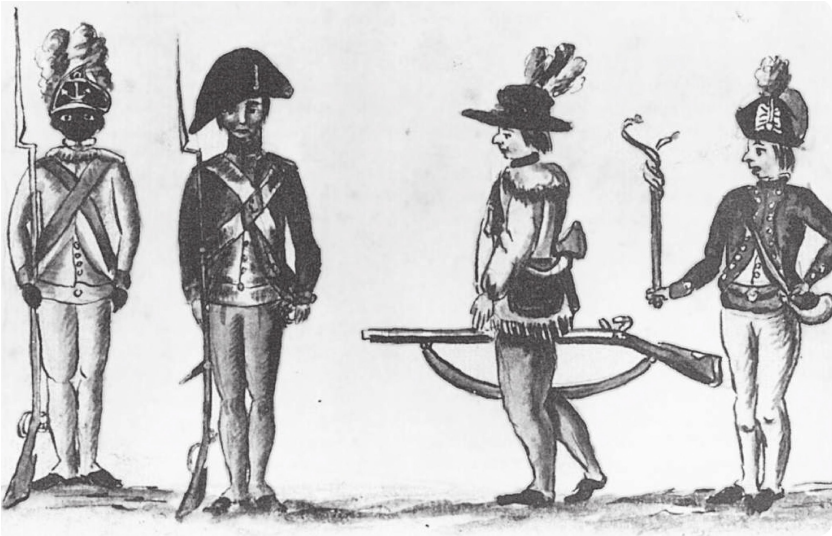
## THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 135 REVOLUTIONARY

**SOLDIERS** Jean Baptiste de Verger, a nineteen-year-old French officer serving in America during the Revolution, kept a journal of his experiences illustrated with watercolors. Here he portrays four American soldiers carrying different kinds of arms: a black infantryman with a light rifle, a musketman, a rifleman, and an artilleryman. (© Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library)

Invasion of commander of a small American force, Canada threatened Quebec in late 1775 and early 1776 after a winter march of incredible hardship. Richard Montgomery, coming to his assistance, combined his forces with Arnold's and took command of both. Montgomery died in the assault on the city; and although a wounded Arnold kept up the siege for a time, the Quebec campaign ended in frustration. Congress sent a civilian commission to Canada, headed by the seventy-year-old Benjamin Franklin. But Franklin also failed to win the allegiance of the northern colonists. Canada did not become part of the new nation. The British evacuation of Boston in 1776 was not, therefore, so much a victory for the Americans as a reflection of changing English assumptions about the war. By the spring of 1776, it had become clear to the British that England must be prepared to fight a much larger and longer conflict. The departure of the British, therefore, signaled the beginning of a new phase in the war.

**The Second Phase: The Mid-Atlantic Region** The next phase of the war, which lasted from 1776 until early 1778, was when the British were in the best position to win. Indeed, had it not been for a series of blunders and misfortunes, they probably would have crushed the rebellion then. During this period the struggle became, for the most part, a traditional, conventional war. And in that, the Americans were woefully overmatched. The British regrouped quickly after their retreat from Boston. During the summer of 1776, in the weeks immediately following the Declaration of Independence, the waters around New York City grew crowded with the most formidable military force Great Britain had ever sent abroad. Hundreds of man-of-war vessels and troopships and 32,000 disciplined soldiers arrived, under the command of the affable William Howe. Howe felt no particular hostility toward the Americans. He hoped to awe them into submission rather than fight them, and he believed that most of them, if given a chance, would show their loyalty to the king. In a

meeting with commissioners from Congress, he offered them a choice between submission with royal pardon and a battle against overwhelming odds. To oppose Howe's impressive array, Washington could muster only about 19,000 poorly armed and lightly trained soldiers, even after combining the Continental army with state militias; he had no navy at all. Even so, the Americans quickly



## 136 CHAPTER 5 THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN

The Battle of Germantown, a campaign intended by Washington to liberate Philadelphia from British occupation, took place on October 4, 1777. In this painting by Alonzo Chappel (1828-1887), *Battle of Germantown, Attack on Judge Chew's House* (1860), Washington's much larger force cannot defeat the 120 British infantrymen who barricaded themselves in the summer home of Loyalist Benjamin Chew. Twelve thousand American troops were forced to retreat into nearby Montgomery County. (© Chicago History Museum, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library)

British Take rejected Howe's offer and chose to continue the war—a decision that led inevitably to a succession of rapid defeats. The British pushed the defenders off Long Island, compelled them to abandon Manhattan, and then drove them in slow retreat over the plains of New Jersey, across the Delaware River, and into Pennsylvania. For eighteenth-century Europeans, warfare was a seasonal activity. Fighting generally stopped in cold weather. The British settled down for the winter at various points in New Jersey, leaving an outpost of Hessians (German mercenaries) at Trenton on the Delaware River. But Washington did not sit still. On Christmas night 1776, he boldly recrossed the icy river, surprised and scattered the Hessians, and occupied the town. Then he advanced to Princeton and drove a British force from their base in the college there. But Washington was unable to hold either Princeton or Trenton, and he finally took refuge for the rest of the winter in the hills around Morristown, New Jersey. For their campaigns of 1777, the British devised a strategy to cut the United States in two. Howe would move north from Britain's New York City up the Hudson to Albany, Strategy while another British force would come I Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill II \_ .. \_ south from Canada to meet him. One of the younger British officers, the dashing John Burgoyne, secured command of this northern force and planned a two-pronged attack along both the Mohawk and the upper Hudson approaches to Albany. But after setting this plan in motion, Howe himself abandoned it. He decided instead to launch an assault on the rebel capital Philadelphia—an assault that would, he hoped, discourage the Patriots, rally the Loyalists, and bring the war to a speedy conclusion. He removed the bulk of his forces from



THE BATTLE OF BUNSLYBANK. BRUCE ON CHEWY HILLS. OCT.



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 137 Siege of Quebec Nov. 1775-Mar. 1776 Trois Rivieres June 7, 1776 BRITISH CANADA MAINE (Mass.) Halifax Montreal NOVA SCOTIA Lake Champlain Valcour Island ^ Oct. 11, 1776 ^ Crown Point i Fort Ticonderoga ATLANTIC OCEAN Lake Ontario NEW HAMPSHIRE Boston , MASSACHUSETTS NEW YORK CONNECTICUT 4 - British forces < - American forces British victory THE REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH, 1775-1776 After initial battles in and around Boston, the British forces left Massachusetts and (after a brief stay in Halifax, Canada) moved south to New York. In the meantime, American forces moved north in an effort to capture British strongholds in Montreal and Quebec, with little success. • Why would the British have considered New York a better base than Boston? New York by sea, landed at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, brushed Washington aside at the Battle of Brandywine Creek on September 11, and proceeded north to Philadelphia, which he was able to occupy with little resistance. Meanwhile, Washington, after an unsuccessful October 4 attack at Germantown (Just outside Philadelphia), went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. The Continental Congress, now dislodged from its capital, reassembled at York, Pennsylvania. Howe's move to Philadelphia left Burgoyne to carry out the campaign in the north alone. Burgoyne sent Colonel Barry St. Leger up the St. Lawrence River toward Lake Ontario and the headwaters of the Mohawk, while Burgoyne himself advanced directly down the upper Hudson Valley. He got off to a flying start. He seized Fort Ticonderoga easily and with it an enormous store of powder and supplies; this caused such dismay in Congress that the delegates removed General Philip Schuyler from command of American forces in the north and replaced him with Horatio Gates. By the time Gates took command, Burgoyne had already experienced two staggering defeats. In one of them-at Oriskany, New York, on August 6-a Patriot band of German farmers led by Nicholas Herkimer held off a force of Indians and Tories commanded by St. Leger. That gave Benedict Arnold time to go to the relief of Fort Stanwix and close off the Mohawk Valley to St. Leger's advance. In the other battle-at Bennington, Vermont, on August 16 New England militiamen under the Bunker Hill veteran John Stark severely mauled a British detachment that Burgoyne had sent out to seek supplies. Short of materials, with all help cut off, Burgoyne fought

several costly engagements and then withdrew to Saratoga, where Gates surrounded him. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne ordered what was left of his army, nearly 5,000 men, to surrender to the Americans. To the Patriots and peoples watching from around the Patriot world, the New York campaign was a reVictory at markable victory. The British surrender at Saratoga Saratoga became a major turning point in I Mill HIM lllll II Mill Mill II Mill Mill II III II Mill IIIMII HIM II the war-above all, perhaps, because it led directly to an alliance between the United States and France. The British failure to win the war during this period, a period in which they had overwhelming advantages, was in large part a result of their own mistakes. And in assessing them, the role of William Howe looms large. He abandoned his own most important strategic initiative-the northern campaign-leaving Burgoyne to fight alone. And even in Pennsylvania, where he chose to British Blunders I Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II Mill II



## 138 CHAPTER 5 THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, 1775

British troops face Patriot forces outside Boston on June 17, 1775, in the first great battle of the American Revolution. The British ultimately drove the Americans from their positions on Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill, but only after suffering enormous casualties. General Gage, the British commander, reported to his superiors in London after the battle: "These people show a spirit and conduct against us they never showed against the French." This anonymous painting reveals the array of British troops and naval support and also shows the bombardment and burning of Charles Town from artillery in Boston. (Private Collection/© Peter Newark American Pictures/Bridgeman Images)

engage the enemy, he refrained from moving in for a final attack on the weakened Continental army, even though he had several opportunities. Instead, he repeatedly allowed Washington to retreat and regroup; and he permitted the American army to spend a long winter unmolested in Valley Forge, where weak and hungry—they might have been easy prey for a British attack. Some British critics believed that Howe did not want to win the war, that he was secretly in sympathy with the American cause. His family had close ties to the colonies, and he was linked politically to those forces within the British government that opposed the war. Others pointed to personal weaknesses: Howe's apparent alcoholism, his romantic attachment (he spent the winter of 1777-1778 in Philadelphia with his mistress when many of his advisers were urging him to move elsewhere). But the most important problem, it seems clear, was his failure to understand the nature of the war that he was fighting—or even to understand that it was truly a war.

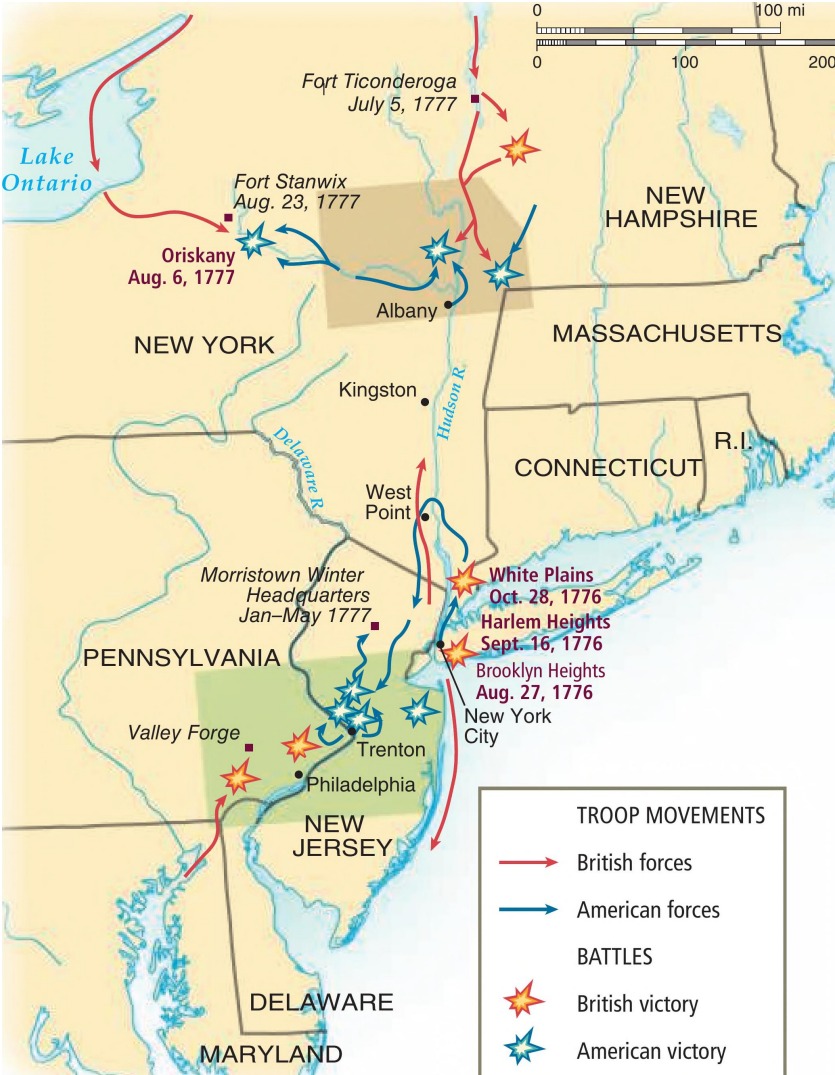
The Iroquois and the British

The campaign in upstate New York was not just a British defeat. It was also a setback for the ambitious efforts of several Iroquois leaders, who had hoped to involve Indian forces in the English military effort, believing that a British victory would help stem white movement onto tribal lands. The Iroquois Confederacy had declared itself neutral in the war in 1776, but not all its members were content to remain passive in the northern campaign. Among those who worked to expand the Native American role in the war were a Mohawk brother and sister, Joseph Brant and Mary Brant. Both were people of stature within the Mohawk nation: Joseph was a celebrated warrior; Mary was a charismatic woman and the widow of Sir

William Johnson, the British superintendent of Indians, who had achieved wide popularity among the tribes. The Brants persuaded their own tribe to contribute to the British cause and attracted the support of the Seneca and Cayuga as well. They played an important role in Burgoyne's unsuccessful campaigns in the north. But the alliance was also a sign of the growing divisions within the Iroquois Confederacy. Only three of the six nations of the Confederacy supported the British. Divisions in the The Oneida and the Tuscarora backed Iroquois the Americans; the Onondaga split into . . . several factions. The three-century-old



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 139 ■/To MARYLA  
TROOP MOVEMENTS — ► British forces —



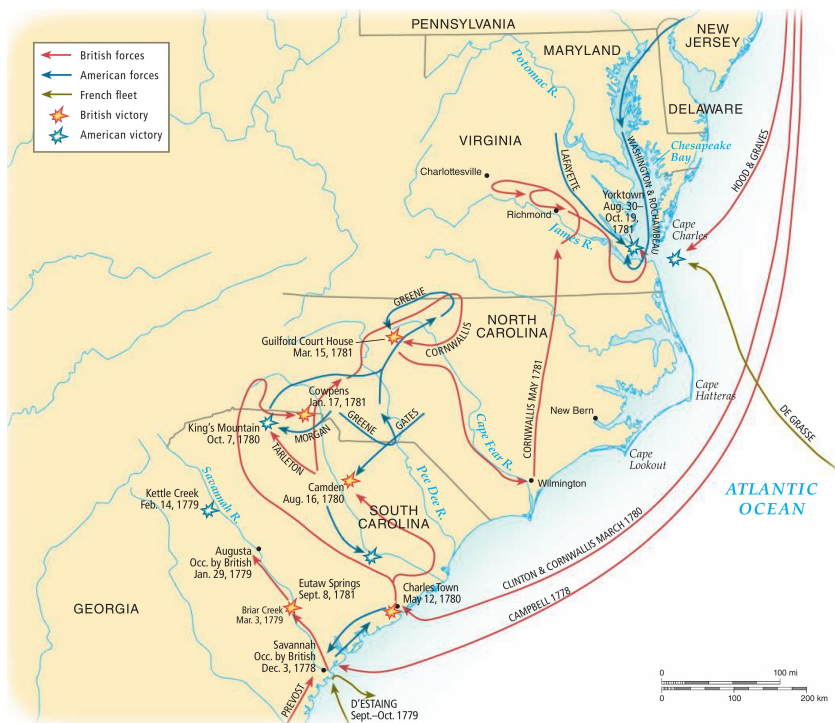
140 CHAPTER 5 The most promising potential ally for the United States was France. King Louis XVI, who had come to the throne in 1774, and his astute foreign minister, the Count de Vergennes, were eager to see Britain lose a crucial part of its empire. Through a series of secret bargains, facilitated by the creation of a fictional trading firm and the use of secret agents on both sides (among them the famed French dramatist Caron de Beaumarchais), France began supplying the Americans large quantities of much-needed supplies. But the French government remained reluctant to provide the United States with what it most wanted: diplomatic recognition. Finally, Benjamin Franklin himself went to France to represent the United States. A natural diplomat, Franklin became a popular hero among the French-aristocrats and common people alike. His popularity there greatly helped the American cause. Of even greater help was the news of the American victory at Saratoga, which arrived in London on December 2, 1777, and in Paris two days later. On February 6, 1778-in part to forestall a British peace offensive that Vergennes feared might persuade the Americans to abandon the war-France formally recognized the United States as a sovereign nation and laid the groundwork for greatly expanded assistance to the American war effort. France's intervention made the war an international conflict. In the course of the next two years, France, Spain, and the Pivotal Netherlands all drifted into another general French Aid war with Great Britain in Europe, and all contributed both directly and indirectly to the ultimate American victory. But France was America's truly indispensable ally. Not only did it furnish the new nation with most of its money and munitions; it also provided a navy and an expeditionary force that proved invaluable in the decisive phase of the Revolutionary conflict. The Final Phase: The South The last phase of the military struggle in America was very different from either of the first two. The British government had never been fully united behind the war; after the defeat at Saratoga and the intervention of the French, it imposed new limits on its commitment to the conflict. Instead of a full-scale military struggle against the American army, therefore, the British decided to try to enlist the support of those elements of the American population-a majority, they continued to believe-who were still loyal to the Crown; in other words, they would work to undermine the

Revolution from within. Since the British believed Loyalist sentiment was strongest in the southern colonies (despite their earlier failure to enlist Loyalist support in North Carolina), the main focus of their effort shifted there; and so it was in the South, for the most part, that the final stages of the war occurred. The new British strategy was a dismal failure. British forces spent three years (from 1778 to 1781) moving through the South, fighting small battles and large, and attempting to neutralize the territory through which they traveled. All such efforts ended in frustration. The British badly overestimated the extent of Loyalist sentiment. There were many Tories in Georgia and the Carolinas, some of them disgruntled members of the Regulator movement. But there were also many more Patriots than the British had believed. In Virginia, support for independence was as fervent as in Massachusetts. And even in the lower South, Loyalists often refused to aid the British because they feared reprisals from the Patriots around them. The British also harmed their own cause by encouraging southern slaves to desert their owners in return for promises of emancipation. Many slaves (perhaps 5 percent of the total) took advantage of this offer, despite the great difficulty of doing so. But white southerners were aghast; and even many who might otherwise have been inclined to support the Crown now joined the Patriot side, which posed no such threat to slavery. The British also faced severe logistical problems in the South. Patriot forces could move at will throughout the region, living off the resources of the countryside, blending in with the civilian population and leaving the British unable to distinguish friend from foe. The British, by contrast, suffered all the disadvantages of an army in hostile territory. It was this phase of the conflict that made the war truly "revolutionary"—not only because it introduced a new kind of combat, but also because it had the effect of mobilizing and politicizing large groups of the population who had previously remained aloof from the struggle. With the war expanding into previously isolated communities, with many civilians forced to involve themselves whether they liked it or not, the political climate of the United States grew more heated than ever. And support for independence, far from being crushed as the British had hoped, greatly increased. That was the context in which the important military encounters of the last years of the war occurred. In the North, where significant numbers of British troops remained, the fighting settled into a relatively quiet stalemate. Sir

Henry Clinton replaced the hapless William Howe in 1778 and moved what had been Howe's army from Philadelphia Campaign back to New York City. There the British troops stayed for more than a year, with Washington using his army to keep watch around them. The American forces in New York did so little fighting in this period that Washington sent some troops west to fight hostile Indians who had been attacking white settlers. In that same winter, George Rogers Clark, under orders from the state of Virginia-not from either Washington or Congress led a daring expedition over the mountains and captured settlements in the Illinois country from the British and their Indian allies. During this period of relative calm. General Benedict Arnold shocked the American forces-and Washington in particular by becoming a traitor. Arnold had been one of the early heroes of the war, but now, convinced that the American cause was hopeless, he conspired with British agents to betray the Patriot

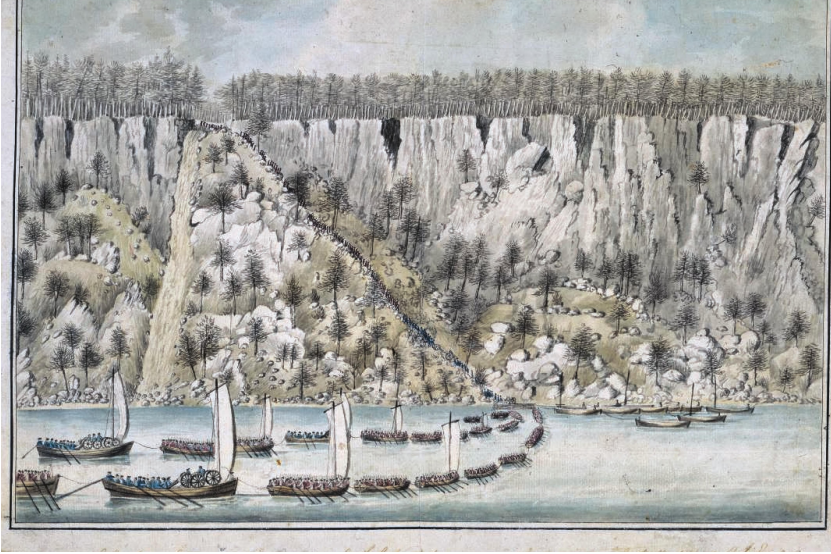


THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION • 141 PENNSYLVANIA  
 NEW JERSEY MARYLAND DELAWARE VIRGINIA W make { ^ of/  
 Charlottesville Yorktown Aug. 30- jo v Oct. 19, | SO 781 Is ^ — .  
 Richmond NORTH CAROLINA Guilford Court House Mar. 15, 1781  
 ! Cape ; Hatten Cape Lookout Wilmington Camden Aug. 16, 1780  
 ATLANTIC OCEAN iDUTH Augusta ( Occ. by British' Jan. 29, 1779  
 Eutaw Springs Sept. 8, 1781 Charles Town May 12, 1780 GEORGIA  
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 < - British forces < - American forces < - French fleet British  
 victory ^> - American victory THE REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH,  
 1778-1781 The final phase of the American Revolution occurred  
 largely in the South, which the British thought would be a more  
 receptive region for their troops. This map reveals the many,  
 scattered military efforts of the British and the Americans in those  
 years, none of them conclusive. It also shows the final chapter of  
 the Revolution around the Chesapeake Bay and the James River. •  
 What errors led the British to their surrender at Yorktown?  
 stronghold at West Point on the Hudson River. The scheme  
 unraveled before Arnold could complete it, and he fled to the safety  
 of the British camp, where he spent the rest of the war. In the  
 meantime, decisive fighting was in progress in the South. The  
 British did have some significant military successes during this  
 period. On December 29, 1778, they captured Savannah, on the  
 coast of Georgia; and on May 12, 1780, they took the port of  
 Charles Town, South Carolina. They also inspired some Loyalists to  
 take up arms and advance with them into the interior. But although  
 the British were able to win conventional battles, they were  
 constantly harassed as they moved through the countryside by  
 Patriot guerrillas led by such resourceful fighters as Thomas Sumter,  
 Andrew Pickens, and Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox." Moving  
 inland to Camden, South Carolina, Lord Cornwallis (Clinton's choice  
 as British commander in the South) met Nathanael and crushed a  
 Patriot force under Horatio Greene Gates on August 16, 1780.  
 Congress re. called Gates, and Washington gave the southern  
 command to Nathanael Greene, a Quaker and a former blacksmith  
 from Rhode Island and probably the ablest of all the American  
 generals of the time next to Washington.



THE BRITISH ON THE HUDSON, 1776 In one of the largest troop movements of the Revolution, English commanders sent 13,000 British and Hessian troops up the Hudson River to drive George Washington and his Patriot army from strongholds in the palisades above the river. The British took nearly 3,000 prisoners when the Patriots surrendered on November 16, 1776. Thomas Davies painted this watercolor of the British landing at the time. (© Fotosearch/Getty Images) Even before Greene joined the southern army, the tide of battle began to turn against Cornwallis. At King's Mountain (near the North Carolina-South Carolina border) on October 7, 1780, a band of Patriot riflemen from the backwoods killed, wounded, or captured an entire force of 1,100 New York and South Carolina Tories that Cornwallis was using as auxiliaries. Once Greene arrived, he confused and exasperated Cornwallis further by dividing the American forces into small, fast-moving contingents and refraining from a showdown in open battle. One of the contingents inflicted what Cornwallis admitted was "a very unexpected and severe blow" at Cowpens on January 17, 1781. Finally, after receiving reinforcements, Greene combined all his forces and maneuvered to meet the British on ground of his own choosing, at Guilford Court House, North Carolina. After a hard-fought battle there on March 15, 1781, Greene withdrew from the field; but Cornwallis had lost so many men that he decided at last to abandon the Carolina campaign. Cornwallis withdrew to the port town of Wilmington, North Carolina, to receive supplies being sent to him by sea; later he moved north to launch raids in the interior of Virginia. But Clinton, concerned for the army's safety, ordered him to take up a position on the peninsula between the York and James Rivers and wait for ships to carry his troops to New York City or Charles Town. So Cornwallis retreated to Yorktown and began to build fortifications there. George Washington-along with Count Jean Baptiste de Rochambeau, commander of the French expeditionary force in America, and Admiral Francois Joseph Paul de Grasse, commander of the French fleet in American waters-set out to trap Yorktown Cornwallis at Yorktown. Washington and . Rochambeau marched a French-American army from New York City to join other French forces under Lafayette in Virginia, while de Grasse sailed with

additional troops for Chesapeake Bay and the York River. These joint operations, perfectly timed and executed, caught Cornwallis between land and sea. After a few shows of resistance, he capitulated on October 17, 1781 (four years to the day after the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga). Two days later, as a military band played the old tune "The World Turn'd Upside Down," Cornwallis, claiming to be ill, sent a deputy who formally surrendered the British army of more than 7,000 men.



Except for a few skirmishes, the fighting was now over; but the United States had not yet won the war. British forces continued to hold the seaports of Savannah, Charles Town, Wilmington, and New York City. Before long, a British fleet met and defeated Admiral de Grasse's fleet in the West Indies, ending Washington's hopes for further French naval assistance. For more than a year, although there was no significant further combat between British and American forces, it remained possible that the war might resume and the struggle for independence might still be lost. Winning the Peace Cornwallis's defeat provoked outcries in England against continuing the war. Lord North resigned as prime minister; Lord Shelburne emerged from the political wreckage to succeed him; and British emissaries appeared in France to talk informally with the American diplomats in Paris. The three American principals were Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay. The Americans were under instructions to cooperate fully with France in their negotiations with England. But Vergennes insisted that France could not agree to any settlement of the war with England until its ally Spain had achieved its principal war aim: winning back Gibraltar from the British. There was no real prospect of that happening soon, and the Americans began to fear that the alliance with France might keep them at war indefinitely. As a result, Franklin, Jay, and Adams began proceeding on their own, without informing Vergennes, and signed a preliminary treaty with Great Britain on November 30, 1782. Franklin, in the meantime, skillfully pacified Vergennes and avoided an immediate rift in the French-American alliance. The British and Americans reached a final settlement—the Treaty of Paris—on September 3, 1783, when both Spain and France agreed to end hostilities. It was, on the whole, remarkably favorable to the United States in granting a clear-cut recognition of its independence and a generous, though ambiguous, cession of territory—from the southern boundary of Canada to the northern boundary of Florida and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. With good reason, Americans celebrated in the fall of 1783 as the last of the British occupation forces embarked from New York and General Washington, at the head of his troops, rode triumphantly into the city.

WAR AND SOCIETY



Historians have long debated whether the American Revolution was a social as well as a political revolution. Some have argued that the colonists were struggling not only over the question of home rule, but also over "who should rule at home." Others claim that domestic social and economic concerns had little to do with the conflict. (See "Debating the Past," pp. 132-133.) Whatever the motivations of Americans, however, there can be little doubt that the War for Independence had important effects on the nature of American society.

**Loyalists and Minorities** The losers in the American Revolution included not only the British but also American Loyalists. There is no way to be sure how many Americans remained loyal to England during the Revolution, but it is clear that there were many—at least a fifth (and some historians estimate as much as a third) of the white population. Their motivations were varied. Some were officeholders in the imperial government, who stood to lose their positions as a result of the Revolution. Others were merchants engaged in trade closely tied to the imperial system. (Most merchants, however, supported the Revolution.) Still others were people who lived in relative isolation and had not been exposed to the wave of discontent that had turned so many Americans against Britain. There were cultural and ethnic minorities who feared that an independent America would not offer them sufficient protection. There were settled, cautious people who feared social instability. And there were those who, expecting the British to win the war, were simply currying favor with the anticipated victors. What happened to these men and women during the war was a turbulent and at times tragic story. Hounded by Patriots in their communities, harassed by legislative and The Loyalists\* Judicial actions, the position of many Plight Loyalists became intolerable. Up to 100,000 fled the country. Those who could afford to moved to England, where many lived in difficult and lonely exile. Thomas Hutchinson, who was a wealthy businessman, historian, and loyalist of the king, served in the Massachusetts government for many years as lieutenant governor and from 1758 to 1774 as governor. He was a polarizing figure; and as the Revolution began, his Boston mansion was ransacked during protests against the Stamp Acts. After being replaced as governor in May 1774 by General Thomas Gage, Hutchinson left Boston and moved first to Canada and then to England. Loyalists of modest means moved to Canada, establishing the first English-speaking

community in the province of Quebec. Some returned to America after the war and, as the earlier passions and resentments faded, managed to reenter the life of the nation. Others remained abroad for the rest of their lives. Most Loyalists were people of average means, but a substantial minority consisted of men and women of wealth. They left behind large estates and vacated important positions of social and economic leadership. Even some who remained in the country saw their property confiscated and their positions forfeited. The result was new opportunities for Patriots to acquire land and influence, a situation that produced significant social changes in many communities. It would be an exaggeration, however, to claim that the departure of the Loyalists was responsible for anything approaching a social revolution or that the Revolution created a general assault on the wealthy and powerful in America. When the war

AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Age of Revolutions |T| fj

American Revolution was a result of specific tensions and conflicts between Britain 1 FI C and its North American colonies. But it was also a part, and a cause, of what historians have come to call an "age of revolutions" that spread through much of the Western world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The modern idea of revolution— the overturning of old systems and regimes and the creation of new ones— was largely a product of the ideas of the Enlightenment. Among those ideas was the **STORMING THE BASTILLE** This painting portrays the storming of the great Parisian fortress and prison, the Bastille, on July 14, 1789. The Bastille was a despised symbol of royal tyranny to many of the French, because of the arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned people who were sent there. The July assault was designed to release the prisoners, but in fact the revolutionaries found only seven people in the vast fortress. Even so, the capture of the Bastille— which marked one of the first moments in which ordinary Frenchmen joined the Revolution— became one of the great moments in modern French history. The anniversary of the event, "Bastille Day," remains the French national holiday. (© Musee de la Ville de Paris, Musee Carnavalet, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library) notion of popular sovereignty, articulated by the English philosopher John Locke and others. Locke argued that political authority did not derive from the divine right of kings or the inherited authority of aristocracies but, rather, from the consent of the governed. A related Enlightenment idea was the concept of individual freedom, which challenged the traditional belief that governments had the right to prescribe the way people act, speak, and even think. Champions of individual freedom in the eighteenth century— among them the French philosopher Voltaire— advocated religious toleration and freedom of thought and expression. The Swiss-French Enlightenment theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau helped spread the idea of political and legal equality for all people— the end of special privileges for aristocrats and elites, the right of all citizens to participate in the formation of policies and laws. The American Revolution was the first and in many ways the most influential of the Enlightenment-derived uprisings against established orders. It served as an inspiration to people in other lands who were trying to find a way to oppose unpopular regimes. In 1789, a little over a decade after the



beginning of the American Revolution, revolution began in France. The monarchy was abolished (and the king and queen publicly executed in 1793), the authority of the Catholic Church was challenged and greatly weakened, and at the peak of revolutionary chaos during the Jacobin period (1793-1794), more than 40,000 suspected enemies of the revolution were executed and hundreds of thousands of others imprisoned. The most radical phase of the revolution came to an end in 1799, when Napoleon Bonaparte, a young general, seized power and began to build a new French empire. But France's ancien regime of king and aristocracy never wholly revived. The American and French Revolutions helped inspire uprisings in many other parts of the Atlantic world. ended, those who had been wealthy at its beginning were, for the most part, still wealthy at the end. Most of those who had wielded social and political influence continued to wield it. The war had a significant effect on other minorities as well, and on certain religious groups in particular. No sect suffered more than the Anglicans, many of whom were Loyalists. In Virginia and Maryland, where the colonial governments had recognized Anglicanism as the official religion and had imposed a tax for its maintenance, the new Revolutionary regimes disestablished the Anglican Church and the Anglican Church eliminated the subsidy. By the time the fighting ended, many Anglican parishes no longer had clergymen, for there were few ministers to take the place of those who had died or who had left the country as Loyalist refugees. Anglicanism survived in America, but the losses during the Revolution permanently weakened it. The Revolution also weakened the Quakers in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. They incurred widespread unpopularity because of their pacifism, which destroyed much of the social and political prestige they had once enjoyed. While the war was weakening the Anglicans and the Quakers, it was strengthening the position of the Roman 144 •  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



**THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 145** In 1791, a major slave uprising began in Haiti and soon attracted more than 100,000 rebels. The slave army defeated both the white settlers of the island and the French colonial armies sent to quell their rebellion. Under the leadership of General Toussaint L'Ouverture, they began to agitate for independence, which they obtained on January 1, 1804, a few months after Toussaint's death. Revolution spread next into the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas, particularly among the so-called Creoles, people of European ancestry born in the Americas. In the late eighteenth century, they began to resist the authority of colonial officials sent from Spain and Portugal and to demand a greater say in governing their own lands. Napoleon's invasion of Spain and Portugal in 1807 weakened the ability of the European regimes to sustain authority over their American colonies. In the years that followed, revolutions swept through much of Latin America. Mexico became an independent nation in 1821, and provinces of Central America that had once been part of Mexico (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica) established their independence three years later. Simon Bolívar, modeling his efforts on those of George Washington, led a great revolutionary movement that won independence for Brazil in 1822 and also helped lead revolutionary campaigns in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru— all of which won their independence in the 1820s. Across the Atlantic, Greek patriots— drawing from the examples of other revolutionary nations— launched a movement to win their independence from the Ottoman Empire, which finally succeeded in 1830. The age of revolutions left many new, independent nations in its wake. It did not, however, succeed in establishing the ideals of popular sovereignty, individual freedom, and political equality in all the nations it affected. Slavery survived in the United States and in many areas of Latin America. New forms of aristocracy and even monarchy emerged in France, Mexico, Brazil, and elsewhere. Women— many of whom had hoped the revolutionary age would win new rights for them— made few legal or political gains in this era. But the ideals that the revolutionary era introduced to the Western world continued to shape the histories of nations throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

- UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did the American Revolution influence the French Revolution? 2. What

other nations were affected by the example of the American Revolution? 3. What was the significance of the revolution in Haiti, and how much attention did it get in other nations? Catholic Church. On the advice of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a Maryland statesman and Catholic lay leader, most American „ Catholics supported the Patriot cause Strengthening , , . of the Catholic during the war. The French alliance Church brought Catholic troops and chaplains to the country, and the gratitude with which most Americans greeted them did much to erode old and bitter hostilities toward Catholics. The Catholic Church did not greatly increase its numbers as a result of the Revolution, but it did gain considerable strength as an institution. Not long after the end of the war, the Vatican provided the United States with its own Catholic hierarchy. (Until then. Catholic bishops in Europe had controlled the American church.) Father John Carroll (also of Maryland) was named head of Catholic missions in America in 1784 and, in 1789, the first American bishop. In 1808 he became archbishop of Baltimore. The War and Slavery For the largest of America's minorities-the African American population-the war had limited, but nevertheless profound, significance. For some, it meant freedom, because many slaves took advantage of the British presence in the South in the final years of the war to escape. The British enabled many of them to leave the country-not so much as any principled commitment to emancipation, but more as a way of disrupting the American war effort. In South Carolina, for example, nearly a third of all slaves defected during the war. Africans had constituted over 60 percent of the population in 1770; by 1790, that figure had declined to about 44 percent. For other African Americans, the Revolution meant an increased exposure to the concept, although seldom to the reality, of liberty. Most black Americans could not read, but few could . avoid the new and exciting ideas circulating African ° ° American through the towns and cities and even at Desire for times on the plantations. The results inFreedom eluded incidents in several communities in I HIM Hill II III II Hill II III II Hill HIM II III II Mill II III II HIM II which African Americans engaged in open resistance to white control. In Charles Town, South Carolina, for example, Thomas Jeremiah, a free black, was executed in 1775 after Patriot leaders accused him of conspiring to smuggle British guns to South Carolina slaves. The Revolution also produced some eloquent efforts by black writers (mostly in the North) to articulate

its lessons for their people. "Liberty is a jewel which was handed Down to man from the cabinet of heaven." the black New Englander Lemuel Hayes wrote in 1776. "Even an African has Equally good a right to his Liberty in common with Englishmen. . . . Shall a man's Couler Be the Decisive Criterion wherby to Judg of his natural right?" That was one reason why in South Carolina and Georgiawhere slaves constituted half or more of the populationthere was great ambivalence about the Revolution. Slaveowners opposed British efforts to emancipate their slaves, but they also feared that the Revolution itself would foment slave rebellions. The same fears helped prevent English colonists in the Caribbean islands (who were far more greatly outnumbered by African slaves) from joining with the continental Americans in the revolt against Britain. In much of the North, the combination of Revolutionary sentiment and evangelical Christian fervor helped spread antislavery sentiments widely through society. But in the South, white support for slavery survived. Southern churches rejected the antislavery ideas of the North and worked instead to develop a rationale for slavery-in part by reinforcing ideas about white superiority, in part by encouraging slaveowners to make slavery more humane.

146 CHAPTER 5 As in so many other periods of American history, the Revolution exposed the continuing tension between the nation's commitment to liberty and its commitment to slavery. To people in our time, and even to some people in Revolutionary times, it seems obvious that liberty and slavery are incompatible. But to many white Americans in the eighteenth century, especially in the South, that did not seem obvious. Many white southerners believed, in fact, that enslaving Africans-whom they considered inferior and unfit for citizenship-was the best way to ensure liberty for white people. They feared the impact Tension between of free black PeoPle livinS alonSSide Liberty and whites. They also feared that without Slavery slaves, it would be necessary to recruit a I III HIM Mill III Mill III Mill III II III Mill III Mill III Mill Mill III HIM III II servile white workforce in the South, and that the resulting inequalities would jeopardize the survival of liberty. One of the ironies of the American Revolution, therefore, was that white Americans were fighting both to secure freedom for themselves and to preserve slavery for others. Native Americans and the Revolution Most Indians viewed the American Revolution with considerable uncertainty. The American Patriots tried to persuade them to remain neutral in the conflict, which they described as a "family quarrel" between the colonists and Britain that had nothing to do with the tribes. But in fact a great deal was at stake for Native Americans in the American Revolution. During the colonial period, the British government struggled for many years to restrain the growth of white migration into the Indian lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. Such efforts were mostly unsuccessful. The white colonists, the royal governor of Virginia wrote, "do not conceive that the government has any right to forbid taking possession of a vast tract of country." But the British believed that the government did have a right to protect the lands of the Indiansnot because of benevolence, but because of their desire to avoid further battles with the tribes, especially on land that had been promised to the Indians. Once the Revolutionary War began, the role of the Indians became of critical significance to both sides of the conflict. For the American Patriots, among the goals of battle for independence was their right to expand into the western lands, at the expense of the Indians. Some of the most eminent figures in the new nation were themselves land speculators in the west,

among them George Washington, and many such men had long complained about the Proclamation of 1763, which had forbidden white movement into tribal lands. Other colonial grievances against the British included the recruitment of Indians to join the Royal Army. In fact, both sides tried to recruit Indians to help them. In the western Carolinas and Virginia, a Cherokee faction led by Dragging Canoe attacked outlying white settlements in the summer of 1776. Patriot militias responded with overwhelming force, ravaging Cherokee lands and forcing Dragging Canoe and many of his followers to flee west across the Tennessee River. Those Cherokees who remained behind agreed to a new treaty by which they gave up still more land. Not all Native American military efforts were so unsuccessful. Some Iroquois, despite the setbacks at Oriskany, continued to wage war against white Americans in the West and caused widespread destruction in large agricultural areas of New York and Pennsylvania-areas whose crops were of crucial importance to the Patriot cause. And although the retaliating United States armies inflicted heavy losses on the Indians, the attacks continued throughout the war. In the end, however, the Revolution generally weakened the position of Native Americans in several ways. The Patriot victory increased the white demand for western lands; many American whites associated restrictions on settlement with British oppression and expected the new nation to remove the obstacles. At the same time, white attitudes toward the tribes, seldom friendly in the best of times, took a turn for the worse- Many whites deeply resented the assistance the Mohawk and other Indian nations had given the British and insisted on treating them as conquered people. Others adopted a paternalistic

JOSEPH BRANT, CHIEF OF THE MOHAWKS George Romney painted this portrait, Joseph Brant, Chief of the Mohawks, 1742-1807, to depict the Mohawk leader who led four of the six Iroquois nations against the American forces in support of the British. He achieved a formidable reputation after participating in the Battle of Oriskany and a raid against the fortified village of Cherry Valley, New York. (© National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada/The Bridgeman Art Library)



*Thayaedanegea,  
Joseph Brant,  
the Mohawk Chief*



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION • 147

view of the tribes that was only slightly less dangerous to them. Thomas Jefferson, for example, came to view the Native Americans as "noble savages" uncivilized in their present state but redeemable if they were willing to adapt to the norms of white society. Among the tribes themselves, the Revolution both revealed and increased the deep divisions that made it difficult for them to form a common front to resist the growing power of whites. In 1774, for example, the Shawnee Indians in western Virginia had attempted to lead an uprising against white settlers moving into the lands that would later become Kentucky. They attracted virtually no allies and (in a conflict known as Lord Dunmore's War) were defeated by the colonial militia and forced to cede more land to white settlers. And the Iroquois, whose power had been eroding since the end of the French and Indian War, were similarly unable to act in unison in the Revolution. Bands of Native Americans continued to launch raids against white settlers on the frontier. White militias, often using such raids as pretexts, continued to attack Indian tribes who stood in the way of expansion. Perhaps the most vicious massacre of the era occurred in 1782, after the British surrender, when white militias slaughtered a peaceful band of Delaware Indians at Gnadenhuetten in Ohio. They claimed to be retaliating for the killing of a white family several days before, but few white settlers believed this band of Delaware (who were both Christian converts and pacifists) had played any role in the earlier attack. The white soldiers killed ninety-six people, including many women and children. Such massacres did not become the norm of Indian-white relations. But they did reveal how little the Revolution had done to settle the basic conflict between the two peoples. The triumph of the American patriots in the Revolution contributed to the ultimate defeat of the Indian tribes. To white Americans, independence meant, among other things, their right to move aggressively into the western lands, despite the opposition of the Indians. To the Indians, American independence was "the greatest blow that could have been dealt us," one tribal leader warned. Women's Rights and Women's Roles The long Revolutionary War, which touched the lives of people in almost every region, naturally had a significant effect on American women. The departure of so many men to fight

in the Patriot armies left wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters in charge of farms and businesses. Other women whose husbands or fathers went off to war did not have even a farm or shop to fall back on. Many cities and towns developed significant populations of impoverished women, who on occasion led popular protests against price increases. On a few occasions, hungry women rioted and looted for food. Elsewhere (in New Jersey and on Staten Island), women launched attacks on occupying British troops, whom they were required to house and feed at considerable expense. Not all women, however, stayed behind when the men went off to war. Sometimes by choice, but more often out of economic necessity or because they had been driven from their homes by the enemy (and by the the Army smallpox and dysentery the British army . carried with it), women flocked in increasing numbers to the camps of the Patriot armies to Join their male relatives. George Washington looked askance at these female "camp followers," convinced that they were disruptive and distracting (even though his own wife, Martha, spent the winter of 1778-1779 with him at Valley Forge). Other officers were even more hostile, voicing complaints that reflected a high level of anxiety over this seeming violation of traditional gender roles (and also, perhaps, over the generally lower-class backgrounds of the camp women). One described them in decidedly hostile terms: "their hair falling, their brows beady with the heat, their belongings slung over one shoulder, chattering and yelling in sluttish shrills as they went." In fact, however, the women were of significant value to the new army. It had not yet developed an adequate system of supply and auxiliary services, and it profited greatly from the presence of women, who increased army morale and performed such necessary tasks as cooking, laundry, and nursing. But female activity did not always remain restricted to "women's" tasks. In the rough environment of the camps, traditional gender distinctions proved difficult to maintain. Considerable numbers of women became involved, at least intermittently, in combat-including the legendary Molly Pitcher (so named because she carried pitchers of water to soldiers on the battlefield). She watched her husband fall during one encounter and immediately took his place at a field gun. A few women even disguised themselves as men so as to be able to fight. After the war, of course, the soldiers and the female camp followers returned home. The experience of combat had little visible impact

on how society (or on how women themselves) defined female roles in peacetime. The Revolution did, however, call certain assumptions about women into question in other ways. The emphasis on liberty and the "rights of man" led some women to begin to question their position in society as well. "By the way," Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, in 1776, "in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors." Adams was calling for a very modest expansion of women's rights. She wanted new protections against abusive and tyrannical men. A few women, however, went further. Judith Sargent Murray, one of the leading essayists of the late eighteenth century, wrote in 1779 that women's minds were as good as men's and that girls as well as boys therefore deserved access to education. Some political leaders-among them Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush-also voiced support for the education

Growing Divisions AMONG THE Indians

148 CHAPTER 5 of women and for other feminist reforms. Yale students in the 1780s debated the question "Whether women ought to be admitted into the magistracy and Women's government of empires and republics." Rights And there was for a time wide discussion of the future role of women in a new republic that had broken with so many other traditions already. But few concrete reforms became either law or common social practice. In colonial society, under the doctrines of English common law, an unmarried woman had some legal rights (to own property, to enter contracts, and others), but a married woman had virtually no rights. She could own no property and earn no independent wages; everything she owned and everything she earned belonged to her husband. She had no legal authority over her children; the father was, in the eyes of the law, the autocrat of the family. Because a married woman had no property rights, she could not engage in any legal transactions (buying or selling, suing or being sued, writing wills). She could not vote. Nor could she obtain a divorce in most states; that, too, was a right reserved mostly for men, although in much of the South men could not obtain divorces either. These restrictions were what Abigail Adams (who herself enjoyed a successful marriage) was describing when she appealed to her husband not to put "such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands." The Revolution did little to change any of these legal customs. In some states, it did become easier for women to obtain divorces. And in New Jersey, women obtained the right to vote (although that right was repealed in 1807). Otherwise, there were few advances and some setbacks-including widows' loss of the right to regain their dowries from their husbands' estates. That change left many widows without any means of support and was one of the reasons for the increased agitation for female education: such women needed a way to support themselves. The Revolution, in other words, far from challenging the patriarchal structure of American society, actually confirmed and strengthened it. Few American women challenged the belief that they occupied a special sphere distinct from that of men. Most accepted that their place remained in the family. Nevertheless, the Revolutionary experience did contribute to a subtle but important alteration of women's roles. In the past, they had often been little better than servants in their husbands' homes. But the Revolution encouraged people of both

genders to reevaluate the contribution of women to the family and the society. One reason for this was a reevaluation of American life during and after the Revolutionary struggle. As the republic THE BRITISH INFANTRY The world's greatest military power raised its armies in almost haphazard fashion. Command of a British regiment was a favor to well-positioned gentlemen, who received a cash reward for every man they enlisted. With that incentive, they were hardly picky, and the foot soldiers of the British army were mostly men who could be persuaded (or tricked) into enlisting through a combination of liquor and cash. Even so, the rough-and-ready quality of the British infantry made them good soldiers on the whole. This drawing portrays a British encampment during the American Revolution. As with the colonial armies, the British troops attracted women, seen at left, some of whom served as "camp followers," doing chores to help the soldiers. The soldiers themselves wore highly ornamental uniforms that were in many ways very impractical. To keep himself properly groomed and attired could take a soldier up to three hours a day. (© Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library)



THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 149 searched for a cultural identity for itself it began to place additional value on the role of women as mothers. The new nation was, many Americans liked to believe, a Strengthened Patriarchal producing a new kind of citizen, steeped in the principles of liberty. Mothers had a particularly important task, therefore, in instructing their children in the virtues the republican citizenry was expected now to possess. Wives were still far from equal partners in marriage, but their ideas, interests, and domestic roles received increased respect from many men. The War Economy Inevitably, the Revolution produced important changes in the structure of the American economy. After more than a century of dependence on the British imperial system, American trade suddenly found itself on its own. No longer did it have the protection of the great British navy; on the contrary, English ships now attempted to drive American vessels from the seas. No longer did American merchants have access to the markets of the empire; those markets were now hostile ports-including, of course, the most important source of American trade: England itself. Yet, while the Revolution disrupted traditional economic patterns, in the long run it strengthened the American economy. Well before the war was over, American ships had learned to evade the British navy with light, fast, easily maneuverable vessels. Indeed, the Yankees began to prey on British commerce with hundreds of privateers. For many shipowners, privateering proved to be more profitable than ordinary peacetime trade. More important in the long run, the end of imperial restrictions on American shipping opened up enormous new areas of trade to the nation. Enterprising merchants in New England and elsewhere began to develop new commerce in the Caribbean and in South America. By the mid-1780s, American merchants were developing an important new pattern of trade with Asia; and by the end of that decade, Yankee ships were regularly sailing from the eastern seaboard around Cape Horn to the Pacific coast of North America, there exchanging manufactured goods for hides and furs, and then proceeding across the Pacific to barter for goods in China. There was also a substantial increase in trade among the American states. When English imports to America were cut off-first by the prewar boycott, then by the war itself-there were desperate New Patterns efforts throughout the states to stimulate of Trade domestic manufacturing of certain

necessities. No great industrial expansion resulted, but there were several signs of the economic growth that was to come in the next century. Americans began to make their own cloth-"homespun," which became both patriotic and fashionable-to replace now-unobtainable British fabrics. It would be some time before a large domestic textile industry would emerge, but the nation was never again to rely exclusively on foreign sources for its cloth. There was, of course, pressure to build factories for the manufacture of guns and ammunition. And there was a growing general awareness that America need not forever be dependent on other nations for manufactured goods. The war stopped well short of revolutionizing the American economy; not until the nineteenth century would that begin to occur. But it did serve to release a wide range of entrepreneurial energies that, despite the temporary dislocations, encouraged growth and diversification.

BANNER OF THE SOCIETY OF PEWTERERS Members of the American Society of Pewterers carried this patriotic banner when they marched in a New York City parade in July 1788. Its inscription celebrates the adoption of the new federal Constitution and predicts a future of prosperity and freedom in "Columbia's Land." The banner also suggests the growing importance of American manufacturing, which had received an important boost during the Revolution when British imports became unavailable. (© Collection of the New-York Historical Society, USA/ The Bridgeman Art Library International)



"The Federal Plan Most Solid is Secured  
Americans Their Freedom will Enjoy  
All Arts shall flourish & Commerce Long  
And All her Sons shall be as One - Sacred Bond"

## SOCIETY of PLWTERERS





## 150 CHAPTER 5 THE CREATION OF STATE

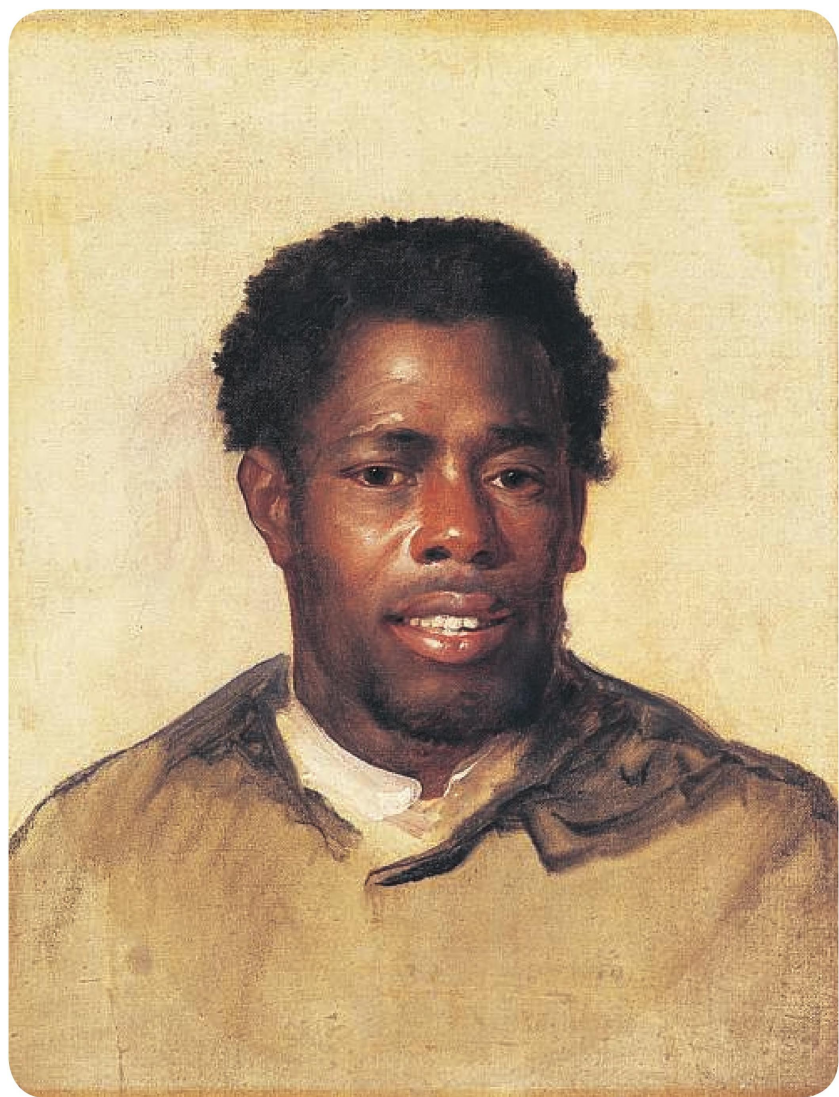
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of a person's birth was almost always a crucial determinant of success. Nevertheless, in embracing the assumptions of republicanism, Americans were adopting a powerful, even revolutionary, ideology, and their experiment in statecraft became a model for many other countries. It made the United States for a time the most admired and studied nation on earth. The First State Constitutions The first and perhaps most basic decision about the character of government was that the constitutions were to be written down, because Americans believed the Constitutions va8ueness of England s unwritten constituand Strong tion had produced corruption. The second Legislatures decision was that the power of the executive, which Americans believed had grown too great in England, must be limited. Pennsylvania eliminated the executive altogether. Most other states inserted provisions that limited the power of governors to make appointments and veto legislation. Most states also prevented governors from dismissing the legislature. Most important, every state forbade the governor or any other executive officer from holding a seat in the legislature, thus ensuring that, unlike in England, the executive and legislative branches of government would remain wholly separate. But the new constitutions did not embrace direct popular rule. In Georgia and Pennsylvania, the legislature consisted of one popularly elected house. But in every other state, there was an upper and a lower chamber, and in most cases, the upper chamber was designed to represent the "higher orders" of society. There were property requirements for voters-some modest, some substantial-in all states. Revising State Governments By the late 1770s, many Americans were growing concerned about the apparent divisiveness and instability of their new state governments. Most states were having trouble accomplishing anything. Many believed the problem was one of too much democracy. As a result, most of the states began to revise their constitutions to limit popular power. Massachusetts, which waited until 1780 to ratify its first constitution, was the first to act on the new concerns. Two changes in particular differentiated the Massachusetts and later constitutions from the earlier ones. The first was a change in the process of constitution writing itself. Most of the first documents had been written by state legislatures and thus could easily be amended (or violated) by them. Massachusetts and, later, other states sought a way to protect the constitutions from ordinary politics and created the constitutional convention: a

special assembly of the people that would meet only for the purpose of writing the constitution and that would never (except under extraordinary circumstances) meet again. The second change was a significant strengthening of the executive, a reaction to what many Americans believed was the instability of the original state governments that had weak governors. The 1780 Massachusetts constitution made the governor one of the strongest in any Shift to state. He was to be elected directly by the Strong people; he was to have a fixed salary (in i inn him ii hi ii him ii mi ii inn him ii him uni ii mi ii inn ii other words, he would not be dependent

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION - 151 on the goodwill of the legislature each year for his wages); he would have significant appointment powers and a veto over legislation. Other states followed. Those with weak or nonexistent upper houses strengthened or created them. Most increased the powers of the governor. Pennsylvania, which had no executive at first, now produced a strong one. By the late 1780s, almost every state had either revised its constitution or drawn up a new one in an effort to produce stability in government. Toleration and Slavery The states moved far in the direction of complete religious freedom. Most Americans continued to believe that religion should play some role in government, but they did not wish to give special powers to any particular denomination. The privileges that churches had once enjoyed were now largely stripped away. In 1786, Virginia enacted the Statute A FREE BLACK MAN John Singleton Copley, the great American portraitist of the Revolutionary age, painted this picture of a young African American in 1777-1778. He was probably a worker on New England fishing boats who appeared in another Copley painting (Watson and the Shark). It is one of a small number of portrayals of the free blacks in the North in this era, and one of even a smaller number that portrays them realistically and seriously. (Head of a Negro, 1777-1778. By John Singleton Copley. Oil on canvas, 53.3 X 41.3 cm. Founders Society Purchase, Gibbs-Williams Fund. Photograph © Detroit Institute of Arts, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library) of Religious Liberty, written by Thomas Jefferson, which called for the complete separation of church and state. More difficult to resolve was the question of slavery. In areas where slavery was already weak-in New England, where there had never been many slaves, and in Pennsylvania, where the Quakers opposed slavery-it was abolished relatively early. Even in the South, there were some pressures to amend or even eliminate the institution; every state but South Carolina and Georgia prohibited further importation of slaves from abroad, and South Carolina banned the slave trade during the war. Virginia passed a law encouraging manumission (the freeing of slaves). Nevertheless, slavery survived in all the southern and border states. There were several reasons: racist assumptions among whites about the inferiority of blacks; the enormous economic investments many white southerners had in

[illegible]



152 CHAPTER 5 and to appropriate, borrow, and issue money. But it did not have power to regulate trade, draft troops, or levy taxes directly on the people. For troops and taxes, it had to make Limited formal requests to the state legislatures, n . . , TTTT, which could-and often did-refuse them. TOWER OF THE National There was no separate executive; the Government "president of the United States" was merely

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii the presiding officer at the sessions of Congress. Each state had a single vote in Congress, and at least nine of the states had to approve the admission of a new state. All thirteen state legislatures had to approve any amendment of the Articles. During the process of ratifying the Articles of Confederation (which required approval by all thirteen states), broad disagreements over the plan became evident. The small states had insisted on equal state representation, but the larger states wanted representation to be based on population. The smaller states prevailed on that issue. More important, the states claiming western lands wished to keep them, but the rest of the states demanded that all such territory be turned over to the national government. New York and Virginia had to give up their western claims before the Articles were finally approved. They went into effect in 1781. The Confederation, which existed from 1781 until 1789, was not a complete failure, but it was far from a success. It lacked adequate powers to deal with interstate issues or to enforce its will on the states, and it had little stature in the eyes of the world. Diplomatic Failures Evidence of the low esteem in which the rest of the world Postwar held Confederation was its difficulty in Disputes with persuading Great Britain (and to a lesser Britain and extent Spain) to live up to the terms of the . Spain . peace treaty of 1783. The British had promised to evacuate American territory, but British forces continued to occupy Supers MAINE (MASS.) (1791) Ceded by Virginia' 1784 NEW YORK Ceded by MASS., 1786 \ Ceded by CONN., 1782 PENNSYLVANIA MASSACHUSETTS Ceded by CONN. 1800 Ceded by Virginia, 1784 Ceded by Virginia, 1792 Ceded by / lorth Carolina/^ 1790 / Jg Ceded by S.C., 1787 Ceded by Georgia, 1802 Ceded by Spain, 1795 Ceded by Georgia, 1802 4tNEW HAMPSHIRE RHODE ISLAND 'CONNECTICUT BRITISH CANADA VERMONT Ceded by MASS., 1785^ and VA,, 1784 Ceded by NEW JERSEY CONN.. 1786 and VA

1784 DELAWARE MARYLAND VIRGINIA SPANISH LOUISIANA  
NORTH CAROLINA Ceded by Spain to France 1800 Sold by France  
to United States 1803 ATLANTIC OCEAN SOUTH CAROLINA \  
GEORGIA States after land cessions Ceded territory Territory ceded  
by New York, 1782 THE CONFLICT OVER WESTERN LANDS The  
American victory in the Revolution transformed the colonies into  
"states" within a new nation whose central government claimed at  
least some sovereignty over the individual units. An early conflict  
between national and state power took place over the state claims  
to western lands— claims established during the colonial period.  
This map shows the extensive western lands claimed by most of the  
original thirteen colonies to land in the West, and it illustrates the  
shifting nature of those claims over time— as colonies and then  
states transferred land to one another. The new national  
government gradually persuaded the states to give it control of the  
western lands, and in 1784 and 1785 it issued ordinances governing  
the process of settling those lands. • Why did the national  
government consider it important for the states to give up their  
claim to these territories? Gulf of Mexico





THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION • 153 a string of frontier posts along the Great Lakes within the United States. Nor did the British honor their agreement to make restitution to slaveowners whose slaves the British army had confiscated. There were also disputes over the boundaries of the new nation. Americans wanted full access to British markets; England, however, placed sharp restrictions on that access. In 1784, Congress sent John Adams as minister to London to resolve these differences, but Adams made no headway with the English, who were never sure whether he represented a single nation or thirteen different ones. Throughout the 1780s, the British government refused even to send a diplomatic minister to the American capital. The Confederation and the Northwest The Confederation's most important accomplishment was its resolution of controversies over the western lands. When the Revolution began, only a few thousand whites lived west of the Appalachian mountains; but by 1790 their numbers had increased to 120,000. The Confederation had to find a way to include these new settlements in the political structure of the nation. The landed states began to yield their western claims to the national government in 1781, and by 1784 the Confederation controlled enough land to permit Congress to begin making policy for the western lands. THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE ON AUGUST 3, 1795 This painting, from the American School of painting, depicts the Treaty of Greenville ending the Northeast Indian War in the Ohio Country. In exchange for \$20,000 worth of various goods such as blankets, utensils, and domesticated animals, the United States acquired large parts of Ohio, tracts of what would soon become Chicago, and the Fort Detroit area. (© Chicago History Museum, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library)



154 CHAPTER 5 The Ordinance of 1784, based on a proposal by Thomas Jefferson, divided the western territory into ten self-governing districts, each of which could petition Congress for statehood when its population equaled the number of free inhabitants of the smallest existing state. The provision reflected the desire of the Revolutionary generation to avoid creating second-class citizens in subordinate territories. Then, in the Ordinance of 1785, Congress created a system for surveying and selling the western lands. The territory north of the Ohio River was to be surveyed and marked off into neat rectangular townships, each divided into thirty-six identical sections. In every township, four sections were to be set aside for the United States; the revenue from the sale of one of the other sections was to support creation of a public school. Sections were to be sold at auction for no less than one dollar an acre. Among the many important results of the Ordinance of 1785 was the establishment of an enduring pattern of divided land for human use. Many such systems have emerged throughout history. Some have relied on natural boundaries (rivers, mountains, and other topographical features). Some have reflected informal claims of landlords over vast but vaguely defined territories. Some have rested on random allocations of acres, to be determined by individual landholders. But many Enlightenment thinkers began in the eighteenth century to imagine more precise, even mathematical, forms of land distribution, which required both careful surveying and a clear method for defining boundaries. The result was the method applied in 1785 in the Northwest Territory, which came to be known as "the grid"—the division of land into carefully measured and evenly divided squares or rectangles. This pattern of land distribution eventually became the norm for much of the land west of the Appalachians. It also became a model for the organization of many towns and cities, which distributed land in geometrical patterns within rectangular grids defined by streets. Although older land-distribution systems survive within the United States, the grid has become the most common form by which Americans impose human ownership and use on the landscape. The original ordinances were highly favorable to land Northwest speculators and less so to ordinary settlers. Ordinance many of whom could not afford the price of the land.

Congress compounded the problem by selling much of the best land to the Ohio and Scioto land companies before making it available to anyone else. Criticism of these policies led to the passage in 1787 of another law governing western settlement-legislation that became known as the "Northwest Ordinance/' The 1787 Ordinance abandoned the ten districts established in 1784 and created a single Northwest Territory out of the lands The Seven Ranges First Area Survey GEOGRAPHER'S LINE (BASE LINE) CD CL) □£>. CD CD CD CD . CT> .. a c ro Cd -C C = CD Cd sz £ = CD Cd -C C CD Cd -C £ = CD cd ~a TO Cd C£ -a + -« s ■4— 'ld 1— m c -y\* CM c c ? \* Fn J V ■ foi Se Section 1 6 reserved for school funds A B C D E One Section = 640 acres (1 mile square) A Half section = 320 acres B Quarter section = 160 acres C Half-quarter section = 80 acres D & E Quarter-quarter section = 40 acres One township (six miles square) 36 30 24 18 12 6 35 29\* 23 17 11\* 5 34 28 22 16 10 4 33 27 21 15 9 3 32 26\* 20 14 8\* 2 31 25 19 13 7 1 LAND SURVEY: ORDINANCE OF 1785 In the Ordinance of 1785, the Congress established a new system for surveying and selling western lands. These maps illustrate the way in which the lands were divided in an area of Ohio. Note the highly geometrical grid pattern that the ordinance imposed on these lands. Each of the squares in the map on the left was subdivided into 36 sections, as illustrated in the map at the lower right. • Why was this grid pattern so appealing to the planners of the western lands? 1 mile

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 155 north of the Ohio; the territory could eventually be divided into between three and five territories. It also specified a population of 60,000 as a minimum for statehood, guaranteed freedom of religion and the right to trial by jury to residents of the Northwest, and prohibited slavery throughout the territory. The western lands south of the Ohio River received less attention from Congress, and development was more chaotic there. The region that became Kentucky and Tennessee developed rapidly in the late 1770s, and in the 1780s speculators and settlers began setting up governments and asking for recognition as states. The Confederation was never able to successfully resolve the conflicting claims in that region. Indians and the Western Lands On paper at least, the western land policies of the Confederation created a system that brought order and stability to the process of white settlement in the Northwest. But in reality, order and stability came slowly and at great cost, because much of the land the Confederation was neatly subdividing and offering for sale consisted of territory claimed by the Indians of the region. Congress tried to resolve that problem in 1784, 1785, and 1786 by persuading Iroquois, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee leaders to sign treaties ceding substantial western lands in the North and South to the United States. But those agreements proved ineffective. In 1786, the leadership of the Iroquois Confederacy repudiated the treaty it had signed two years earlier and threatened to attack white settlements in the disputed lands. Other tribes had never accepted the treaties affecting them and continued to resist white movement into their lands. Violence between whites and Indians on the Northwest frontier reached a crescendo in the early 1790s. In 1790 and again in 1791, a group of tribes led by the famed Miami war,rior Little Turtle defeated United States Battle of Fallen forces in two major battles near what is Timbers now the western border of Ohio; in the second of those battles, on November 4, 1791, 630 white Americans died in fighting at the Wabash River (the greatest military victory Indians had ever or would ever again achieve in their battles with whites). Efforts to negotiate a settlement failed because of the Miami's insistence that no treaty was possible unless it forbade white settlement west of the Ohio River. Negotiations did not resume until after General Anthony Wayne led 4,000 soldiers into the Ohio Valley in 1794 and defeated

the Indians in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. A year later, the Miami signed the Treaty of Greenville, ceding substantial new lands to the United States (which was now operating under the Constitution of 1789) in exchange for a formal acknowledgment of their claim to the territory they had managed to retain. In doing so, the United States was affirming that Indian lands could be ceded only by the tribes themselves. That hard-won assurance, however, proved a frail protection against the pressure of white expansion westward in later years. Debts, Taxes, and Daniel Shays The postwar depression, which lasted from 1784 to 1787, inPostwar creased the perennial American problem of Depression an inadequate money supply, a problem that weighed particularly heavily on debtors. In dealing with this problem. Congress most clearly demonstrated its weakness. The Confederation itself had an enormous outstanding debt that it had accumulated at home and abroad during the Revolutionary War. It had few means with which to pay it, having no power to tax. It could only make requisitions of the states, and it received only about one-sixth of the money it requisitioned. The fragile new nation was faced with the grim prospect of defaulting on its obligations. This alarming possibility brought to the fore a group of leaders who would play a crucial role in the shaping of the LITTLE TURTLE Little Turtle led the Miami confederacy in its wars with the United States in what is now Ohio and Indiana in the early 1790s. For a time he seemed almost invincible, but in 1794 Little Turtle was defeated in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. In this sketch (a rough copy of a painting attributed to Gilbert Stuart), Little Turtle wears a medal bearing the likeness of George Washington, awarded him by the United States after the signing of the Treaty of Greenville. (© The Granger Collection, New York)





## 156 CHAPTER 5 DANIEL SHAYS AND JOB SHATTUCK

Shays and Shattuck were the principal leaders of the 1786 uprising by poor farmers in Massachusetts demanding relief from their indebtedness. Shattuck led an insurrection in the east, which collapsed when he was captured on November 30. Shays organized the rebellion in the west, which continued until the state militia dispersed the rebels in late February 1787. The following year, state authorities pardoned Shays; even before that, the legislature responded to the rebellion by providing some relief to the impoverished farmers. These drawings are part of a hostile account of the rebellion published in 1787 in a Boston almanac. (© The Granger Collection, New York) republic for several decades. Committed nationalists, they sought ways to increase the powers of the central government and to meet its financial obligations. Robert Morris, the head of the Confederation's treasury; Alexander Hamilton, his young protege; James Madison of Virginia; and others called for a "continental impost"-a 5 percent duty on imported goods to be levied by Congress and used to fund the debt. Many Americans, however, feared that the impost plan would concentrate too much financial power in the hands of Morris and his allies in Philadelphia. Congress failed to approve the impost in 1781 and again in 1783. Angry and discouraged, the nationalists largely withdrew from any active involvement in the Confederation.

**Political Disputes over Economic Issues** The states had war debts, too, and they generally relied on increased taxation to pay them. But poor farmers, already burdened by debt and now burdened again by new taxes, considered such policies unfair, even tyrannical. They demanded that the state governments issue paper currency to increase the money supply and make it easier for them to meet their obligations. Resentment was especially high among farmers in New England, who felt that the states were squeezing them to enrich already wealthy bondholders in Boston and other towns. Throughout the late 1780s, therefore, mobs of distressed farmers rioted periodically in various parts of New England. Dissidents in the Connecticut Valley and the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts, many of them Revolutionary veterans, rallied behind Daniel Shays, a former captain in the Continental army. Shays issued a set of demands that included paper money, tax relief, a moratorium on debts, the relocation of

the state capital from Boston to the interior, and the abolition of imprisonment for debt. During the summer of 1786, the Shaysites concentrated on preventing the collection of debts, private or public, and used force to keep courts from sitting and sheriffs from selling confiscated property. In Boston, members of the legislature, including Samuel Adams, denounced Shays and his men as rebels and traitors. When winter came, the rebels advanced on Springfield, hoping to seize weapons from the arsenal there. An army of state militiamen, financed by a loan from wealthy merchants, set out from Boston to confront them. In January 1787, this army met Shays's band and dispersed his ragged troops. As a military enterprise, Shays's Rebellion was a failure, although it produced some concessions to the aggrieved farmers. Shays and his lieutenants, at first sentenced to death, were later pardoned, and Massachusetts offered the protesters some tax relief and a postponement of debt payments. The rebellion had more important consequences for the future of the United States, however, for it added urgency to a movement already gathering support throughout the new nation-the movement to produce a new, national constitution.

LOOKING BACK Between a small, inconclusive battle on a village green in New England in 1775 and a momentous surrender at Yorktown in 1781, the American people fought a great and terrible war against the mightiest military nation in the world. No one outside America, and few within it, would have predicted in 1775 that the makeshift armies of the colonies could withstand the armies and navies of the British Empire. But a combination of luck, brilliance, determination, and timely aid from abroad allowed the Patriots, as they began to call themselves, to make full use of the advantages of fighting on their home soil and to frustrate British designs time and again. The war was not just a historic military event. It was also a great political one, for it propelled the colonies to unite, to organize, and-in July 1776-to declare their independence. Having done so, they fought with even greater determination, defending now not just a set of principles, but an actual, fledgling nation. By the end of the war, they had created new governments at both the state and national level and had begun experimenting with new political forms that would distinguish the United States from any previous nation in history. The war was also important for its effects on American society-for the way it shook (although never overturned) the

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION • 157 existing social order; for the way it caused women to question (although seldom openly to challenge) their place in society; and for the way it spread notions of liberty and freedom throughout a society that in the past had often been rigidly hierarchical and highly deferential. Even African American slaves absorbed some of the ideas of the Revolution, although it would be many years before they would be in any position to make much use of them. Victory in the American Revolution solved many of the problems of the new nation, but it also produced others. What should the United States do about its relations with the Indians and with its neighbors to the north and south? What should it do about the distribution of western lands? What should it do about slavery? How should it balance its commitment to liberty with its need for order? These questions bedeviled the new national government in its first years of existence and ultimately led Americans to create a new political order.

People/ Places/ Events American Patriots 131 Articles of Confederation 131 Benedict Arnold 134 Common Sense 130 Daniel Shays 156 George Washington 132 Hessians 136 John Burgoyne 136 John Locke 131 Joseph and Mary Brant 138 Lord Cornwallis 141 Loyalists (Tories) 143 Nathanael Greene 141 Olive Branch Petition 129 Prohibitory Act 130 Saratoga 137 Second Continental Congress 129 Thomas Jefferson 130 Thomas Paine 130 Valley Forge 132 William Howe 135 Yorktown 142 RECALL AND REFLECT 1.

What questions did the Second Continental Congress debate, and how did it answer them? 2. What was the impact of Thomas Paine's Common Sense on Americans' view of the war with Britain? 3. How and why were the Americans able to prevail in their War for Independence? 4. What were the ideological ideals of the new state and national governments, and how did those ideals compare with the realities of American society? 5. What was the purpose of the Articles of Confederation? 6. How did the Revolution affect the role of religion and the position of churches in American society?

## 158 CHAPTER 5 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1775 Second

Continental Congress meets George Washington appointed to command American forces Battle of Bunker Hill 1781 Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown Articles of Confederation ratified 1781-1784 a Thomas Paine's Common ^ 1776 States cede western lands w Sense published O Battle of Trenton to Confederation o 1783 Declaration of Independence First state constitutions written w Treaty of Paris with Great debated and signed (July 2-4) 1777 Articles of Confederation adopted Washington camps at Valley Forge for winter Burgoyne surrenders to Gates at Saratoga 1784-1785 1778 French-American alliance established War shifts to the South First ordinances establishing procedures for settling western lands enacted 1787 Northwest Ordinance enacted Britain recognizes American independence Slavery abolished in Massachusetts 1786-1787 Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts 1780 Cornwallis defeats Gates at Camden, South Carolina Massachusetts state constitution ratified Slavery abolished in Pennsylvania Patriots defeat Tories at King's Mountain, South Carolina 1794 Anthony Wayne defeats Indians in Ohio

[illegible]

1. What were the most important questions debated at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and how were they resolved?
2. What were the main tenets of the Federalist and Antifederalist arguments on ratification of the Constitution?
3. What were the origins of America's "first party system"?



SETTING THE STAGE BY THE LATE 1780s, most Americans had grown deeply dissatisfied with the Confederation government: with its inability to deal with factions and instability, its powerlessness (as shown in dealing with Shays's Rebellion), and its failure to handle economic problems effectively. A decade earlier, Americans had deliberately avoided creating a strong national government, fearing that it would encroach on the sovereignty of the individual states. Now they reconsidered. In 1787, they produced a new constitution that created a new, powerful national government. The new government created in 1787 has survived for more than two centuries as one of the stablest and most successful in the world. Many Americans have described the Constitution's provisions as unassailable "fundamental law," from which all public policies, all political principles, all solutions of controversies must spring. Yet the adoption of the Constitution did not complete the creation of the republic; it only defined the terms in which debate over the future of government would continue. Americans may have agreed that the Constitution was a nearly perfect document, but they disagreed— at times fundamentally— on what that document meant. They still do. Out of such disagreements emerged the first great political battles of the new nation.

FRAMING A NEW GOVERNMENT So unpopular and ineffectual had the Confederation Congress become by the mid-1780s that it began to lead an almost waiflike existence. In 1783, its members timidly withdrew from Philadelphia to escape from the clamor of army veterans demanding back pay. They took refuge for a while in Princeton, A Weak New Jersey, then moved to Annapolis, and in 1785 settled in New York. Through Central 'f l's' r'e delegates were often conspicuous largely by their absence. Only Government with great difficulty did Congress secure a quorum to ratify the treaty with Great Britain ending the Revolutionary War. Eighteen members, representing only eight states, voted on the Confederation's most important piece of legislation, the Northwest Ordinance. In the meantime, a major public debate was beginning over the future of the Confederation. Advocates of Centralization Weak and unpopular though the Confederation was, it had for a time satisfied a great manyprobably a majority-of the people. They believed they had fought the Revolutionary War to avert the danger of what they considered remote and tyrannical authority; now they

wanted to keep political power centered in the states, where they could carefully and closely control it. But during the 1780s, some of the wealthiest and most powerful groups in the country began to clamor for a more genuinely national government capable of dealing with the nation's problems—particularly the economic problems that most directly afflicted them. Some Supporters of 1 1 a Strong military men, many of them members of the exclusive and hereditary Society of National the Cincinnati (formed by Revolutionary army officers in 1783), were disgruntled by the Government tied at the refusal of Congress to fund their pensions. They began aspiring to influence and invigorate the national government; some even envisioned a form of military dictatorship and flirted briefly (in 1783, in the so-called Newburgh Conspiracy) with a direct challenge to Congress, until George Washington intervened and blocked the potential rebellion. American manufacturers—the artisans and "mechanics" of the nation's cities and towns—wanted to replace the various state tariffs with a uniformly high national duty. Merchants and shippers wanted to replace the thirteen different (and largely ineffective) state commercial policies with a single, national one. Land speculators wanted the "Indian menace" finally removed from their western tracts. People who were owed money wanted to stop the states from issuing paper money, which would lower the value of what they received in payment. Investors in Confederation securities wanted the government to fund the debt and thus enhance the value of their securities. Large property owners looked for protection from the threat of mobs, a threat 160



## THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC 161

GEORGE WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON Washington was in his first term as president in 1790 when an anonymous folk artist painted this view of his home at Mount Vernon, Virginia. Washington appears in uniform, along with members of his family, on the lawn. After he retired from office in 1797, Washington returned happily to his plantation and spent the two years before his death in 1799 "amusing myself in agricultural and rural pursuits." He also played host to an endless stream of visitors from throughout the country and Europe. (Courtesy, National Gallery of Art, Washington) that seemed particularly menacing in light of such episodes as Shays's Rebellion. This fear of disorder and violence expressed a tension between the resolute defense of individual rights, which was a core principle of the Revolution and found reflection in the Bill of Rights (p. 168), and the public concern for safety and security, which the occasional chaos of the Confederation period had reinforced. Frequent conflicts between liberty and order became, and remain, a central feature of American democracy. By 1786, these diverse demands had grown so powerful that the issue was no longer whether the Confederation should be changed but how drastic the changes should be. Even the defenders of the existing system reluctantly came to agree that the government needed strengthening at its weakest point-its lack of power to tax. The most resourceful of the reformers was Alexander Hamilton, political genius. New York lawyer, onetime military aide to General Washington, and illegitimate son of a Scottish Alexander merchant in the West Indies. From the beHamilton ginning, Hamilton had been unhappy with the Articles of Confederation and the weak central government they had created. He now called for a national convention to overhaul the entire document. He found an important ally in James Madison of Virginia, who persuaded the Virginia legislature to convene an interstate conference on commercial questions. Only five states sent delegates to the meeting, held in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1786; but the delegates approved a proposal drafted by Hamilton (who was representing New York) recommending that Congress call a convention of special delegates from all the states to gather in Philadelphia the next year and consider ways to "render the constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union." At that

moment, in 1786, there seemed little possibility that the Philadelphia convention would attract any more interest than the meeting at Annapolis had attracted. Only by winning the support of George Washington, the centralizers believed, could they hope to prevail. But Washington at first showed little interest in Joining the cause. Then, early in 1787, the news of Shays's Rebellion spread throughout the nation. Thomas Jefferson, then the American minister in Paris, was not alarmed. "I hold," he confided in a letter to James Madison, "that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical." But Washington took the news less calmly. In May, he left his home at Mount Vernon in Virginia for the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. His support gave the meeting immediate credibility.



CONSIDERATIONS ON THE S %£ IETY OR ORDER o r  
 CINCINNATI; LATELY INSTITUTED By the Major-Generals,  
 Brigadier-Generals, and other Officers of the American Army.  
 PROVING THAT IT CREATES A RACE OF HEREDITARY  
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 if m D\$ll\*rt M#pec,trxzni\* A BROADSIDE AGAINST "NOBILITY"  
 This 1783 pamphlet was one of many expressions of the broad  
 democratic sentiment that the Revolution unleashed in American  
 society. The Society of the Cincinnati was an organization created  
 shortly after the Revolution by men who had served as high-ranking  
 officers in the Patriot army. To many Americans, however, the  
 society— membership in which was to be hereditary— looked  
 suspiciously like the inherited aristocracies of England. This  
 pamphlet, printed in Philadelphia but intended for South  
 Carolinians, warns of the dangers the society supposedly posed to  
 the "Freedom and Happiness of the Republic." (© Fotosearch/Getty  
 Images) A Divided Convention The Founding Fathers  
 iiiiFifty-five men,  
 representing all the states except Rhode Island, attended one or  
 more sessions of the convention that sat in the Philadelphia State  
 House from May to September 1787. These "Founding Fathers," as  
 they would later become known, were relatively young; their  
 average age was forty-four, and only one delegate (Benjamin  
 Franklin, then eighty-one) was of advanced age. They were well  
 educated by the standards of their time. Most represented the great  
 propertied interests of the country, and many feared what one of  
 them called the "turbulence and follies" of democracy. Yet all were  
 also products of the American Revolution and retained the  
 Revolutionary suspicion of concentrated power. The convention  
 unanimously chose Washington to preside over its sessions and then  
 closed its business to the public and the press. The members then  
 ruled that each state delegation would have a single vote. Major

decisions would not require unanimity, as they did in Congress, but only a simple majority. Virginia, the most populous state, sent the best-prepared delegation to Philadelphia. James Madison (thirty-six years old) was its intellectual leader. He had devised a detailed plan for a new "national" government, and the Virginians used it to control the agenda from the moment the convention began. Edmund Randolph of Virginia began the discussion by proposing that "a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary." Despite its vagueness, it was a drastic proposal. It called for the creation of a government very different from the existing The Virginia Confederation, which, among other things. Plan had no executive branch. But so committed were the delegates to fundamental reform that they approved this resolution after only perfunctory debate. Then Randolph introduced the details of Madison's plan. The Virginia Plan (as it came to be known) called for a new national legislature consisting of two houses. In the lower house, the states would be represented in proportion to their population; thus the largest state (Virginia) would have about ten times as many representatives as the smallest (Delaware). Members of the upper house were to be elected by the lower house under no rigid system of representation; thus some of the smaller states might at times have no members in the upper house. The proposal aroused immediate opposition among delegates from Delaware, New Jersey, and other small states. Some responded by arguing that Congress had called the convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation" and had no authority to do more than that. Eventually, however, William Paterson of New Jersey submitted a substantive alternative to the Virginia Plan, a proposal for a "federal" as opposed to a "national" government. The New Jersey Plan would preserve the existing one-house legislature, in which each state had equal representation, but it gave Congress expanded powers to tax and to regulate commerce. The delegates voted to table Paterson's proposal, but not without taking note of the substantial support for it among small-state representatives.

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PROVING THAT IT CREATES  
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OR  
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INTERSPERSED WITH REMARKS  
On its CONSEQUENCES to the FREEDOM  
and HAPPINESS of the REPUBLIC.

Addressed to the PEOPLE of SOUTH-  
CAROLINA, and their REPRESENTATIVES.

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BY CASSIUS. *Burke*

Supposed to be written by EDANUS BURKE, Esquire,  
one of the Chief Justices of the State of South-Carolina.

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*Blow ye the Trumpet in Zion.*

The BIBLE.

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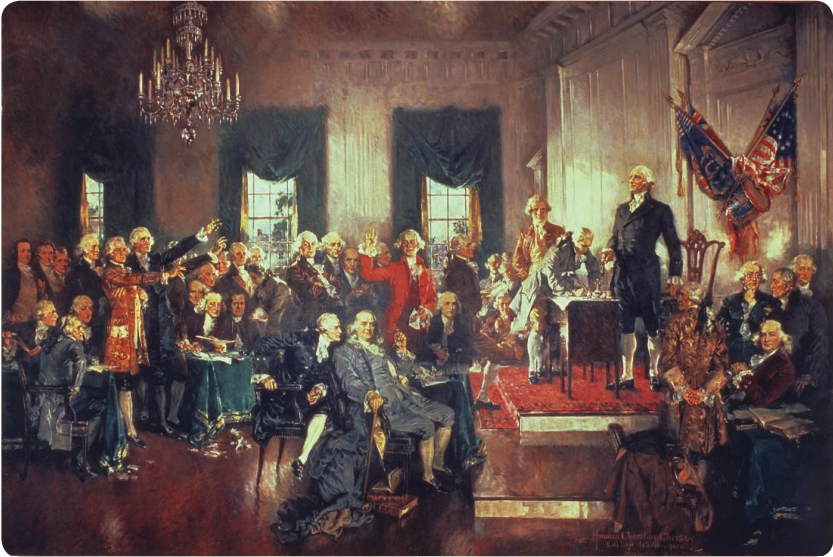
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Price, *one-fifth of a Dollar.* M,DCC,LXXXIII.

The Virginia Plan remained the basis for discussion. But its supporters realized they would have to make concessions to the small states if the convention was ever to reach a general agreement. They soon conceded an important point by agreeing to permit the members of the upper house to be elected by the state legislatures rather than by the lower house of the national legislature. Thus each state would always have at least one member in the upper house. But many questions remained. Would the states be equally represented in the upper house, or would the large states have more members than the small ones? Would slaves (who could not vote) be counted as part of the population in determining the size of a state's representation in Congress, or were they to be considered simple property? Delegates from states with large and apparently permanent slave populations—especially those from South Carolina—wanted to have it both ways. They argued that slaves should be considered persons in determining representation. But they wanted slaves to be considered property if the new government were to levy taxes on each state on the basis of population. Representatives from states where slavery had disappeared or was expected soon to disappear argued that slaves should be included in calculating taxation but not representation. No one argued seriously for giving slaves citizenship or the right to vote. Compromise The delegates bickered for weeks. By the end of June, as both temperature and tempers rose to uncomfortable heights, the convention seemed in danger of collapsing. Benjamin Franklin, The Great who remained a calm voice of conciliation Compromise through the summer, warned that if they failed, the delegates would "become a reproach and by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war and conquest." Partly because of Franklin's soothing presence, the delegates refused to give up. Finally, on July 2, the convention agreed to create a "grand committee," with a single delegate from each state (and with Franklin as chairman), to resolve the disagreements. The Small States versus Large States "THE GRAND CONVENTION" The engraver John Norman created this imagined view of the Constitutional Convention in 1787 for the Weatherwise's Federal Almanack, whose title suggested its pro-

Constitution political leanings. Norman was familiar with the interior of the hall in Philadelphia where the convention took place, which gave this engraving a sense of reality— even though Norman never attended a session of the convention. (© Hall of Representatives, Washington, D.C./The Bridgeman Art Library)





The Meaning of the Constitution in the Constitution has inspired debate from the moment it was drafted. Some people argue that the Constitution is a flexible document intended to evolve in response to society's evolution. Others argue that it has a fixed meaning, rooted in the "original intent" of the framers, and that to move beyond that is to deny its value. Historians, too, disagree about why the Constitution was written and what it meant. To some scholars, the creation of the federal system was an effort to preserve the ideals of the Revolution and to create a strong national government capable of exercising real authority. To others, the Constitution was an effort to protect the economic interests of existing elites, even at the cost of betraying the principles of the Revolution. To still others, the Constitution was designed to protect individual freedom and to limit the power of the federal government. The first influential exponent of the heroic view of the Constitution as the culmination of the Revolution was John Fiske. In *The Critical Period of American History* (1888), Fiske described the many problems that beset the nation under the Articles of Confederation: economic difficulties, the weakness and ineptitude of the new national government, threats from abroad, interstate jealousies, and widespread lawlessness. Only the timely adoption of the Constitution, Fiske claimed, saved the young republic from disaster. In *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913), Charles A. Beard challenged Fiske's view. According to Beard, the 1780s had been a "critical period" primarily for conservative businessmen who feared that the decentralized political structure of the republic imperiled their financial position. Such men, he claimed, wanted a government able to promote industry and trade, protect private property, and make good the public debt—much of which was owed to them. The Constitution was, Beard claimed, "an economic document drawn with superb skill by men whose property interests were immediately at stake" and who won its ratification over the opposition of a majority of the people. A series of powerful challenges to Beard's thesis emerged in the 1950s, as many scholars began to argue that the Constitution was not an effort to preserve property but, rather, an enlightened effort to ensure stability and order. Examining the debate between the Federalists and the Antifederalists, Forrest McDonald, in *We the People* (1958), concluded that there was no consistent relationship



between wealth and property and support for the Constitution. Instead, opinion on the new system was far more likely to reflect local and regional interests. The cumulative effect of these challenges greatly weakened Beard's argument; few historians any longer accepted his thesis without reservation. committee produced a proposal that became the basis of the "Great Compromise." Its most important achievement was resolving the difficult problem of representation. The proposal called for a legislature in which the states would be represented in the lower house on the basis of population. Each slave would count as three-fifths of a free person in determining the basis for both representation and direct taxation. (The three-fifths formula was based on the false assumption that a slave was three-fifths as productive as a free worker and thus contributed only three-fifths as much wealth to the state.) The committee proposed that in the upper house, the states should be represented equally with two members apiece. The proposal broke the deadlock. On July 16, 1787, the convention voted to accept the compromise. Over the next few weeks, the convention agreed to another important compromise on the explosive issue of slavery. The representatives of the southern states feared that the power to regulate trade might interfere with their agrarian economy, which relied heavily on sales abroad, and with slavery. In response, the convention agreed that the new legislature would not be permitted to tax exports; Congress would also be forbidden to impose a duty of more than \$10 a head on imported slaves, and it would have no authority to stop the slave trade for twenty years. To those delegates who viewed the continued existence of slavery as an affront to the principles of the new nation, this was a large and difficult concession. They agreed to it because they feared that without it the Constitution would fail. The convention chose to ignore differences of opinion it was unable to resolve, leaving important questions alive that would surface again in later years. The Constitution provided no definition of citizenship. Most important was the absence of a list of individual rights, which would restrain the powers of the national government in the way that bills of rights restrained the state governments. Madison opposed the idea, arguing that specifying rights that were reserved to the people would, in effect, limit those rights. Other delegates, however, feared that without such protections the national government might abuse its new authority. The Constitution of

1787 Many people contributed to the creation of the American Constitution, but the single most important of them was James Madison-the most creative political Madison thinker of his generation. Perhaps Madison's . most important achievement was in helping resolve two important philosophical questions that had served as obstacles to the creation of an effective national 164 •  
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In the 1960s, a new group of scholars began to revive an economic interpretation of the Constitution— one that differed from Beard's in important ways but that nevertheless emphasized social and economic factors as motives for supporting the federal system. Jackson Turner Main argued, in *The Anti-federalists* (1961), that supporters of the Constitution were "cosmopolitan commercialists," eager to advance the economic development of the nation; the Antifederalists, by contrast, were "agrarian localists," fearful of centralization. Gordon Wood, in *The Creation of the American Republic* (1969), suggested that the debate over the state constitutions in the 1770s and 1780s reflected profound social divisions and that those same divisions helped shape the argument over the federal Constitution. The Federalists, Wood suggested, were largely traditional aristocrats deeply concerned over the instability of life under the Articles of Confederation and particularly alarmed by the decline in popular deference toward social elites. The creation of the Constitution, Wood argued, was part of a larger search to create a legitimate political leadership based on the existing social hierarchy. Historians have continued to examine the question of "intent." Did the framers intend a strong, centralized political system; or did they intend to create a decentralized system with a heavy emphasis on individual rights? The answer, according to Jack Rakove in *Original Meanings* (1996) and *Revolutionaries* (2010), is both— and many other things as well. The Constitution, Rakove argues, was the result of a long and vigorous debate through which the views of many different groups found their way into the document. James Madison, a strong nationalist, believed that only a powerful central government could preserve stability in a large nation. Alexander Hamilton also saw the Constitution as a way to protect order (National Archives and Records Administration) and property and to defend the nation against the dangers of too much liberty. But if Madison and Hamilton feared too much liberty, they also feared too little. And that made them receptive to the vigorous demands of the "Antifederalists" for protections of individual rights, which culminated in the Bill of Rights. The Constitution is not, Rakove argues, "infinitely malleable." But neither does it have a fixed meaning that can be a reliable guide to how we interpret it today. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. Is the Constitution a

conservative, liberal, or radical document? Did the framers consider the Constitution something "finished" (with the exception of constitutional amendments), or did they consider it a document that would evolve in response to changes in society over time? 2. Which parts of the Constitution suggest that the framers' intent was to create a strong, centralized political system? Which parts suggest that the framers' intent was to create a decentralized system with heavy emphasis on individual rights? 3. Although many amendments have been proposed, only twenty-seven have been added to the Constitution. Why do you think so few have been added?

government: the question of sovereignty and the question of limiting power. The question of sovereignty had been one of the chief sources of friction between the colonies and Great Britain, and it continued to trouble Americans as they attempted to create their own government. How could both the national government and the state governments exercise sovereignty? The Question at the same time- Where did ultimate sovereignty lie? The answer, Madison and his contemporaries decided, was that all power, at all levels of government, flowed ultimately from the people. Thus neither the federal government nor the state governments were truly sovereign. All of them derived their authority from below. The opening phrase of the Constitution (devised by Gouverneur Morris) was "We the people of the United States" an expression of the belief that the new government derived its power not from the states but from its citizens. Resolving the problem of sovereignty made possible one of the distinctive features of the Constitution-its distribution of powers between the national and state governments. It was, Madison wrote at the time, "in strictness, neither a national nor a federal Constitution, but a composition of both." The Constitution and the government it created were to be the "supreme law" of the land; no state would have the authority to defy it. The federal government was to have broad powers, including the power to tax, to regulate commerce, to control the currency, and to pass such laws as would be "necessary and proper" for carrying out its other responsibilities. Gone was the stipulation of the Articles that "each State shall retain every power, jurisdiction, and right not expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." On the other hand, the Constitution accepted the existence of separate states and left important powers in their hands. In addition to solving the question of sovereignty,

the Constitution produced a solution to a problem troubling to Americans: the problem of concentrated authority. Nothing so frightened the leaders of the new nation as the prospect of creating a tyrannical government. That fear had been one of the chief obstacles to the creation of a national government. Drawing from the ideas of the French philosopher Baron de Montesquieu, most Americans had long believed that the best way to avoid tyranny was to keep government close to the people. A republic, they thought, must remain confined to a small area. A large nation would breed corruption and despotism because the rulers would be so distant from most of the people that there would be no way to control them. . 165 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

166 CHAPTER 6 In the first years of the new American nation, these assumptions had led to the belief that the individual states must remain sovereign and that a strong national government would be dangerous. Madison, however, helped break the grip of these assumptions by arguing that a large republic would be less, not more, likely to produce tyranny, because it would contain so many different factions that no single group would ever be able to dominate it. (In this, he drew from among other sources—the Separation Scottish philosopher David Hume.) This of Powers idea of many centers of power "checking each other and preventing any single, despotic authority made possible the idea of a large republic and also helped shape the internal structure of the federal government. The Constitution's most distinctive feature was its "separation of powers" within the government, its creation of "checks and balances" among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The array of forces within the government would constantly compete with (and often frustrate) one another. Congress would have two chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives, each with members elected in a different way and for different terms, and each checking the other, since both would have to agree before any law could be passed. The president would have the power to veto acts of Congress. The federal courts would have protection from both the executive and the legislature because judges and justices, once appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, would serve for life. The "federal" structure of the government, which divided power between the states and the nation, and the system of "checks and balances," which divided power among various elements within the national government, were designed to protect the United States from the kind of despotism Americans believed had emerged in England. But they were also designed to protect the nation from another kind of despotism, perhaps equally menacing: the tyranny of the people. Fear of the "mob," of an "excess of democracy," was at least as important to the framers of the Constitution as fear of a single tyrant. Shays's Rebellion had been only one example, they believed, of what could happen if a nation did not defend itself against the unchecked exercise of popular will. Thus, in the new government, only the members of the House of Representatives would be elected directly by the people. Senators, the president, and federal judges

would be insulated in varying degrees from the public. On September 17, 1787, thirty-nine delegates signed the Constitution, doubtless sharing the feelings that Benjamin Franklin expressed at the end: "Thus I consent. Sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best." The Limits of the Constitution The Constitution of 1789 was a document that established a democratic republic for white people, mostly white men. Indians and African Americans, the two largest population groups sharing the lands of the United States with Anglo-Americans, enjoyed virtually none of the rights and privileges provided to the white population. Native Americans had at least the semblance of a legal status within the nation, through treaties that assured them lands that would be theirs forever. But most of these treaties did not survive for long, and the Indians found themselves driven farther and farther west with little of the protection that the government had promised them. Among the white leaders of the United States, there were eminent figures who believed Indians could join the republic as citizens. Jefferson was among them, believing that Indians could be taught the ways of "civilization." Jefferson, and other Americans with good intentions, sought to teach the Indians to live as white Americans did. Efforts to teach them Anglo farming methods were based on sedentary farms that relied on men doing the farming and women caring for the home. Indians had no interest in such ways and preferred to retain their traditional cultures. Their repudiation of white civilization contributed to the erosion of support among white Americans. Indians were not granted citizenship of the United States until the 1920s. U M B K K XVII. The Subject continued, and illustrated by Evans! e\* to show the Tendency of Federal Governments. rather to Anarchy among the Member\* than Tyranny in the Head. toa XVIII. The Subject continued, with farther Example\*. 107 XIX. The Subject continued, with farther Example\*. \*\* + XX. The Subject continued with farther Examples. l\*i XXI. Further Defeat of the present Constitution. XXU. The same, Subject continued and concluded. \*3\* XXIII. The necessity of a Government, at least equally energetic with the one proposed. # \*43 XXIV. The Subject continued, with an Answer to an Objection concerning standing Armies. \* 49 XXV. The Subject continued with the same View. \*55 XXVI. The Subject continued with the same View. 16\* XXVII. The Subject continued with the same View. XXVIII. The same Subject

concluded. XXIX. Concerning the Militia. XXX. Concerning Taxation. XXXI. The fame Subject continued. XXXII. The Crae Subjca continued. XXXIII. The fame Subject continued. XXXIV. The fame Subje& continued. XXXV. The fame Subjca continued. XXXVI. The fame Subject concluded. 168 l7l 178 tS4 '9J 196 200 20J 21\* 2,9

THE THE FEDERALIST:.. ADDRESSED TO TUX PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK. NUMBER I. Introduction\* AFTER an unequivocal experience of the inefficacy of the fubfi.Oing federal government, yea\* • nrc oHod upon to deliberate on a new corifittuticn for the United States of America. The fobjeet fpeaks iu 'own importance ; comprehending in its confectioners, nothing Icfs than the exigence of rhe U N I O N, the fafety and welfare of the part\* of which it is com•TOfed, the fate of an empire, in many refpe&», the moft mterefling in the world. Jt has been frequently icciAi-ked, tnat it feints to have been referred to the people of this country, by their conduft and example, ■'to decide the important queftion, whether fociciici of men arc really capable or not, of ertabliihinp' good government from reflexion and choice:, or whether they are forever ddtmed to depend, for their political contri tutions, on accident and force. If there be anv trOth in the remark, the crifts, at which we Arc arrived, roay with propriety be regarded as the sera in which A thit FEDERALIST #1 The Federalist Papers, gathered here in a book distributed to the people of New York, began as essays, letters, and articles published in newspapers throughout America during the debate over the Constitution. Its authors— James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay— were defenders of the new Constitution and wrote these essays to explain its value and importance. They remain today one of the most important American contributions to political theory. (© The Granger Collection, New York)



THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC 167

Far more removed from the guarantees of the Constitution were African American slaves, who were given virtually none of the rights and protections that the new government provided to white people. They were, one southern official noted, not "constituent members of our society." The French Canadian writer Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, who after the Revolution settled in the United States, wrote a famous book. *Letters from an American Farmer*, in 1782. In it, he posed what became a famous question: "What then is the American, this new man?" Crevecoeur answered his own question by noting that "individuals of all nations" would become "melted" into a common citizenry. But he too saw no room for African Americans in the community of the "new man." Indeed, among the first laws passed by the new United States under the Constitution was the Naturalization Act of 1790, which helped legalize the stream of immigrants coming into the country and allowed them to become citizens. But it defined citizenry as a status available only to white people. Even free black people were barred from citizenship. Jefferson, who had briefly tried without result to give Indians a legal status within the new nation, had no such aspirations for African Americans. He was an uneasy defender of slavery, worrying about excluding "a whole race of men" from the natural rights that Jefferson himself had done so much to promote. But he could never accept the idea that black men and black women could attain the level of knowledge and intelligence of white people. Jefferson's long romantic relationship with a black woman, Sally Hemmings, did nothing to change his mind. Hemmings was a light-skinned woman who was a slave on Jefferson's plantation in Virginia. Jefferson lived with her after the death of his wife and fathered several of her children. But his intimate relationship with the Hemmings family did not ultimately change his position on slavery. Unlike George Washington, who stipulated that his slaves be freed after his death, Jefferson (deeply in debt) required his heirs to sell his slaves after he died (after liberating the Hemmings family). Not until the end of the Civil War were black men and black women eligible to live as citizens in the United States, and even then with only partial rights until a century later. Federalists and Antifederalists The delegates at Philadelphia had greatly exceeded their instructions from Congress and the states. Instead of making simple revisions to the Articles of

Confederation, they had produced a plan for a completely different form of government. They feared, therefore, that the Constitution might never be ratified under the rules of the Articles of Confederation, which required unanimous approval by the state legislatures. So the convention changed the rules. The Constitution specified that the new government would come into existence among the ratifying states when any nine of the thirteen had ratified it. The delegates recommended to Congress that special state conventions, not state legislatures, consider the document. They were required to vote "yes" or "no" on the document. They could make no changes until after the Constitution was ratified by the required number of states, at which point the Constitution's amendment process could be used (as it was for the Bill of Rights). The old Confederation Congress, now overshadowed by the events in Philadelphia, passively accepted the Constitutional Convention's work and submitted it to the states for approval. All the state legislatures except Rhode Island's elected delegates to ratifying conventions, most of which began meeting by early 1788. Even before the ratifying conventions convened, however, a great national debate on the new Constitution had begun-in the state legislatures, in mass meetings, in the columns of newspapers, and in ordinary conversations. Occasionally, passions rose to the point that opposing factions came to blows. In at least one place-Albany, New York-such clashes resulted in injuries and death. Supporters of the Constitution had a number of advantages. They were better organized than their opponents, and they had the support of the two most eminent men in America, Franklin and Washington. And they seized an apThe peeling label for themselves:

"Federalists"Federalist the term that opponents of centralization Papers had once used to describe themselves thus implying that they were less committed to a "nationalist" government than in fact they were. The Federalists also had the support of the ablest political philosophers of their time: Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. Those three men, under the joint pseudonym "Publius," wrote a series of essays-widely published in newspapers throughout the nation-explaining the meaning and virtues of the Constitution. They did so in an effort to counter the powerful arguments that those opposed to the Constitution-those who became known as the Antifederalists-were making. Without a powerful defense of the new Constitution, they feared, the

Antifederalists might succeed in several crucial states, most notably in New York. The essays were later issued as a book, and they are known today as The Federalist Papers. They are among the most important American contributions to political theory. The Federalists called their critics "Antifederalists," implying that their rivals had nothing to offer except opposition and chaos. But the Antifederalists had serious and intelligent arguments of their own. They presented themselves as the defenders of the true principles of the Revolution. The Constitution, they believed, would betray those principles by establishing a strong, potentially tyrannical, center of power in the new national government. The "federal" government, they claimed, would increase taxes, obliterate the states, wield dictatorial powers, favor the "well born" over the common people, and put an end to individual liberty. But their biggest complaint was that the Constitution lacked a bill of rights, a concern that revealed one of the most important sources of their opposition: a basic mistrust of

168 CHAPTER 6 human nature and of the capacity of human beings to wield power. The Antifederalists argued that any government that centralized authority would inevitably produce despotism. Their demand for a bill of rights was a product of this belief: no government could be trusted to protect the liberties of its citizens; only by enumerating the natural rights of the people could there be any assurance that those rights would be preserved. At its heart, then, the debate between the Federalists and the Antifederalists was a battle between two fears. The Federalists were afraid, above all, of disorder, anarchy, chaos; they feared the unchecked power of the masses, and they sought in the Constitution to create a government that would function at some distance from popular passions. The Debating the Antifederalists were not anarchists; they Constitution too recognized the need for an effective government. But they were much more concerned about the dangers of concentrated power than about the dangers of popular will. They opposed the Constitution for some of the same reasons the Federalists supported it: because it placed obstacles between the people and the exercise of power. Despite the Antifederalist efforts, ratification proceeded quickly (although not without occasional difficulty) during the winter of 1787-1788. The Delaware convention was the first to act, when it ratified the Constitution unanimously. The New Jersey and Georgia conventions did the same. In the larger states of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the Antifederalists put up a determined struggle but lost in the final vote. New Hampshire ratified the document in June 1788-the ninth state to do so. It was now theoretically possible for the Constitution to go into effect. A new government could not hope to flourish, however, without the participation of Virginia and New York, the two most populous states, whose conventions remained closely divided. By the end of June, first Virginia and then New York had consented to the Constitution by narrow margins. The New York convention yielded to expediency-even some of the most staunchly Antifederalist delegates feared that the state's commercial interests would suffer if, once the other states gathered under the "New Roof," New York were to remain outside. Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York all ratified, on the assumption that a bill of rights would be added to the Constitution. The North Carolina convention adjourned without taking action, waiting to see what

happened to the amendments. Rhode Island, whose leaders had opposed the Constitution almost from the start, did not even call a convention to consider ratification. Completing the Structure The first elections under the Constitution took place in the early months of 1789. Almost all the newly elected congressmen and senators had favored ratification, and many had served as delegates to the Philadelphia convention. There was Rights

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii never any real doubt about who would be the first president. George Washington had presided at the Constitutional Convention, and many delegates who had favored ratification did so only because they expected him to preside over the new government as well. Washington received the votes of all the presidential electors. John Adams, a leading Federalist, became vice president. After a Journey from Mount Vernon marked by elaborate celebrations along the way, Washington was inaugurated in New York-the national capital for the time being-on April 30, 1789. The first Congress served in many ways almost as a continuation of the Constitutional Convention, because its principal responsibility was filling in the various gaps in the Constitution. The Bill of \*ts most important task was drafting a bill of rights. By early 1789, even Madison had come to agree that some sort of bill of rights was essential to legitimize the new government in the eyes of its opponents. Congress approved twelve amendments on September 25, 1789; ten of them were ratified by the states by the end of 1791. What we know as the Bill of Rights is these first ten amendments to the Constitution. Nine of them placed limitations on Congress by forbidding it to infringe on certain basic rights: freedom of religion, speech, and the press; immunity from arbitrary arrest; trial by Jury; and others. The Tenth Amendment reserved to the states all powers except those specifically withheld from them or delegated to the federal government. On the subject of the federal courts, the Constitution said only: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." It was left to Congress to determine the number of Supreme Court judges to be appointed and the kinds of lower courts to be organized. In the Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress provided for a Supreme Court of six members, with a chief justice and five associate justices; thirteen district courts with one judge apiece; and three circuit courts of appeal, each to consist of one of the district

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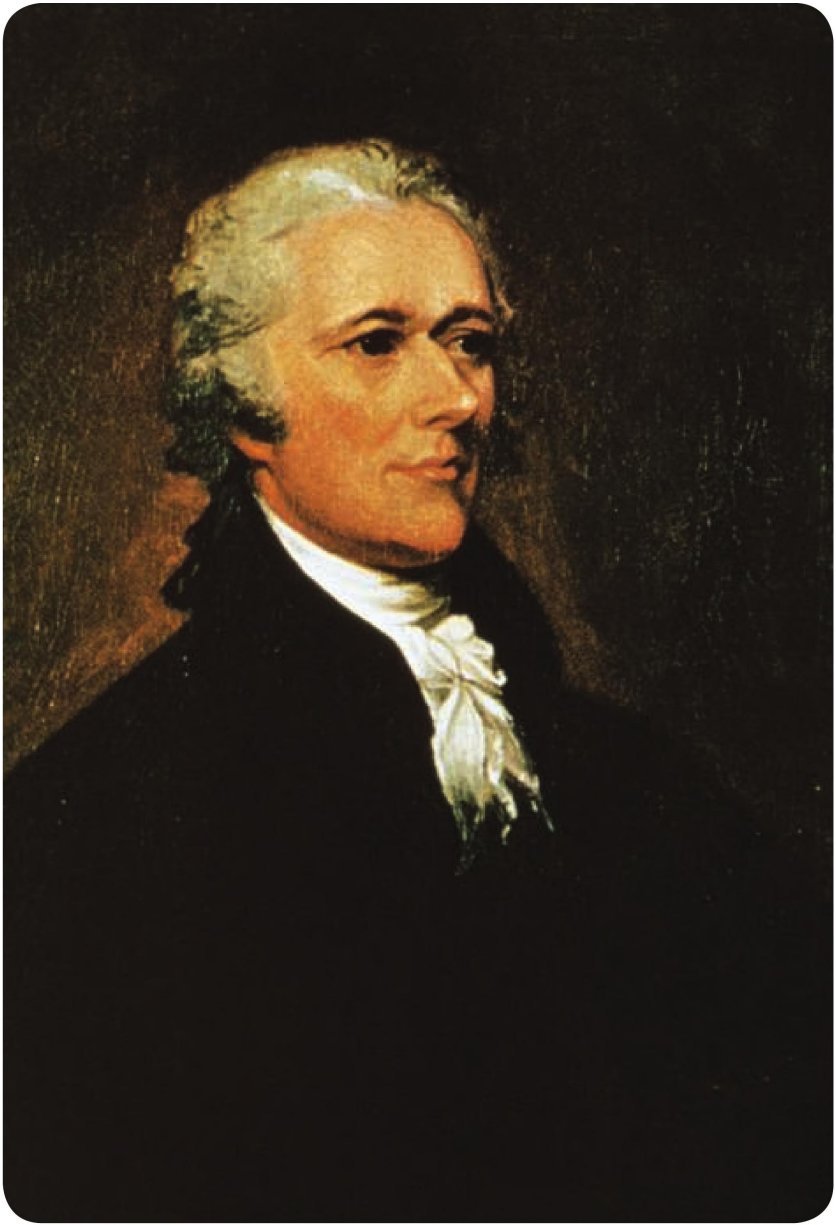
FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS The resolution of these initial issues, however, did not resolve the deep disagreements about the nature of the new government. On the contrary, for the first twelve years under the Constitution, American politics was characterized by a level of acrimony seldom matched in any period since. The framers of the Constitution had dealt with many disagreements not by solving them but by papering them over with a series of vague compromises; as a result, the conflicts survived to plague the new government. At the heart of the controversies of the 1790s was the same basic difference in philosophy that had been at the heart of the debate over the Constitution. On one side stood a powerful group that believed America required a strong, national government: that the country's mission was to become a genuine nation-state, with centralized authority, a complex commercial economy, and a proud standing in world affairs. On the other side stood another group—a minority at first, but one that gained strength during the decade—that envisioned a far weaker central government. American society should not, this group believed, aspire to be highly commercial or urban. It should remain predominantly rural and agrarian, and it should have a central government of modest size and powers that would leave most power in the hands of the states and the people. The centralizers became known as the Federalists and gravitated to the leadership of Alexander Hamilton. Their opponents took the name Republicans and gathered under the leadership of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. Hamilton and the Federalists For twelve years, control of the new government remained firmly in the hands of the Federalists. That was in part because George Washington had always envisioned a strong national government and as president had quietly supported those who were attempting to create one. His enormous prestige throughout the nation was one of the Federalists' greatest assets. But Washington also believed that the presidency should remain above political controversies, and so he avoided any personal involvement in the deliberations of Congress. As a result, the dominant figure in his administration became his talented secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, who exerted more influence on domestic and foreign policy than anyone else both during his term of office and, to an almost equal extent, after his

resignation in 1794. Of all the national leaders of his time, Hamilton was one of the most aristocratic in personal tastes and political philosophy-ironically, perhaps, since his own origins as an illegitimate child in the Caribbean had been so humble. Far from embracing the republican ideals of the virtue of the people, he believed that a stable and effective government

ALEXANDER HAMILTON As President George Washington's secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton exerted enormous influence in both domestic and foreign affairs. Hamilton favored the establishment of an enlightened ruling class to govern the new nation. His plans for the new federal government to assume existing public debt and to establish a national bank were part of his vision of a powerful nation with a vigorous and independent commercial economy, a robust industrial sector, and a dynamic role in world economic affairs. (© De Agostini Picture Library/The Bridgeman Art Library)

required an enlightened ruling class. Thus the new government needed the support of the wealthy and powerful; and to get that support, it needed to give those elites a stake in its success. Hamilton proposed, therefore. Assuming the new Debt that new government take responsibility for the existing public debt. Many of the miscellaneous, uncertain, depreciated certificates of indebtedness that the old Congress had issued during and after the Revolution were now in the hands of wealthy speculators; the government should call them in and exchange them for uniform, interest-bearing bonds, payable at definite dates. (This policy was known as "funding" the debt.) He also recommended that the federal government "assume" (or take over) the debts the states had accumulated during the Revolution; this assumption policy would encourage state as well as federal bondholders to look to the central government for





170 CHAPTER 6 eventual payment. Hamilton did not, in other words, envision paying off and thus eliminating the debt. He wanted instead to create a large and permanent national debt, with new bonds being issued as old ones were paid off. The result, he believed, would be that creditors-the wealthy classes most likely to lend money to the government-would have a permanent stake in seeing the government survive. Hamilton also wanted to create a national bank. At the time, there were only a few banks in the country, located principally in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York City. A new, national bank would help fill the void that the absence of a well-developed banking system had created. It would provide loans and currency to businesses. It would give the government a safe place to deposit federal funds. It would help collect taxes and disburse the government's expenditures. The bank would be chartered by the federal government, would have a monopoly of the government's own banking business, and would be controlled by directors, of whom one-fifth would be appointed by the government. It would provide a stable center to the nation's small and feeble banking system. The funding and assumption of debts would require new sources of revenue, since the government would now have to pay interest on the loans it was accepting. Up to now, most government revenues had come from the sale of public lands in Hamilton's West. Hamilton proposed two new Report on kinds of taxes. One was an excise to be Manufacturing paid by distillers of alcoholic liquors, a tax

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii that would fall most heavily on the whiskey distillers of the backcountry, especially in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina-small farmers who converted part of their corn and rye crop into whiskey. The other was a tariff on imports, which not only would raise revenue but also would protect American manufacturing from foreign competition. In his famous "Report on Manufactures" of 1791, Hamilton laid out a grand scheme for stimulating the growth of industry in the United States and wrote glowingly of the advantages to the nation of a healthy manufacturing base. The Federalists, in short, offered more than a vision of how to stabilize the new government. They offered a vision of the sort of nation America should become-a nation with a wealthy, enlightened ruling class, a vigorous, independent commercial economy, and a thriving industrial sector; a nation able

to play a prominent role in world economic affairs. Enacting the Federalist Program Few members of Congress objected to Hamilton's plan for funding the national debt, but many did oppose his proposal to accept the debt "at par," that is, at face value. The old certificates had been issued to merchants and farmers in payment for war supplies during the Revolution, or to officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army in payment for their services. But many of these original holders had sold their bonds during the hard times of the 1780s to speculators, who had bought them at a fraction of their face value. Many Debating Hamilton's Program members of Congress believed that if the federal government was to assume responsibility for these bonds, some of them should be returned to the original purchasers. James Madison, now a representative from Virginia, proposed dividing the federally funded bonds between the original purchasers and the speculators. But Hamilton's allies insisted that such a plan was impractical and that the honor of the government required that it pay the bondholders themselves, not the original lenders who had sold their bonds of their own accord. Congress finally passed the funding bill Hamilton wanted. Hamilton's proposal that the federal government assume the state debts encountered greater difficulty. His opponents argued that if the federal government took over the state debts, the people of states with few debts would have to pay taxes to service the larger debts of other states. Hamilton and his supporters struck a bargain with the Virginians to win passage of the bill. The deal involved the location of the national capital. The capital had moved from New York City back to Philadelphia in Location of 1790. But the Virginians wanted a new the Capital capital near them in the South. Hamiton met with Thomas Jefferson and agreed over dinner to provide northern support for placing the capital in the South in exchange for Virginia's votes for the assumption bill. The bargain called for the construction of a new capital city on the banks of the Potomac River, which divided Virginia and Maryland, on land to be selected by Washington himself. The government would move there by the beginning of the new century. Hamilton argued that creation of a national bank was compatible with the intent of the Constitution, even though the Bank of the document did not explicitly authorize it. United States But Madison, Jefferson, Randolph, and others argued that Congress should exercise no powers that the Constitution had not clearly assigned it.

Nevertheless, both the House and the Senate finally agreed to Hamilton's bill. Washington displayed some uncertainty about its legality at first, but he finally signed it. The Bank of the United States began operations in 1791, under a charter that granted it the right to continue for twenty years. Once enacted, Hamilton's program had many of the effects he had intended and won the support of influential segments of the population. It quickly restored public credit; the bonds of the United States were soon selling at home and abroad at prices even above their face value. Speculators (among them many members of Congress) reaped large profits as a result. Manufacturers profited from the tariffs, and merchants in the seaports benefited from the new banking system. Small farmers, who formed the vast majority of the population, complained that they had to bear a disproportionate tax burden. Not only did they have to pay property taxes to their state governments, but they bore the brunt of the excise tax on distilleries that Hamilton had initiated. They also opposed a 1792 tariff, also promoted by Hamilton. Many Americans came to believe that the Federalist



caucuses. Republican groups corresponded with one another across state lines. They banded together to influence state and local elections. And they justified their actions by claiming that they and they alone represented the true interests of the nation—that they were fighting to defend the people against a corrupt conspiracy by the Federalists. Just as Hamilton believed that the network of supporters he was creating represented the only legitimate interest group in the nation, so the Republicans believed that their party organization represented the best interests of the people. Neither side was willing to admit that it was acting as a party; neither would concede the right of the other to exist. This institutionalized factionalism is known to scholars as the "first party system." THE JEFFERSONIAN IDYLL American artists in the early nineteenth century were drawn to tranquil rural scenes, symbolic of the Jeffersonian vision of a nation of small, independent farmers. By 1822, when Francis Alexander painted this pastoral landscape of "Ralph Wheelock's Farm," the simple agrarian republic it depicts was already being transformed by rapid economic growth. (Courtesy, National Gallery of Art, Washington)



172 CHAPTER 6 From the beginning, the preeminent figures among the Republicans were Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Indeed, the two men were such intimate collaborators with such similar political philosophies that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the contributions of one from those of the other. But Jefferson, the more charismatic personality of the two, gradually emerged as the most prominent spokesman for the Republicans. Jefferson considered himself a farmer. (He was, in fact, a substantial planter; but he had spent little time in recent years at his estate in Virginia.) He believed in an agrarian republic, most of whose citizens would be sturdy, independent farmer-citizens tilling their own soil. Jefferson did not scorn commercial activity; he assumed farmers would market their crops in the national and even international markets. Nor did he oppose industry; he believed the United States should develop some manufacturing capacity. But he was suspicious of large cities, feared urban mobs as "sores upon the body politic," and opposed the development of an advanced industrial economy because it would, he feared, increase the number of propertyless workers packed in cities. In short, Jefferson envisioned a decentralized society, dominated by small property owners engaged largely in agrarian activities. The difference between the Federalist and Republican social philosophies was visible in, among other things, reactions to the French Revolution. As that revolution grew increasingly radical in the 1790s, with its attacks on organized religion, the overthrow of the monarchy, and eventually the execution of the king and queen, the Federalists expressed horror. But the Republicans generally applauded the democratic, antiaristocratic spirit they believed the French Revolution embodied. Some even imitated the French radicals (the Jacobins) by cutting their hair short, wearing pantaloons, and addressing one another as "Citizen" and "Citizeness." Although both parties had supporters in all parts of the country and among all classes, there were regional and economic differences. The Federalists were most numerous in the commercial centers of the Northeast and in such southern seaports as Charleston; the Republicans were most numerous in the rural areas of the South and the West. As the 1792 presidential election—the nation's second—approached, both Jefferson and Hamilton urged Washington to run for another term. The president reluctantly agreed. But while





the Union, Tennessee became first a territory and, in 1796, a state. Native Americans and the New Nation The new government faced a greater challenge, also inherited from the Confederation, in the more distant areas of the Northwest and the Southwest, where Indians (occasionally in alliance with the British and Spanish) fought to retain tribal lands that the U.S. government claimed for itself. The ordinances of 1784-1787 had produced a series of border conflicts with Indian tribes resisting white settlement in what they considered their lands. Although the United States eventually defeated virtually every Indian challenge (if often at great cost), it was clear that the larger question of who was to control the lands of the West-the United States or the Indian nations-remained unanswered. These clashes revealed another issue the Constitution had done little to resolve: the place of the Indian nations within

Indians AND THE Constitution I III 1 1 II 1 1 III II HIM II Mill II Mill II Mill 1 1 III 1 1 llllll II Mill llllll II II the new federal structure. The Constitution barely mentioned Native Americans. Article I excluded "Indians not taxed" from being counted in the population totals that determined the number of seats states would receive in the House of Representatives; and it gave Congress the power to "regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." Article VI bound the new government to respect treaties negotiated by the Confederation, most of which had been with the tribes. But none of this did much to clarify the precise legal standing of Indians or Indian nations within the United States. On the one hand, the Constitution seemed to recognize the existence of the tribes as legal entities. On the other hand, it made clear that they were not "foreign Nations" (in the same sense that European countries were); nor were their members citizens of the United States. The tribes received no direct representation in the new government. Above all, the Constitution did not address the major issue that would govern relations between whites and Indians: land. Indian nations lived within the boundaries of the United States, yet they claimed (and the white government at times agreed) that they had some measure of sovereignty within their own lands. But neither the Constitution nor common law offered any clear guide to the rights of a "nation within a nation" or to the precise nature of tribal sovereignty, which ultimately depended on control of land. Thus the relationship between the tribes and the United States remained to be determined by a series of treaties, agreements, and judicial decisions in a process that has continued for more than 200 years. Maintaining Neutrality Not until 1791 -eight years after the end of the Revolution did Great Britain send a minister to the United States, and then only because Madison and the Republicans were threatening to place special trade restrictions on British ships. That was one of many symbols of the difficulty the new government had in establishing its legitimacy in the eyes of the British. Another crisis in Anglo-American relations emerged in 1793 when the new French government, created by the Revolution of 1789, went to war with Great Britain and its allies. Both the president and Congress took steps to establish American neutrality in that conflict. But the

neutrality quickly encountered severe tests. The first challenge to American neutrality came from revolutionary France and its first diplomatic representative to America, the brash and youthful Edmond Genet. Instead of landing at Philadelphia and presenting himself immediately to the president. Genet disembarked at Charleston. There he made plans to use American ports to outfit French warships. Citizen Genet encouraged American shipowners to . serve as French privateers, and commissioned the aging George Rogers Clark to lead a military expedition against Spanish lands to the south. (Spain was at the time an ally of Great Britain and an enemy of France.) In all of this. Genet was brazenly ignoring Washington's policies and flagrantly violating the Neutrality Act. His conduct infuriated Washington (who provided "Citizen Genet," as he was known, with an icy reception in Philadelphia) and the Federalists; it also embarrassed all but the most ardent admirers of the French Revolution among the Republicans. Washington eventually demanded that the French government recall him, but by then Genet's party was out of power in France. (The president granted him political asylum in the United States, and he settled with his American wife on a Long Island farm.) The neutrality policy had survived its first serious test. A second and even greater challenge came from Great Britain. Early in 1794, the Royal Navy began seizing hundreds of American ships engaged in trade in the French West Indies, . ' > r- Tfbt, ■ j .. ',r lift. JlrjTti -.11 f Or / . . . / / . , 7 i -A , . '■/trr.MTijw /vjtayfci . Vi' .. rnii'sir.i, .... / ;■> '&/ jfiSr AaJ. ■ ' 7 irVi'.vjf.wp & l.'MhiX.i •UluJJ JKB i . it,' .1 ."j7TiViVn- J i'-' . ? ittfr t tjr /vA-' .V . . WX.,/ L ' \_1 -ivi'/Stv ■— .IT 'j1? is i-'tfru' X; \_ ujt> hu. m&—\*\*^¥ /£ ■. ' .. \n Exciseman itmrts vteaitaf h hrwd ieithtrkin. he ftOT fc to \*i> , . h m,i ^ wy h fli\* ^ \*\* j\* «< > • 41 ht U wW; hmgrpt | it ' sUttzi of w liiivy tiaAiAim. i>\_ k W & W if, fc. Tk Dlllfc \*t,a Fvmu. poynlldM deferaHt to 0\*grt.u. wif i r\*i W\* 4 vMrba\* Vlk fjtcittTrtii. veia Aft awiity jGffgW ft\* &\*&\*& % A Mi to JjH ■ wtnmtittitj\* /\$ mds i l -\*> v. A .if! . ~rr /ci.j,! jvauj? ^ | \*n. SW> \* j-fr : "> jLA ^ ^pJ}P. t-J A 2# i — ' . ■ 1\* J £\*\*■ p lv jL J\*f\*if\*\*% -a";\*, drhrt- ' A COMMENT ON THE WHISKEY REBELLION Although Thomas Jefferson and other Republicans claimed to welcome occasional popular uprisings, the Federalists were horrified by such insurgencies as Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts and, later, the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. This Federalist cartoon portrays the rebels as demons who pursue

and eventually hang an unfortunate "exciseman" (tax collector), who has confiscated two kegs of rum. (© Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent, / The Bridgeman Art Library)

174 CHAPTER 6 outraging public opinion in the United States. Anti-British feeling rose still higher at the report that the governor general of Canada had delivered a warlike speech to the Indians on the northwestern frontier encouraging them to challenge U.S. dominance there. Hamilton was deeply concerned. War would mean an end to imports from England, and most of the revenue for maintaining his financial system came from duties on those imports. Jay's Treaty and Pinckney's Treaty This was, Hamilton believed, no time for ordinary diplomacy. He did not trust the State Department to reach a settlement with Britain. Jefferson had resigned as secretary of state in 1793 to devote more time to his political activities, but his successor, Edmund Randolph, was even more ardently proFrench than Jefferson had been. So Hamilton persuaded Washington to name a special commissioner to England: John Jay, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court and a staunch New York Federalist. Jay was instructed to secure compensation for the recent British assaults on American shipping, to demand withdrawal of British forces from the frontier posts, and to negotiate a new commercial treaty. The long and complex treaty Jay negotiated in 1794 failed to achieve these goals. But it was not without merit. It settled the conflict with Britain and helped prevent what had seemed likely to become a war between the two nations. It established Jay's Treaty undisputed American sovereignty over the entire Northwest. And it produced a reasonably satisfactory commercial relationship with Britain, whose trade was important to the United States. Nevertheless, when the terms became public in America, there were bitter public denunciations of it for having failed to extract enough promises from the British. Jay was burned in effigy in various parts of the country. Opponents of the treaty—nearly all the Republicans and even some Federalists, encouraged by agents of France—went to extraordinary lengths to defeat it in the Senate. The American minister to France, James Monroe, and even the secretary of state, Edmund Randolph, joined the desperate attempt to prevent ratification. But in the end the Senate ratified what was by then known as Jay's Treaty. Among other things, the treaty made possible a settlement of America's conflict with the Spanish, because it raised fears in Spain that the British and the Americans might now join Pinckney's together to challenge Spanish possessions Treaty in North America. When Thomas Pinckney

arrived in Spain as a special negotiator, he had no difficulty in gaining nearly everything the United States had sought from the Spaniards for more than a decade. Under Pinckney's Treaty (signed in 1795), Spain recognized the right of Americans to navigate the Mississippi to its mouth and to deposit goods at New Orleans for reloading on oceangoing ships; agreed to fix the northern boundary of Florida where Americans always had insisted it should be, along the 31st parallel; and required Spanish authorities to prevent the Indians in Florida from launching raids across the border.

**THE DOWNFALL OF THE FEDERALISTS** The Federalists' impressive triumphs did not ensure their continued dominance in the national government. On the contrary, success seemed to produce problems of its own-problems that led to their downfall. Since almost all Americans in the 1790s agreed that there was no place in a stable republic for an organized opposition, the emergence of the Republicans as powerful contenders for popular favor seemed to the Federalists a grave threat to national stability. Beginning in the late 1790s, when international perils confronted the government as well, the Federalists could not resist the temptation to move forcefully against the opposition. Facing what they believed was a stark choice between respecting individual liberties and preserving stability, the Federalists chose stability. The result was political disaster. After 1796, the Federalists never won another election. The popular respect for the institutions of the federal government, which they had worked so hard to

**MOUNT VERNON** George and Martha Washington lavished enormous attention on their home at Mount Vernon, importing materials and workmen from Europe to create a house that they hoped would rival some of the elegant country homes of England. Like many wealthy planters and merchants of their time, they strove to bring refinement and gentility to their lives. (© Paul G. Rocheleau)

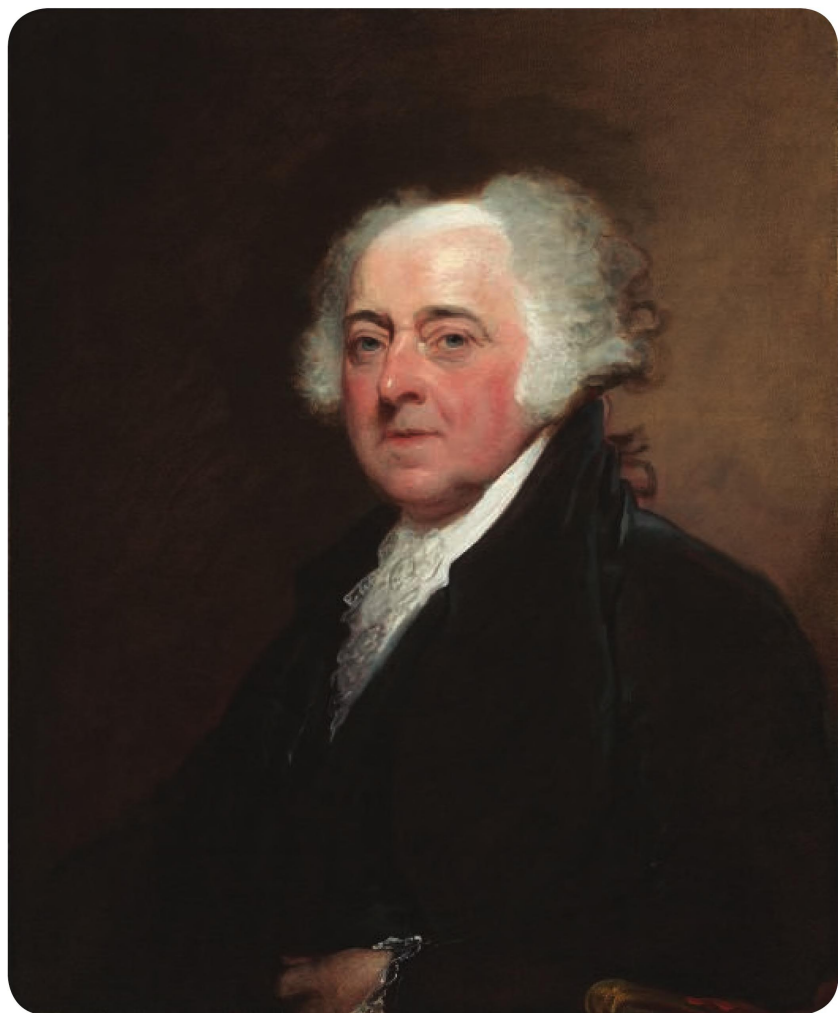


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produce among the people, survived. But the Federalists themselves gradually vanished as an effective political force. The Election of 1796 Despite strong pressure from his many admirers to run for a third term as president, George Washington insisted on retiring from office in 1797. In his Farewell Address to the American people (actually a long letter, composed in part by Hamilton and published in a Philadelphia newsletter), he reacted sharply to the ... , Republicans. His reference to the "insidious and treacherous influence" was not just an abstract warning against international entanglements; it was also a specific denunciation of those Republicans who had been conspiring with the French to frustrate the Federalist diplomatic program. With Washington out of the running, no obstacle remained to an open expression of the partisan rivalries that had been building over the previous eight years. Jefferson was the uncontested candidate of the Republicans in 1796. The Federalists faced a more difficult choice. Hamilton, the personification of Federalism, had created too many enemies to be a credible candidate. JOHN ADAMS John Adams's illustrious career as Revolutionary leader, diplomat, and president marked the beginning of four generations of public distinction among members of his family. His son, John Quincy Adams, served as secretary of state and president. His grandson, Charles Francis Adams, was one of the great diplomats of the Civil War era. His greatgrandson, Henry Adams, was one of America's most distinguished historians and writers. (Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) candidate. So Vice President John Adams, who had been directly associated with none of the unpopular Federalist measures, became his party's nominee for president. The Federalists were still clearly the dominant party, and there was little doubt of their ability to win a majority of the presidential electors. But without Washington to mediate, they fell victim to fierce factional rivalries that almost led to their undoing. Hamilton and many other Federalists (especially in the South) were not reconciled to Adams's candidacy and favored his running mate, Thomas Pinckney, instead. And when, as expected, the Federalists elected a majority of the presidential electors, some of these Pinckney supporters declined to vote for Adams; he managed to defeat Jefferson by only three electoral votes. Because a still-larger number of Adams's supporters



declined to vote for Pinckney, Jefferson finished second in the balloting and became vice president. (Until the Twelfth Amendment was adopted in 1804, the Constitution provided for the candidate receiving the second highest number of electoral votes to become vice presidenthence the awkward result of men from different parties serving in the nation's two highest elected offices.) Adams thus assumed the presidency under unhappy circumstances. He presided over a divided party, which faced a Divided strong and resourceful Republican opposiFederalists tion committed to its extinction. Adams was not even the dominant figure m his own party; Hamilton remained the most influential Federalist, and Adams was never able to challenge him effectively. The new president was one of the country's most accomplished and talented diplomats, but he had few skills as a politician. Austere, rigid, aloof, he had little talent at conciliating differences, soliciting support, or inspiring enthusiasm. He was a man of enormous, indeed intimidating, rectitude, and he seemed to assume that his own virtue and the correctness of his positions would be enough to sustain him. The Quasi War with France American relations with Great Britain and Spain improved as a result of Jay's and Pinckney's Treaties. But the nation's relations with revolutionary France quickly deteriorated. French vessels captured American ships on the high seas and at times imprisoned the crews. When the South Carolina Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, brother of Thomas Pinckney, arrived in France, the government refused to receive him as the official representative of the United States. Some of President Adams's advisers favored war, most notably Secretary of State Thomas Pickering, a stern New Englander who detested France. But Hamilton recommended conciliation, and Adams agreed. In an effort to stabilize relations, Adams appointed a bipartisan commission-consisting of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the recently rejected minister; John Marshall, a Virginia Federalist, later chief justice of the Supreme Court; and Elbridge Gerry, a Massachusetts Republican but a friend of the president-to negotiate with France. When the Americans arrived in Paris in 1797, three



176 CHAPTER 6 agents of the French foreign minister. Prince Talleyrand, demanded a loan for France and a bribe for French officials before any negotiations could begin. Pinckney responded: "No! No! Not a sixpence!" When Adams heard of the incident, he sent a message to Congress denouncing the French insults and urging preparations for war. He then turned the report of the American commissioners over to Congress, after deleting the names of the XYZ three French agents and designating them Affair only as "Messrs. X, Y, and Z." When the report was published, it created widespread popular outrage at France's actions and strong support for the Federalists' response. For nearly two years after the "XYZ Affair," as it became known, the United States found itself engaged in an undeclared war with France. Adams persuaded Congress to cut off all trade with France and to authorize American vessels to capture French armed The Quasi ships on the high seas. In 1798, Congress War created a Department of the Navy and appropriated money for the construction of new warships. The navy soon won a number of duels with French vessels and captured eighty-five ships, including armed merchantmen. The United States also began cooperating closely with the British and became an ally of Britain in the war with France. In the end, France chose to conciliate the United States before the conflict grew. Adams sent another commission to Paris in 1800, and the new French government (headed now by "first consul" Napoleon Bonaparte) agreed to a treaty with the United States that canceled the old agreement of 1778 and established new commercial arrangements. As a result, the "quasi war" came to a reasonably peaceful end.

Repression and Protest The conflict with France helped the Federalists increase their majorities in Congress in 1798. Armed with this new strength. Alien and they began to consider ways to silence the Sedition Acts Republican opposition. The result was some of the most controversial legislation in American history: the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Alien Act placed new obstacles in the way of foreigners who wished to become American citizens, and it strengthened the president's hand in dealing with aliens. The Sedition Act allowed the government to prosecute those who engaged in "sedition" against the government. In theory, only libelous or treasonous activities were subject to prosecution; but since such activities were open to widely varying definitions, the

law made it possible for the federal government to stifle almost any opposition. The Republicans interpreted the new laws as part of a Federalist campaign to destroy them and fought back. President Adams signed the new laws but was cautious in implementing them. He did not deport any aliens, and he THE XYZ AFFAIR The sensational "XYZ Affair" of 1798 is the subject of this American political cartoon. The five-headed figure in the center represents the Directory of the French government; he is demanding "money, money, money" from the three diplomats at left who were in Paris representing the United States. The monster at the top right is operating a guillotine— a symbol of the violence and terror of the later stages of the French Revolution. (© The Granger Collection, New York)





back with a pair of fire tongs, and the two men ended up wrestling on the floor. The "Revolution" of 1800 These bitter controversies shaped the 1800 presidential election. Adams and Jefferson were again the opposing candidates. But the The Election campaign of 1800 was very different from of 1800 the one preceding it. Indeed, it may have been the ugliest in American history. Adams and Jefferson themselves displayed reasonable dignity, but their supporters showed no such restraint. The Federalists accused Jefferson of being a dangerous radical and his followers of being wild men who, if they came to power, would bring on a reign of terror comparable to that of the French Revolution. The Republicans portrayed Adams as a tyrant conspiring to become king, and they accused the Federalists of plotting to subvert human liberty and impose slavery on the people. There was considerable personal invective as well. For example, it was during this campaign that the story of Jefferson's romantic involvement with a slave woman on his plantation was first widely aired. (Recent DNA evidence has proven that the story was true.) The election was close, and the crucial contest was in New York. There, Aaron Burr had mobilized an organization of CONGRESSIONAL BRAWLERS This cartoon lampoons a celebrated fight on the floor of the House of Representatives in 1798 between Matthew Lyon, a Republican from Vermont, and Roger Griswold, a Federalist from Connecticut. The conflict began when Griswold insulted Lyon by attacking his military record in the Revolutionary War. Lyon replied by spitting in Griswold's face. Two weeks later, Griswold attacked Lyon with his cane, and Lyon seized a pair of fire tongs and fought back. That later scene is depicted (and ridiculed) here. Other members of Congress are portrayed as enjoying the spectacle. On the wall is a picture titled "Royal Sport," showing animals fighting. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ppmsca -31832))



178 CHAPTER 6 Revolutionary War veterans, the Tammany Society, to serve as a Republican political machine. And through Tammany's efforts, the Republicans carried the city by a large majority and, with it, the state. Jefferson was, apparently, elected. But an unexpected complication soon jeopardized the Republican victory. The Constitution called for each elector to Vote by ballot for two persons." The normal practice was for an elector to cast one vote for his party's presidential candidate and another for the vice presidential candidate. To avoid a tie between Jefferson and Aaron Burr (the Republican vice presidential candidate), the Republicans had intended for one elector to refrain from voting for Burr. But the plan went awry. When the votes were counted, Jefferson and Burr each had 73. No candidate had a majority. According to the Constitution, the House of Representatives had to choose between the two leading candidates when no one had a majority; in this case, that meant deciding between Jefferson and Burr. Each state delegation would cast a single vote. The new Congress, elected in 1800 with a Republican majority, was not to convene until after the inauguration of the president, so it was the Federalist Congress that had to decide the question. Some Federalists hoped to use the situation to salvage the election for their party; others wanted to strike a bargain with Burr and elect him. But after a long deadlock, several leading Federalists, most prominent among them Alexander Hamilton, concluded that Burr (whom many suspected of having engineered the deadlock in the first place) was too unreliable to trust with the presidency. On the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson was elected. After the election of 1800, the only branch of the federal government left in Federalist hands was the judiciary. The Adams administration spent its last months in office taking steps to make the party's hold on the courts secure. By the Judiciary Act of The Judiciary 1801, passed by the lame duck Congress, the Act of 1801 Federalists reduced the number of Supreme Court justiceships by one but greatly increased the number of federal judgeships as a whole. Adams quickly appointed Federalists to the newly created positions. Indeed, there were charges that he stayed up until midnight on his last day in office to finish signing the new judges' commissions. These officeholders became known as the "midnight appointments." Even so, the Republicans viewed their victory, incorrectly, as almost complete.



The nation, they believed, had been saved from tyranny. A new era could now begin, one in which the true principles on which America had been founded would once again govern the land. The exuberance with which the victors viewed the future-and the importance they attributed to the Federalists' defeat-was evident in the phrase Jefferson later used to describe his election: the "Revolution of 1800." It remained to be seen how revolutionary it would really be.

**LOOKING BACK** The writing of the Constitution of 1787 was the single most important political event in the history of the United States, and a notable event in the political history of the modern world. In creating a "federal" system of dispersed and divided authority-authority divided among national and state governments, authority divided among an executive, a legislature, and a judiciary-the young nation sought to balance its need for an effective central government against its fear of concentrated and despotic power. The ability of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention to compromise to produce the ultimate structure gave evidence of the deep yearning among them for a stable political system. The same willingness to compromise allowed the greatest challenge to the ideals of the new democracy-slavery-to survive intact. The writing and ratifying of the Constitution settled some questions about the shape of the new nation. The first twelve years under the government created by the Constitution solved others. And yet by the year 1800, a basic disagreement about the future of the nation-a disagreement personified by the differences between committed nationalist Alexander Hamilton and the self-proclaimed champion of democracy Thomas Jefferson-remained unresolved and was creating bitter divisions and conflicts within the political world. The election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency that year opened a new chapter in the nation's public history. It also brought to a close, at least temporarily, savage political conflicts that had seemed to threaten the nation's future.

**Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events** Alexander Hamilton 161 Alien and Sedition Acts 176 Antifederalists 167 Bill of Rights 168 Checks and balances 166 Citizen Genet affair 173 Federalists 167 Federal structure 166 Great Compromise 164 James Madison 164 Jay's Treaty 174 John Adams 175 New Jersey Plan 162 Pinckney's Treaty 174 Quasi war 176 Republicans 169 Revolution of 1800 177 Separation of powers 166 Sovereignty 165 The Federalist Papers 167 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions 177 Virginia Plan 162 Whiskey Rebellion 172 XYZ



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RECALL AND REFLECT SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1. How did the Constitution of 1787 attempt to resolve the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation? 2. What role did The Federalist Papers play in the battle over ratification of the Constitution? 3. What were the main tenets of Alexander Hamilton's financial program? 4. What diplomatic crises did the United States face in the first decade of its existence, and how did the new government respond to these crises? 5. What was the "Revolution of 1800/' and in what way was it a revolution? 1786 Annapolis Conference meets 1787-1788 States ratify Constitution 1791 Hamilton issues "Report on Manufactures" First Bank of the United States chartered ^ 1787 • . . Constitution adopted (September 17) Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia meets O ^ 1789 O Washington becomes first president Bill of Rights adopted by Congress # Judiciary Act of 1789 passed French Revolution begins 1793 Citizen Genet affair challenges American neutrality 1795 Pinckney's Treaty signed ^ 1792 O Washington reelected without opposition ^ 1794 O Whiskey Rebellion quelled in Pennsylvania Jay's Treaty signed O - 1796 O John Adams elected president 1798 XYZ Affair precipitates state of quasi war with France Alien and Sedition Acts passed Virginia and Kentucky • Resolutions passed 1801 . • Jefferson becomes president after Congress confirms election 1800 Jefferson and Burr tie vote in electoral college Judiciary Act of 1801 passed

7 | THE | JEFFERSONIAN I ERA THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON This dramatic engraving somewhat exaggerates the extent of the blazes in Washington when the British occupied the city in August 1814. But the invaders did set fire to the Capitol, the White House, and other public buildings in retaliation for the American burning and looting of the Canadian capital at York. (© The Granger Collection, New York) 2. How did the Napoleonic Wars affect the United States? 3. What events and issues led to the War of 1812? LOOKING AHEAD

1. How successful was Jefferson's effort to create a "republican" society dominated by sturdy, independent farmers?



SETTING THE STAGE THOMAS JEFFERSON AND HIS FOLLOWERS assumed control of the national government in 1801 as the champions of a distinctive vision of America— a vision sharply different from that of Andrew Hamilton and other Federalists. They envisioned a society of sturdy, independent farmers, happily free from the workshops, industrial towns, and city mobs of Europe. They promoted a cultural outlook that emphasized localism and republican simplicity. And they proposed a federal government of sharply limited power, with most authority remaining at the state level. The Almost nothing worked out as they planned. For during their years in power, the young Jeffersonian republic was developing in ways that made much of their vision obsolete. The American Vision , ..... . ^ . . . . economy became steadily more diversified and complex. Growing cities, surging commerce, and expanding industrialism made the ideal of a simple, agrarian society impossible to maintain. American cultural life, far from reflecting localism and simplicity, reflected a vigorous and ambitious nationalism. The Republicans did manage to translate some of their political ideals into reality. Jefferson dismantled much of the bureaucratic power structure the Federalists had erected in the 1790s, and he helped ensure for a time that in many respects the federal government would remain a relatively unimportant force in American life. Yet he also frequently encountered situations that required him to exercise strong national authority, as, for example, when he arranged the greatest single increase in the size of the United States in its history. The Republicans did not always like these nationalizing and modernizing trends, but for the most part, they adjusted to them and, in doing so, became agents of the transformation of American life they had once resisted. THE RISE OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM In many respects, American cultural life in the early nineteenth century seemed to reflect the Republican vision of the nation's future. Opportunities for education increased; the nation's literary and artistic life began to free itself from European influences; and American religion began to confront and adjust to the spread of Enlightenment rationalism. In other respects, however, the new culture was posing a serious challenge to Republican ideals. Patterns of Education Central to the Republican vision of America was the concept of a virtuous and enlightened citizenry. Jefferson himself called emphatically for a national

"crusade against ignorance." Republicans believed, therefore, in the establishment of a nationwide system of public schools. The importance of a virtuous citizenry to create the educated electorate they believed a republic required. All white male citizens (the nation's prospective voters) should, they argued, receive free education. Some states endorsed the principle of public education for all in the early years of the republic, but none actually created a working system of free schools. A Massachusetts law of 1789 reaffirmed the colonial laws by which each town was obligated to support a school, but there was little enforcement. In Virginia, the state legislature ignored Jefferson's call for universal elementary education and for advanced education for the gifted. As late as 1815, not a single state had a comprehensive public school system. Instead, schooling became primarily the responsibility of private institutions, most of which were open only to those who could afford to pay for them. In the South and in the mid-Atlantic states, religious groups ran most of the schools. In New England and elsewhere, private academies were usually secular, many of them modeled on schools founded by the Phillips family at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1778, and at Exeter, New Hampshire, three years later. By 1815, there were thirty such private secondary schools in Massachusetts, thirty-seven in New York, and several dozen more scattered throughout 181

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Women the country. Many were frankly aristocratic in outlook, training their students to become members of the nation's elite. There were a few schools open to the poor offering education that was clearly inferior to that provided at exclusive schools. Private secondary schools such as those in New England, and even many public schools, accepted only male students. Yet the early nineteenth century did see some important advances in female education. In the eighteenth century, women received very little education of any kind, and the female illiteracy rate at the time of the Revolution was very high—at least 50 percent. At the same time, however, Americans had begun to place a new value on the contribution of the "republican mother" to the training of the new generation. That raised an important question: If mothers remained ignorant, how could they raise their children to be enlightened? Beginning as early as the 1770s and accelerating thereafter, such concerns led to the creation of a network of female academies throughout the nation (usually for the daughters of affluent families). In 1789, Massachusetts required that its public schools serve females as well as males. Other states, although not all, soon followed. Most white men, at least, assumed that female education should serve only to make women better wives and mothers. Women therefore had no need for advanced or professional training; there was no reason for colleges and universities to make space for female students. Some women, however, aspired to more. In 1784, Judith Sargent Murray published an essay defending women's rights to education, a defense set in terms very different from those used by most men. Men and women were equal in intellect and potential, Murray argued. Women, therefore, should have precisely the same educational opportunities as men. Moreover, they should have opportunities to earn their own living, to establish a role for themselves in society apart from their husbands and families. Murray's ideas became an inspiration to later generations of women, but during most of her own lifetime (1751-1820) they attracted little support. Reformers who believed in the power of education to reform and redeem ignorant and "backward" people spurred a growing interest in Indian education. Because Jefferson and his followers liked to think of Native Americans as "noble

savages" (uncivilized but, unlike their view of African Indians, Education Americans, not necessarily innately inferior), they hoped that schooling the Indians in white culture would tame and "uplift" the tribes. Although white governments did little to promote Indian education, missionaries and mission schools proliferated among the tribes. Almost no white people in the early nineteenth century believed that there was a need to educate African Americans, almost all of whom were still slaves. In a few northern states. Higher Education A SEMINARY FOR WOMEN Educational opportunities for women were scarce in the early nineteenth century, but by the 1820s a number of seminaries were created for young ladies, mostly affluent students. The watercolor on silk is by an unknown artist and portrays two women studying geography. (© The Granger Collection, New York) some free black children attended segregated schools. In the South, slaveowners generally tried to prevent their black workers from learning to read or write, fearful that knowledge would make them unhappy with their condition. Some African Americans managed to acquire some education despite these obstacles, by teaching themselves and their own children. But the numbers of literate slaves remained very small. Higher education was much less widely available than education at lower levels, despite Republican hopes for a wide dispersion of advanced knowledge. (Jefferson founded the University of Virginia to promote that ideal.) The number of colleges and universities in America grew from nine at the start of the Revolution to twenty-two by 1800 and continued to increase thereafter. None of the new schools, however, was truly public. Even those established by state legislatures (in Georgia, North Carolina, Vermont, Ohio, and South Carolina, for example) relied on private contributions and on tuition fees. Scarcely more than one white man in a thousand (and no women, blacks, or Indians) had access to college education, and those few who did attend universities were almost without exception members of prosperous, propertied families. The education that the colleges provided was exceedingly limited-narrow training in the classics and a few other areas and intensive work in theology. Indeed, the clergy was the only profession for which college training was generally a prerequisite. A few institutions attempted to provide their students advanced education in other fields. The College of William and Mary in Virginia, the University of Pennsylvania, and Columbia

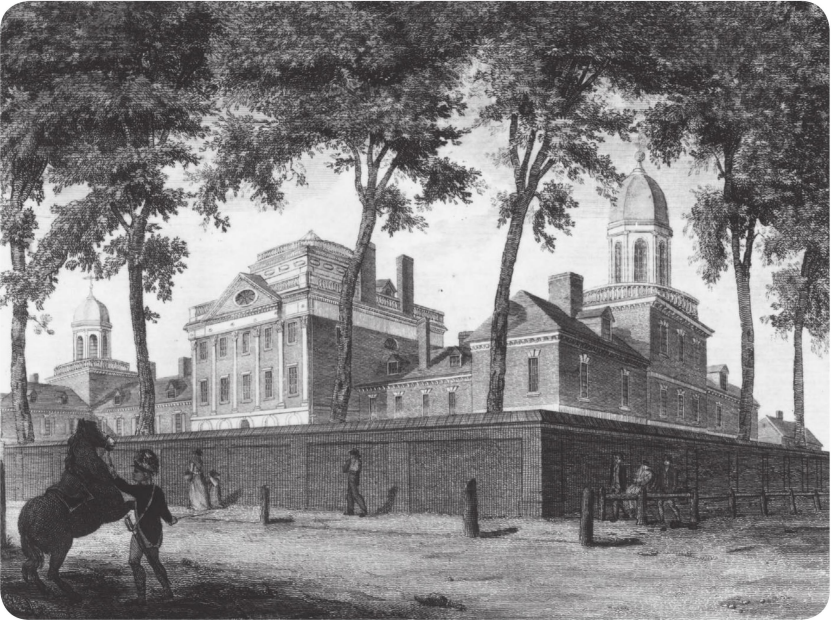


College in New York all created law schools before 1800, but most lawyers continued to train for their profession simply by apprenticing themselves to practicing attorneys.



THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA • 183 Medicine and Science The University of Pennsylvania created the first American medical school in the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, however, most doctors studied medicine by working with an established practitioner. Some American physicians believed in applying new scientific methods to medicine and struggled against age-old prejudices and superstitions. Efforts to teach anatomy, for example, encountered strong public hostility because of the dissection of cadavers that the study required. Municipal authorities had no understanding of medical science and almost no idea of what to do in the face of the severe epidemics that so often swept their populations; only slowly did they respond to the warnings of, among others, Benjamin Rush, a pioneering Philadelphia physician, that lack of adequate sanitation programs was to blame for disease. Individual patients often had more to fear from their doctors than from their illnesses. Even the leading advocates of scientific medicine often embraced useless and dangerous treatments. Benjamin Rush, for example, was an advocate of the new and supposedly scientific techniques of bleeding and purging, and many of his patients died. George Washington's death in 1799 was probably less a result of the minor throat infection that had afflicted him than of his physicians' efforts to cure him by bleeding and purging. The medical profession also used its newfound commitment to the "scientific" method to justify expanding its own role to kinds of care that had traditionally been outside its domain. Most childbirths, for example, had been attended by female midwives. In the early nineteenth century, physicians began to handle deliveries themselves and to demand restrictions on the Decline of role of midwives. Among the results of that Midwifery change was a narrowing of opportunities for women (midwifery was an important female occupation) and a restriction of access to childbirth care for poor mothers (who could have afforded midwives, but who could not pay the higher physicians' fees). Education and professional training in the early republic-in medicine and in many other fields-thus fell far short of the Jeffersonian vision. Indeed, efforts to promote education and increase professionalism often had the effect of strengthening existing elites rather than eroding them. Cultural Aspirations in the New Nation Many Americans in the Jeffersonian era may have

repudiated the Federalist belief in political and economic centralization, but most embraced another form of nationalism. OF a Nationalism with great fervor. Having won political independence from Europe, they aspired now to a form of cultural independence. In the process, they dreamed of an American literary and artistic life that would rival the greatest achievements of Europe. As a popular "Poem on the Rising Glory of America" had predicted as early as 1772, Americans believed that their "happy land" was destined to become the "seat of empire" and the "final stage" of civilization, with "glorious works of high invention and of wondrous art." The United States, another eighteenth-century writer had proclaimed, would serve as "the last and greatest theatre for the improvement of mankind." Such nationalism found expression, among other places, in early American schoolbooks. The Massachusetts geographer THE PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL The ideas of the Enlightenment spread through American culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and strengthened the belief that every individual was a divine being and could be redeemed from even the most miserable condition. Hospitals and asylums— such as this institution in Pennsylvania— began to emerge to provide settings for the redemption of the poor, the ill, and the deviant. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images)



184 CHAPTER 7 Jedidiah Morse, author of *Geography Made Easy* (1784), said the country must have its own textbooks to prevent the aristocratic ideas of England from infecting the people. The Connecticut schoolmaster and lawyer Noah Webster argued similarly that American students should be educated as patriots, their minds filled with nationalistic, American thoughts. To encourage a distinctive American culture and help unify the new nation, Webster insisted on a simplified and Americanized system of spelling—"honor" instead of "honour," for example. His *American Spelling Book*, first published in 1783 and commonly known as the "blue-backed speller," eventually sold over 100 million copies, to become the Noah Webster best-selling book (except for the Bible) in the history of American publishing. In addition, his school dictionary, issued in 1806, was republished in many editions and was eventually enlarged to become (in 1828) *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. His speller and his dictionary established a national standard of words and usages. Those Americans who aspired to create a more elevated national literary life faced a number of obstacles. There was a large potential audience for a national literature—a substantial reading public, created in part by the wide circulation of newspapers and political pamphlets during the Revolution. But there were few opportunities for would-be American authors to get their work before the public. Printers preferred to publish popular works by English writers (for which they had to pay no royalties); magazine publishers filled their pages largely with items clipped from British periodicals. Only those American writers willing to pay the cost and bear the risk of publishing their own works could compete for public attention. Even so, a growing number of American authors struggled to create a strong native literature so that, as the poet Joel Barlow wrote, "true ideas of glory may be implanted in the minds of men here, to take the place of the false and destructive ones that have degraded the species in other countries." Barlow himself, one of a group of Connecticut writers known as the "Hartford Wits," published an epic poem. *The Columbiad*, in 1807, in an effort to convey the special character of American civilization. The acclaim it received helped to encourage other native writers. Among the most ambitious was the Philadelphian Charles Brockden Brown. Like many Americans, he was attracted to the relatively new literary

form of the novel, which had become popular in England in the late eighteenth century and had been successfully imported to America. But Brown sought to do more than simply imitate the English forms; he tried to use his novels to give voice to distinctively American themes, to convey the "soaring passions and intellectual energy" of the new nation. His obsession with originality led him to produce a body of work characterized by a fascination with horror and deviant behavior. Perhaps as a result, his novels failed to develop a large popular following. Much more successful was Washington Irving, a resident of New York State who won wide acclaim for his satirical histories of early American life and his powerful fables of society in the New World. His popular Washington Irving folktales, recounting the adventures of such American rustics as Ichabod Crane and Rip Van Winkle, made him the widely acknowledged leader of American literary life in his era and one of the few writers of that time whose works would continue to be read by later generations. Perhaps the most influential works by American authors in the early republic were not poems, novels, or stories, but works of history that glorified the nation's past. Mercy Otis Warren, who had been an influential playwright and agitator during the 1770s, continued her literary efforts with a three-volume History of the Revolution, published in 1805 and emphasizing the heroism of the American struggle. Mason Weems, an Anglican clergyman, published a eulogistic Life of Washington in 1806, which became one of the best-selling books of the era. Weems had little interest in historical accuracy. He portrayed the aristocratic former president as a homespun man possessing simple republican virtues. (He also invented, among other things, the famous story of Washington and the cherry tree.) History, like literature, was serving as a vehicle for instilling a sense of nationalism in the American people.

Religious Skepticism The American Revolution weakened traditional forms of religious practice by detaching churches from government and by elevating ideas of individual liberty and reason. By the 1790s, only a small proportion of white Americans (perhaps as few as 10 percent) were members of formal churches, and ministers were complaining often about the "decay of vital piety." Religious traditionalists were particularly alarmed about the emergence of new, "rational" theologies that reflected modern, scientific attitudes and de-emphasized the role of God in the world. Some Americans, including Jefferson and Franklin, embraced "deism," which had

originated among Enlightenment philosophers in France. Deists accepted the existence of God, but considered God a remote being who, after having created the universe, had withdrawn from direct involvement with Deism the ^uman race and its sins- Books and articles attacking religious "superstitions" attracted wide readerships and provoked much discussion, among them Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason*, published in parts between 1794 and 1796. Paine once declared that Christianity was the "strangest religion ever set up," for "it committed a murder upon Jesus in order to redeem mankind from the sin of eating an apple." Religious skepticism also produced the philosophies of "universalism" and "unitarianism," which emerged at first as dissenting views within the New England Congregational Church. Disciples of these new ideas rejected the Calvinist belief in predestination, arguing that salvation was available to all. They rejected, too, the idea of the Trinity. Jesus was

THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA - 185 only a great religious teacher, they claimed, not the Son of God. So wide was the gulf between these dissenters and the Congregationalist establishment that it finally became a permanent schism. James Murray (who later married Judith Sargent Murray) founded the Universalist Church as a separate denomination in Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1779; the Unitarian Church was established in Boston three years later. Some Americans believed that the spread of rationalism marked the end of traditional, evangelistic religion in the new nation. But quite the contrary was true. In fact, most Americans continued to hold strong religious beliefs. What had declined was their commitment to organized churches and denominations, which many considered too formal and traditional for their own zealous religious faith. Deism, Universalism, Unitarianism, and other "rational" religions seemed more powerful than they actually were because for a time traditional evangelicals were confused and disorganized. But beginning in 1801, traditional religion staged a dramatic comeback in the form of a wave of revivalism known as the Second Great Awakening. The Second Great Awakening The origins of the Second Great Awakening lay in the efforts of conservative theologians of the 1790s to fight the spread of religious rationalism, and to encourage church establishments to revitalize their organizations. Leaders of several different denominations participated in the evangelizing efforts that drove the revival. Presbyterians tried to arouse the faithful on the western fringe of white settlement, and conservatives in the church denounced New Light dissenters (people who had altered their religious views to make them more compatible with the world of scientific rationalism). Methodism, which John Wesley had founded in England, spread to America in the 1770s and became a formal denomination in 1784 under the leadership of Francis Asbury. Authoritarian and hierarchical in structure, the Methodist Church sent itinerant preachers throughout the nation to win recruits; it soon became the fastest-growing denomination in America. Almost as successful were the Baptists, who were themselves relatively new to America; they found an especially fervent following in the South. By 1800, the revivalist energies of all these denominations were combining to create the greatest surge of evangelical „ fervor since the first Great Awakening Cane Ridge . r & !!):| 111 1 1 Mi 1 1 M II



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1 1 sixty years before. Beginning among Presbyterians in several eastern colleges (most notably at Yale, under the leadership of President Timothy Dwight), the new awakening soon spread rapidly throughout the country, reaching its greatest heights in the western regions. In only a few years, a large proportion of the American people were mobilized by the movement, and membership in those churches embracing the revival-most prominently the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians-was mushrooming. At Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in the summer of 1801, a group of evangelical ministers presided over the nation's first "camp meeting"-an extraordinary revival that lasted several days and impressed all who saw it with its size (some estimated that 25,000 people attended) and its fervor. Such events became common in subsequent years, as the Methodists in particular came to rely on them as a way to "harvest" new members. The Methodist circuit-riding preacher Peter Cartwright won national fame as he traveled from region to region exhorting his listeners to embrace the church. Even Cartwright, however, was often unprepared for the results of his efforts-a religious frenzy that at times produced convulsions, fits, rolling in the dirt, and twitching "holy Jerks." The message of the Second Great Awakening was not entirely consistent, but its basic thrust was clear: individuals must readmit God and Christ into their daily lives, must embrace a fervent, active piety, and must reject the skeptical rationalism that threatened traditional beliefs. Even so, the wave of revivalism did not serve to restore the religious ideas of the past. Few of the revivalist denominations any longer accepted the idea of predestination; and the belief that a person could affect his or her own destiny added intensity to the individual's search for salvation. The Awakening, in short, combined a more active piety with a belief in God as an active force in the world whose grace could be attained through faith and good works. The Second Great Awakening also accelerated the growth of different sects and denominations. It helped create a broad popular acceptance of the idea that men and women could belong to different Protestant churches and still be committed to essentially the same Christian faith. Finally, the new evangelicalism-by spreading religious fervor into every area of the nation-provided a vehicle for establishing a sense of order and social stability in communities still searching for an identity. One of the most striking features of the Second Great

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RELIGIOUS Camp (or revival) meetings were popular among some evangelical Christians REVIVALS in America as early as 1800. By the 1820s, there were approximately 1,000 meetings a year, most of them in the South and West. Estimated attendance at some of the larger meetings was as large as 25,000 people. Today, there are many "megachurches" throughout the United States. Although opinions vary on what constitutes a "megachurch," the Hartford Institute on Religious Research lists these characteristics: (1) 2,000 or more persons in attendance at weekly worship; (2) a charismatic, authoritative senior minister; (3) a very active seven-day-a-week congregational community; (4) a multitude of social and outreach ministries; and (5) a complex differentiated organizational structure. By this definition, there are more than 1,200 megachurches in the United States, most of them located in Sunbelt states, especially California, Texas, Georgia, and Florida. The two images that follow, the first a lithograph dated 1837 and the second a photograph of a modern megachurch, suggest both comparisons and contrasts between the two religious movements.

CAMP MEETINGS— 1837 METHODIST CAMP MEETING, 1837. (© The Granger Collection, New York)

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

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1. What does the illustration reveal about the type of people who attended camp or religious revival meetings? In what types of activities are the people of this image engaged?

2. How would you characterize the setting in which this meeting is taking place? What does the setting tell us about the places where people gathered and the ways in which they practiced their religion?

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associated with the churches-charitable societies ministering to orphans and the poor missionary organizations, and others-in which women came to play important roles. Although revivalism was most widespread within white society, it penetrated other cultures as well. In some areas of the country, revivals were open to people of all races, and many African Americans not only attended but eagerly embraced the new religious fervor as well. Out of these revivals, in fact, emerged a substantial group of black preachers, who became important figures within the slave community. Some of them translated the apparently egalitarian religious message of the Second Great Awakening-that salvation was available to all-into a similarly egalitarian message for blacks in the present world. Out of black revival meetings in Virginia arose an elaborate plan in 1800 (devised by Gabriel Prosser, the brother of an African American preacher) for a slave rebellion and attack on Richmond. The plan was discovered and the rebellion forestalled by whites, but revivalism continued to stir racial unrest in the South. The spirit of revivalism was also particularly strong in these years among Native Americans, although very different from revivalism in white or black society. It drew heavily from earlier tribal experiences. In the 1760s, the Delaware prophet Neolin had sparked a widespread revival in the Old Northwest with a message combining Christian and Indian imagery and bringing to Native American religion a vision of a personal God, intimately involved in the affairs of man. Neolin had also called for Indians to rise up in defense of their lands and had denounced the growth of trade and other relationships with white civilization. His vehement statements had helped stimulate the Indian military efforts of 1763 and beyond. The dislocations and military defeats Indians suffered in the aftermath of the American Revolution created a sense of crisis among many of the eastern tribes in particular; as a result, the 1790s and early 1800s became another era of Indian religious fervor and prophecy. Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries were active among the southern tribes and sparked a great wave of conversions. The most important revivalism came from the efforts of another great prophet: Handsome Lake, a Seneca whose seemingly miraculous "rebirth" after years of alcoholism helped give him a special stature

within his tribe. Handsome Lake, like Neolin before him, called for a revival of traditional Indian ways. (He claimed to have met Jesus, who instructed him to "tell your people they will become lost when they follow the ways of the white man.") Handsome Lake's message spread through the scattered Iroquois communities and inspired many Indians to give up whiskey, gambling, and other destructive customs derived from white society. But the revival did not, in fact, lead to a true restoration of traditional Iroquois culture. Instead, Handsome Lake encouraged Christian missionaries to become active within the tribes. Indians and the Second Great Awakening  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii and he urged Iroquois men to abandon their roles as hunters (partly because so much of their hunting land had been seized by whites) and become sedentary farmers instead. Iroquois women, who had traditionally done the farming, were to move into more-domestic roles. When some women resisted the change. Handsome Lake denounced them as witches. He demanded confessions from them and killed some of those who refused. The Second Great Awakening also had important effects on those Americans who did not accept its teachings. The rational Freethinkers "freethinkers," whose skeptical philosophies . had helped produce the revivals, were in many ways victims of the new religious fervor. They did not disappear after 1800, but their influence rapidly declined, and for many years they remained a small and defensive minority within American Christianity. Instead, the dominant religious characteristic of the new nation became a fervent evangelicalism, which would survive into the mid-nineteenth century and beyond.

STIRRINGS OF INDUSTRIALISM Despite the hopes of Jefferson and his followers that the United States would remain a simple agrarian republic, the nation took its first, tentative steps in these years toward its transformation into an urban, industrial society. Technology in America Americans imported some of these technological advances from England. (See "America in the World," pp. 192-193.) The British government attempted to protect the nation's manufacturing preeminence by preventing the export of textile machinery or the emigration of skilled mechanics. Despite such efforts, immigrants arrived in the United States with advanced knowledge of English technology, eager to introduce the new machines to America. Samuel Slater, for example, used the knowledge he had acquired before leaving England to build a spinning mill for the Quaker

merchant Moses Brown in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. It was the first modern factory in America. America in the early nineteenth century also produced several important inventors of its own. Among them was Oliver Evans of Delaware, who devised a number of ingenious new machines: an automated flour mill, a card-making machine, and others. He made several important improvements in the steam engine, and in 1795 he published America's first textbook of mechanical engineering: *The Young Mill-Wright's and Miller's Guide*. His own flour mill, which began operations in 1787, required only two men to operate: one of them emptying a bag of wheat into the machinery, another putting the lid on the barrels of flour and rolling them away.



## THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA - 189 THE COTTON GIN Eli

Whitney's cotton gin revolutionized the cotton economy of the South by making the processing of short-staple cotton simple and economical. With the device, a single operator could clean as much cotton in a few hours as a group of workers had once needed a whole day to do. (Private Collection/© J. T. Vintage/The Bridgeman Art Library) Even more influential for the future of the nation were the inventions of the Massachusetts-born, Yale-educated Eli Whitney, who revolutionized both cotton production and weapons manufacturing. The growth of the textile industry in England had created an enormous demand for cotton, a demand that planters in the American South were finding impossible to meet. Their greatest obstacle was separating the seeds from cotton fiber—a difficult and time-consuming process that was essential before cotton could be sold. Longstaple, or Sea Island, cotton, with its smooth black seeds and long fibers, was easy to clean, but it grew successfully only along the Atlantic coast or on the offshore islands of Georgia and South Carolina. There was not nearly enough of it to satisfy the demand. Short-staple cotton, by contrast, could grow inland through vast areas of the South. But its sticky green seeds were extremely difficult to remove. A skilled worker could clean no more than a few pounds a day by hand. Then, in 1793, Whitney, who was working at the time as a tutor on <sup>^</sup> \_ \_ , the Georgia plantation of General Nathanael Eli Whitney's \_ , L , Cotton Gin Greene's widow, invented a machine that . performed the arduous task quickly and efficiently. It was dubbed the cotton gin ("gin" was an abbreviation for "engine\*"), and it transformed the life of the South. Mechanically, the gin was very simple. A toothed roller caught the fibers of the cotton boll and pulled them between the wires of a grating. The grating caught the seeds while a revolving brush removed the lint from the roller's teeth. With the device, a single operator could clean as much cotton in a few hours as a group of workers had once needed a whole day to do. The results were profound. Soon cotton growing spread into the upland South and beyond, and within a decade total crop production increased eightfold. African American slavery, which with the decline of tobacco production some had considered a dwindling institution. regained its importance, expanded, and became more firmly fixed upon the South. The cotton gin not only changed the

economy of the South, it also helped transform the North. The large supply of domestically produced fiber was a strong Gin's Impact incentive to entrepreneurs in New England on the North and elsewhere to develop an American . textile industry. Few northern states could hope to thrive on the basis of agriculture alone; by learning to turn cotton into yarn and thread, plantation owners could become industrially prosperous instead. The manufacturing preeminence of the North, which emerged with the development of the textile industry in the 1820s and 1830s, helped drive a wedge between the nation's two most populous regions-one becoming increasingly industrial, the other more firmly bound to agriculture. Whitney also made a major contribution to the development of modern warfare and in the process made a contribution to other industrial techniques. During the two years of undeclared war with France (1798 and 1799), Americans were deeply troubled by their lack of sufficient armaments for the expected hostilities. Production of muskets-each carefully handcrafted by a skilled gunsmith-was discouragingly slow. Whitney devised a machine to make each part of a gun according to an exact pattern. Tasks could thus be divided among several workers, and one laborer could quickly assemble a weapon out of parts made by several others. Before long, manufacturers of sewing machines, clocks, and many other complicated products were using the same system. The new technological advances were relatively isolated phenomena during the early years of the nineteenth century. Not until at least the 1840s did the nation begin to develop a true manufacturing economy. But the inventions of this period were crucial in making the eventual transformation possible.

Transportation Innovations

One of the prerequisites for industrialization is an efficient system for transporting raw materials to factories and finished goods to markets. The United States had no such system in the early years of the republic. But work was under way that would ultimately remove the transportation obstacle. There were several ways to solve the problem of the small American market. One was to look for customers overseas, and American merchants continued their efforts to do that. Among the first acts of the new Congress when it met in 1789 were two tariff bills giving preference to American ships in American ports, helping to stimulate an expansion of domestic shipping. More important-indeed the principal reason for the growth of American trade in this period-was the outbreak of

war in Europe in the 1790s, allowing Yankee merchant vessels to take over most of the carrying trade of American between Europe and the Western Shipping Hemisphere. As early as 1793, the young . republic had a merchant marine and a

190 CHAPTER 7 PAWTUCKET BRIDGE AND FALLS One reason for the growth of the textile industry in New England in the early nineteenth century was that there were many sources of water power in the region to run the machinery in the factories. That was certainly the case with Slater's Mill, one of the first American textile factories. It was located in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, alongside a powerful waterfall, demonstrating the critical importance of water power to early American industry. (© Bettmann/Corbis) foreign trade larger than those of any country except England. In proportion to its population, the United States had more ships and international commerce than any other country. Between 1789 and 1810, the total tonnage of American vessels engaged in overseas traffic rose from less than 125,000 to nearly 1 million. American ships had carried only 30 percent of the country's exports in 1789; they were carrying over 90 percent in 1810. The figures for American ships carrying imports increased even more dramatically, from 17.5 percent to 90 percent in the same period. Another solution to the problem of limited markets was to develop new markets at home, by improving transportation between the states and into the interior of the continent. In river transportation, a new era began with the development of the steamboat. A number of inventors began experimenting with steam-powered craft in the late eighteenth century; John Fitch exhibited a forty-five-foot vessel with paddles operated by steam to some of the delegates at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. But the real breakthrough was Oliver Evans's development of a high-pressure engine, lighter and more efficient than James Watt's, which made steam more feasible for powering boats (and, eventually, locomotives) as well as mill machinery. The inventor Robert Fulton and the promoter Robert R. Livingston were principally responsible for perfecting the steamboat and bringing it to the attention of the nation. Their Clermont, equipped with paddle wheels and an English-built engine, sailed up the Hudson in the summer of 1807, demonstrating the practicality of steam navigation (even though it took the ship thirty hours to go 150 miles). In 1811, a partner of Livingston's, Nicholas J. Roosevelt (a remote ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt), introduced the steamboat to the West by sending the New Orleans from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and Mississippi. The next year, this vessel began a profitable career of service between

New Orleans and Natchez. Meanwhile, what was to become known as the "turnpike The Turnpike era" begun. In 1792, a corporation Era constructed a toll road running the sixty miles from Philadelphia to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with a hard-packed surface of crushed rock. This venture proved so successful that several other companies laid out similar turnpikes (so named from the kind of tollgate frequently used) from other cities to neighboring towns. Since the turnpikes had to produce profits for the companies that



## THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 191 AMERICAN STAGE

WAGGON This image a stagecoach, by J. Stoner, shows how roads were beginning to link the disparate regions of early-nineteenth-century America. (© Corbis) built them, construction costs had to be low enough and the prospective traffic heavy enough to ensure an early and ample return. As a result, these roads, radiating from eastern cities, ran comparatively short distances and through densely settled areas. No private operators were willing to build similar highways over the mountains and into the less populated interior. State governments and the federal government eventually had to finance them. The Rising Cities Despite all the changes and all the advances, America in the early nineteenth century remained an overwhelmingly rural and agrarian nation. Only 3 percent of the non-Indian population lived in towns of more than 8,000 at the time of the second census, in 1800. Ten percent lived west of the Appalachian Mountains, far from what urban centers there were. Much of the country remained a wilderness. Even the nation's largest cities could not begin to compare, either in size or in cultural sophistication, with such European capitals as London and Paris. Yet here too there were signs of change. The leading American cities might not yet have become world capitals, but they were large and complex enough to rival the important secondary cities of Europe. Philadelphia, with 70,000 residents, and New York, with 60,000, were becoming major centers of commerce and learning. The cities were also developing a distinctively urban culture. So too were the next-largest cities of the new nation: Baltimore (26,000 in 1800), Boston (24,000), and Charleston (20,000). People living in towns and cities lived differently than the vast majority of Americans who continued to work as farmT j T ers. Among other things, urban life produced Urban Life 5 , 5 , l iiiiM affluence, and affluent people sought amenities that would not have entered the imaginings of any but



W. H. Smith

AMERICAN STAGE WAGON.  
Engraved from a scene by J. D. Smith, New York.

J. D. Smith

## AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Global Industrial

Revolution

■p tentative stirrings of industrial activity in the United States in the early nineteenth century were part of a vast movement that over the course of the century transformed much of the globe. Historians differ over precisely when the industrial revolution began, but it is clear that by the end of the eighteenth century it was well under way in many parts of the world. By the beginning of the twentieth century, industrialization had transformed the societies of Britain, most of continental Europe, Japan, and the United States. For Americans, the industrial revolution was largely a result of the rapid changes in Great Britain, the nation with which they had the closest relations. Britain was the first nation to develop significant industrial capacity. The factory system took root in England in the late eighteenth century, revolutionizing the manufacture of cotton thread and cloth. One invention followed another in quick succession. Improvements in weaving drove improvements in spinning, and these changes created a demand for new devices for carding (combing and straightening the fibers for the spinner). Water, THE ENGLISH CANAL AGE Industrialization in England contributed, as it did in America, to the building of new transportation facilities to serve the growing commercial markets of the new economy. Among the most popular such facilities were canals, among them the Regent's Canal in London, pictured here in the 1820s. (© Guildhall Library, Corporation of London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library) wind, and animal power continued to be important in the textile industry; but more important was the emergence of steam power— which proliferated after the appearance of James Watt's advanced steam engine (patented in 1769). England's textile industry quickly became the most profitable in the world, and it helped encourage comparable advances in other fields of manufacturing as well. Despite the efforts of the British government to prevent the export of English industrial technology, knowledge of the new machines reached other nations quickly, usually through the emigration of people who had learned the technology in British factories. America benefited the most from English technology, because it received more immigrants from Great Britain than from any other country. But English technology spread quickly to the nations of continental Europe as well. In Japan, the sudden intrusion of American and



European traders helped cause the so-called Meiji reforms of the 1880s and 1890s, which launched a period of rapid industrialization there. Industrialization changed not just the world's economies, but also its societies. First in England, and then in Europe, America, and Japan, social systems underwent wrenching changes. Hundreds of thousands, and eventually millions, of men and women moved from rural areas into cities to work in factories, where they experienced both the benefits and the costs of industrialization. Many of those who moved from farm to factory experienced some improvement in nutrition and other material circumstances, even in their health. But there were psychological costs to being suddenly uprooted from one way of life and thrust into another, fundamentally different one. Little in most workers' prior experience had prepared them for the nature of industrial labor. The routinized, rigidly scheduled work of the urban factory contrasted sharply with the varying, seasonal work pattern of the rural economy. Industrial workers experienced, too, a fundamental change in their relationship the wealthiest farmers. They sought increasing elegance and refinement in their homes, their grounds, and their dress. They also looked for diversions—music, theater, dancing, and, for many people, one of the most popular entertainments of all, horse racing. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 196–197.) Much remained to be done before this small and still half-formed nation would become a complex modern society. It was still possible in the early nineteenth century to believe that those changes might not ever occur. But forces were already at work that, in time, would lastingly transform the United States.

JEFFERSON THE PRESIDENT Privately, Thomas Jefferson may well have considered his victory over John Adams in 1800 to be what he later termed it: a revolution "as real ... as that of 1776." Publicly, however. iiiiii



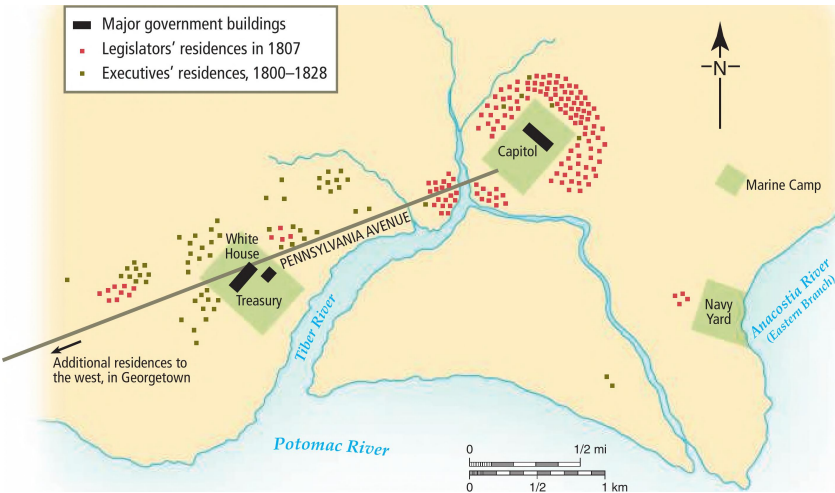
THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA • 193 with their employers. Unlike rural landlords and local aristocrats, factory owners and managers— the new class of industrial capitalists, many of them accumulating unprecedented wealth— were usually remote and inaccessible. They dealt with their workers impersonally, and the result was a growing schism between the two classes— each lacking access to or understanding of the other. Working men and women throughout the globe began thinking of themselves as a distinct class, with common goals and interests. Their efforts simultaneously to adjust to their new way of life and to resist its most damaging aspects sometimes created great social turbulence. Battles between workers and employers became a characteristic feature of industrial life throughout the world. Life in industrial nations changed at every level. Populations in industrial countries grew rapidly, and people began to live longer. At the same time, industrial cities began to produce great increases in pollution, crime, and— until modern sanitation systems emerged— infectious disease. Around the industrial world, middle classes expanded and came to dominate the economy (although not always the culture or the politics) of their nations. Not since the agricultural revolution thousands of years earlier, when many humans had turned from hunting to farming for sustenance, had there been an economic change of a magnitude comparable to that of the industrial revolution. Centuries of traditions, social patterns, and cultural and religious assumptions were challenged and often shattered. The social and economic consequences of industrialism were complex and profound, and they continue today to shape the nature of global society. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. Why did the British government attempt to prevent the export of Britain's industrial technology? 2. Was the industrial revolution truly a global revolution? Why or why not? 3. Some observers have compared the information technology developments of the late twentieth century to those of the industrial revolution. Are the changes that have resulted from the high-tech developments of the late twentieth century as profound as those resulting from the industrial revolution? In what way might the high-tech advances be considered a "revolution"? What have been the social and economic consequences of these advances? he was restrained and conciliatory as he assumed office, attempting to minimize the differences

between the two parties and to calm the passions that the bitter campaign had aroused. "We are all republicans, we are all federalists," he said in his inaugural address. And during his eight years in office, he did much to prove those words correct. There was no complete repudiation of Federalist policies, no true "revolution." Indeed, at times Jefferson seemed to outdo the Federalists at their own work-most notably in overseeing a remarkable expansion of the territory of the United States. The Federal City and the "People's President" The New Capital City The newly founded national capital was the city of Washington. The French architect Pierre L'Enfant had designed the capital on a grand scale, with broad avenues radiating out from the uncompleted Capitol building, set on one of the area's highest hills. Washington was, many Americans believed, to become the Paris of the United States. In reality, however, throughout Jefferson's presidency-and indeed through most of the nineteenth century-Washington remained little more than a provincial village. Although the population increased steadily from the 3,200 counted in the 1800 census, it never rivaled that of New York, Philadelphia, or the other major cities of the nation. The city remained a raw, inhospitable community with few public buildings of any consequence. Members of Congress viewed Washington not as a home but as a place to visit briefly during sessions of the legislature and leave as quickly as possible. Most lived in a cluster of simple boardinghouses in the vicinity of the Capitol. It was not unusual for a member of Congress to resign his seat in the midst of a session to return home if he had an opportunity to accept the more prestigious post of member of his state legislature. Jefferson set out as president to act in a spirit of democratic simplicity in keeping with the frontierlike character of the unfinished federal city. He was a wealthy and aristocratic planter by background, the owner of more than 100 slaves, and a man of rare cultivation and sophistication; but he conveyed to the public an image of plain, almost crude disdain for pretension. He walked like an ordinary citizen to and from his inauguration at the Capitol. In the presidential mansion, which had not yet acquired the name "White House," he disregarded the courtly etiquette of his predecessors (in part, no doubt, because as a widower he had no First Lady to take charge of social affairs). At state dinners, he let his guests scramble pellmell for places at the table. He did not always bother to dress up, once prompting the fastidious British

ambassador to complain of being received by the president in coat and pantaloons that were "indicative of utter slovenliness and indifference to appearances." Yet Jefferson managed nevertheless to impress most of those who knew him. He was a brilliant conversationalist, a gifted writer, and one of the nation's most intelligent and creative men, with perhaps a wider range of interests and accomplishments than any public figure in American history. In addition to politics and diplomacy, he was an active architect, educator, inventor, scientific farmer, and philosopher-scientist. Jefferson was, above all, a shrewd and practical politician. On the one hand, he went to great lengths to eliminate the T aura of majesty surrounding the presiJEFFERSON THE . , dency that he believed his predecessors . had created. At the same time, however, Jefferson worked hard to exert influence as the leader of his

194 CHAPTER 7 Fort de la Reine (1738) \_ Fort Maurepas (1734) Fort Rouge (1738) OREGON COUNTRY , Fort Chequai BRITISH AMERICA Quebec Fort Michipicton (1730) m negon Fort (1718) ' (Toronto) WJ-& A Green Bay , LOUISIANA Detroit (1701) Rouille oronto) (1749) ^0704)" (Pittsbur9h) (1754)| \_ Baltimore • . Fort Duquesne (172 renton adelphia San Francisco (1776) \*San Carlos de Monterey (1770) m San Luis Obispo (1772) # Santa Barbara (1782) \* Los Angeles (1781) • San Juan Capistrano (1776) San Diego (1769) Santa Fe # Fort Orleans (1722)^ St. Louis (1764) 1 Fort Massac (1758) Memphis^ Fort Vincennes (1724) ■ Lexington (1779) Louisville\* # (1778) Harrodsburg (1774) ^Nashville (1780) Norfolk (1705) PACIFIC OCEAN San Xavier del Bac 5 (1732) ^Tucson (1709) Fort Toulouse ,(1714) \_EI Paso del Norte Forests Area of non-Indian settlement m Forts • Cities, settlements, and other outposts Nacogdoches (1718) SPANISH POSSESSIONS San Antonio • de Bejar (1718) Presidio del Norte • m San Francisco de la Espade (1730) Laredo\* n (1755) Natchitoches (1714) Fort Rosalie (Natchez) (1716) V • Mobi New Bern (1710) | "Wilmington (1730) Fm ATLANTIC ■"charleston OCEAN ^Savannah (1733) %■ St. Augustine bile (1710) New Orleans (1718) Gulf of Mexico 500 mi NORTH AMERICA IN 1800 This map illustrates how substantially the non-Indian settlement of British North America (much of it by 1800 the United States) had expanded since 1700. On p. 67, a similar map shows a tiny fringe of settlement along the Atlantic seaboard. Note the new areas of settlement here: west of the original thirteen colonies— including, in Kentucky, an area that reaches almost to the Mississippi River. Significant settlements are also now visible along the Gulf Coast, especially in the territory around New Orleans. Scattered non-Indian settlements are visible in the Southwest and along the coast of California, as well as in southern Canada (where the settlements were largely forts). • How does this map help explain the spread of settlement south from Pittsburgh into western Virginia and Kentucky? WASHINGTON, D.C., IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY The nation's capital moved from New York City to Washington, D.C., in 1800, into a new city designed on a grand scale by the French planner Pierre L'Enfant. But in the early eighteenth century, it remained little more than a village on a marshy tract of land, with hot, humid summers. This map shows the location of the principal government buildings

in the early republic, and also the sites of the homes of members of the executive and legislative branches. Note how the homes of executive officials mostly clustered around the White House and the Treasury, while those of legislators mainly clustered around the Capitol. • How did the geography of the city help shape the relationship between the executive and legislative branches?



THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA - 195 party, giving direction to Republicans in Congress by quiet and sometimes even devious means. Although the Republicans had objected strenuously to the efforts of their Federalist predecessors to build a network of influence through patronage, Jefferson, too, used his powers of appointment as an effective political weapon. By the end of his first term about half the government jobs, and by the end of his second term practically all of them, were in the hands of loyal Republicans. When Jefferson ran for reelection in 1804, he won overwhelmingly. The Federalist presidential nominee, Charles C. Pinckney, could not even carry most of the party's New England strongholds. Jefferson won 162 electoral votes to Pinckney's 14, and the Republican majorities in both houses of Congress increased. to treaties providing for annual tribute to the Barbary states, but Jefferson was reluctant to continue this policy of appeasement. "Tribute or war is the usual alternative of these Barbary pirates," he said. "Why not build a navy and decide on war?" In 1801, the pasha (leader) of Tripoli forced Jefferson's hand. Unsatisfied by the American response to his extortionate demands, he ordered the flagpole of the American consulate chopped down-a symbolic declaration of war. Jefferson responded cautiously, building up the American fleet in the region over the next several years. Finally, in 1805, the United States reached an agreement with the pasha that ended American payments of tribute to Tripoli but required the United States to pay a substantial (and humiliating) ransom of \$60,000 for the release of American prisoners seized by Barbary pirates. Dollars and Ships Conflict with the Courts Under Washington and Adams, the Republicans believed, the government had been needlessly extravagant. Yearly federal expenditures had almost tripled between 1793 and 1800. Hamilton had, as he had intended, increased the public debt and created an extensive system of internal taxation, including the hated whiskey excise tax. The Jefferson administration moved deliberately to reverse the trend. In 1802, it persuaded Congress to abolish all internal , taxes, leaving customs duties and the sale Limiting the r , , Federal °\* western iands as the only sources of revGovernment enue for the government. Meanwhile, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin drastically reduced government spending, cutting the already small staffs of the executive departments to minuscule levels. Although



Jefferson was unable to retire the entire national debt, as he had hoped, he did cut it almost in half (from \$83 million to \$45 million) during his presidency. Jefferson also scaled down the armed forces. He reduced the army of 4,000 men to 2,500. He cut the navy from twenty-five ships to seven and reduced the number of officers and sailors accordingly. Anything but the smallest of standing armies, he argued, might menace civil liberties and civilian control of government. And a large navy, he feared, might promote overseas commerce, which Jefferson believed should remain secondary to agriculture. Yet Jefferson was not a pacifist. At the same time that he was reducing the size of the army and navy, he was helping to establish the United States Military Academy at West Point, founded in 1802. And when trouble began brewing overseas, he began again to build up the fleet. Such trouble appeared first in the Mediterranean, off the coast of northern Africa. For years the Barbary states of North Africa-Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli (now part of Libya)-had been demanding protection money from all nations whose ships sailed the Mediterranean. Challenging „ \_ „ . . , the Barbary Even Great Bntam 8ave re8ular contribuPirates tions to the Barbary pirates. During the . 1780s and 1790s the United States agreed Having won control of the executive and legislative branches of government, the Republicans looked with suspicion on the judiciary, which remained largely in the hands of Federalist judges. Soon after Jefferson's first inauguration, his followers in Congress launched an attack on this last preserve of the opposition. Their first step was the repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801, thus eliminating the judgeships to which Adams had made his "midnight appointments." The debate over the courts led to one of the most important judicial decisions in the history of the nation. Federalists had long maintained that the Supreme Review Court had the authority to nullify acts of . Congress (although the Constitution said nothing specifically to support the claim), and the Court itself had actually exercised the power of judicial review in 1796 when it upheld the validity of a law passed by the legislature. But the Court's authority in this area would not be secure, it was clear, until it actually declared a congressional act unconstitutional. In 1803, in the case of Marbury v. Madison, it did so. William Marbury, one of Adams's "midnight appointments," had been named a justice of the peace in the District of Columbia. But \_ his commission, although signed and Marbury v. ' 5 5 Madison sealed, had not been delivered

to him before Adams left office. Once Jefferson became president, the new secretary of state, James Madison, was responsible for transmitting appointments. He had refused to hand over the commission to Marbury. Marbury appealed to the Supreme Court for an order directing Madison to perform his official duty. In its historic ruling, the Court found that Marbury had a right to his commission but that the Court had no authority to order Madison to deliver it. On the surface, therefore, the decision was a victory for the administration. But of much greater importance than the relatively insignificant matter of Marbury's commission was the Court's reasoning in the decision. The original Judiciary Act of 1789 had given the Court the power to compel executive officials to act in such matters as

Horse Racing in Early America T M C O D horse racing began in North America almost as soon as 11 ill ± vJ Jut 1V1 JM, Jlj Europeans settled the English colonies. Formal racing followed quickly. The first race track in North America— New Market (named for a popular race course in England)— was established in 1665 near the site of present-day Garden City, on Long Island in New York. Tracks quickly developed wide appeal, and soon horse racing had spread up and down the Atlantic coast. By the time of the American Revolution, it had become popular in almost every colony OAKLAND HOUSE AND RACE COURSE This 1840 painting by Robert Brammer and August A. Von Smith portrays men and women flocking to an early race course in Louisville, Kentucky, which provided entertainment to affluent white southerners. (Oakland House and Race Course, Louisville, 1840. By Robert Brammer and August A. Von Smith. © Collection of The Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky. Purchase, Museum Art fund, 56.19) and was moving as well into the newly settled areas of the Southwest. Andrew Jackson was a founder of the first racing track in Nashville, Tennessee, in the early nineteenth century. Kentucky — whose native bluegrass was early recognized as ideal for grazing horses— had eight tracks by 1800. Like almost everything else in the life of early America, the world of horse racing was bounded by lines of class and race. For many years, it was considered the exclusive preserve of "gentlemen," so much so that in 1674 a court in Virginia fined James Bullocke, a tailor, for proposing a race, "it being contrary to Law for a Labourer to make a race, being a sport only for Gentlemen." But while white aristocrats retained control of racing, they were not the only people who participated in it. Southern aristocrats often trained young male slaves as jockeys for their horses, just as northern horse owners employed the services of free blacks as riders. In the North and the South, African Americans eventually emerged as some of the most talented and experienced trainers of racing horses. And despite social and legal pressures, free blacks and poor whites often staged their own informal races. Racing also began early to reflect the growing sectional rivalry between the North and the South. In 1824, the Union Race Course on Long Island established an astounding \$24,000 purse for a race between two famous thoroughbreds: American Eclipse (from the North) the delivery of commissions, and it was on that basis that

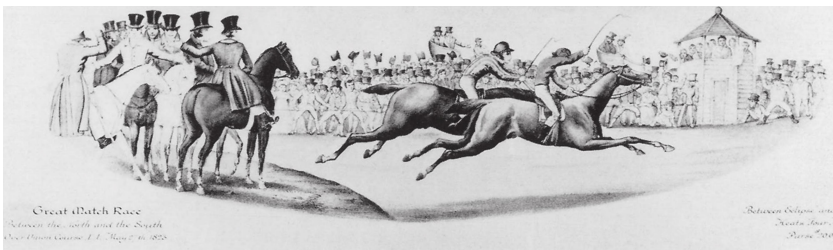
Marbury had filed his suit. But the Court ruled that Congress had exceeded its authority in creating that statute: that the Constitution had defined the powers of the judiciary and that the legislature had no right to expand them. The relevant section of the 1789 act was therefore void. In seeming to deny its own authority, the Court was in fact radically enlarging it. The Justices had repudiated a relatively minor power (the power to force the delivery of a commission) by asserting a vastly greater one (the power to nullify an act of Congress). The chief Justice of the United States at the time of the ruling was John Marshall, one of the towering figures in the history of American law. A leading Federalist and prominent Virginia lawyer, he had served John Adams as secretary of state. (It had been Marshall, ironically, who had neglected to deliver Marbury's commission in the closing hours of the administration.) In 1801, just before leaving office, Adams had appointed him chief justice, and almost immediately Marshall established himself as the dominant figure on the Court, John shaping all its most important rulings...; Marshall including, of course, Marbury v. Madison. Through a succession of Republican administrations, he established the judiciary as a branch of government coequal with the executive and the legislature-a position that the founders of the republic had never clearly indicated it should occupy. Jefferson recognized the threat that an assertive judiciary could pose to his policies. Even while the Marbury case was Impeachment still Pending < he was preparing for a reof Samuel newed assault on this last Federalist strongChase hold. He urged Congress to impeach obstructive judges, and Congress attempted to oblige him. The Republicans successfully removed from office a district judge, John Pickering of New Hampshire (on the perhaps specious grounds that he was insane and thus unfit for office). They later targeted a justice of the Supreme Court itself: Justice Samuel Chase, a highly partisan Federalist. Chase had certainly been injudicious; he had, for example, delivered 196 • iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



## THE ECLIPSE-HENRY MATCH RACE "Match races"

between famous horses were a popular feature of early-nineteenth-century horse racing. This famous 1823 race on Long Island, New York, pitted prize-winning horses from the North and the South against one another. American Eclipse, the northern entry, won. (Private Collection) and Sir Henry (from the South). American Eclipse won two of the three heats, but a southern racehorse prevailed in another such celebrated contest in 1836. These intersectional races, which drew enormous crowds and created tremendous publicity, continued into the 1850s, until the North-South rivalry began to take a deadly form. Horse racing remained popular after the Civil War, but two developments changed its character considerably. One was the successful effort to drive African Americans out of the sport. At least until the 1890s, black jockeys and trainers remained central to racing. At the first Kentucky Derby, in 1875, fourteen of the fifteen horses had African American riders. One black man, Isaac Murphy, won a remarkable 44 percent of all races in which he rode, including three Kentucky Derbys. Gradually, however, the same social dynamics that enforced racial segregation in so many other areas of American life penetrated racing as well. By the beginning of the twentieth century, white jockeys and organized jockey clubs had driven almost all black riders and many black trainers out of the sport. The second change was the introduction of formalized betting to the sport. In the late nineteenth century, race tracks began creating betting systems to lure customers to the races. At the same time that the breeding of racehorses was moving into the hands of enormously wealthy families, the audience for racing was becoming increasingly working class and lower middle class. The people who now came to tracks were mostly white men, and some white women, lured to the races not by a love of horses— which were coming to play a less central role in their everyday lives— but by the usually futile hope of quick and easy riches through gambling. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. Why do you think horse racing was such a popular spectator sport in early America? Why has it continued to be popular? 2. How did changes in the sport of horse racing reflect similar changes in American society? 3. Is horse racing still a sport "bounded by lines of class and race"? What other spectator sports were or are similarly bounded?

stridently partisan speeches from the bench. But he had committed no crime. Some Republicans argued, however, that impeachment was not merely a criminal proceeding. Congress could properly impeach a judge for political reasons—for obstructing the other branches of the government and disregarding the will of the people. At Jefferson's urging, the House impeached Chase and sent him to trial before the Senate early in 1805. But Republican leaders were unable to get the necessary two-thirds vote for conviction in the Senate. Chase's acquittal helped establish that impeachment would not become a routine political weapon, that something more than partisan disagreement should have to underlie the process, a precedent that Congress only occasionally violated in future years. Marshall remained secure in his position as chief justice. And the judiciary survived as a powerful force within the government—more often than not ruling on behalf of the centralizing, expansionary policies that the Republicans had hoped to reverse. DOUBLING THE NATIONAL DOMAIN In the same year that Jefferson became president of the United States, Napoleon Bonaparte made himself ruler of France with the title of first consul. In the year that Jefferson was reelected, Napoleon named himself emperor. The two men had little in common. Yet for a time they were of great help to each other in international politics—until Napoleon's ambitions moved from Europe to America and created conflict and estrangement. Jefferson and Napoleon Having failed in a grandiose plan to seize India from the British Empire, Napoleon turned his imperial ambitions in a new direction: he began to dream of restoring French power in the New World. The territory east of the Mississippi, which France . 197



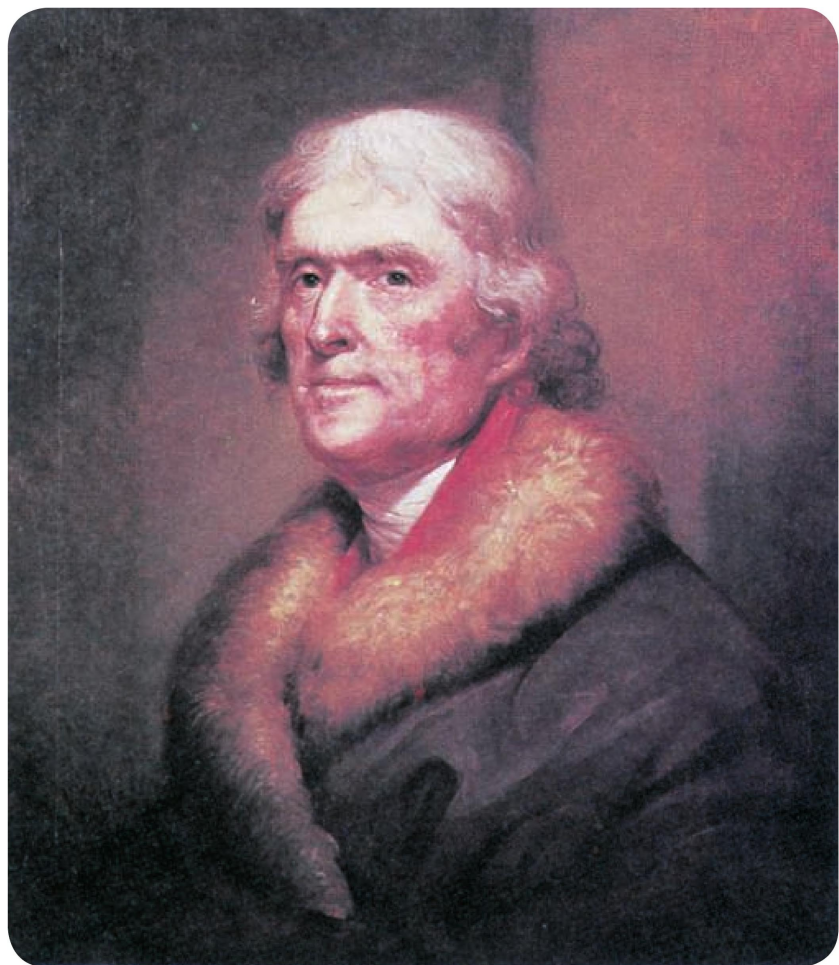
198 CHAPTER 7 THOMAS JEFFERSON This 1805 portrait by the noted American painter Rembrandt Peale shows Jefferson at the beginning of his second term as president. It also conveys (through the simplicity of dress and the slightly unkempt hair) the image of democratic simplicity that Jefferson liked to project. (© Collection of the New-York Historical Society, USA / The Bridgeman Art Library)

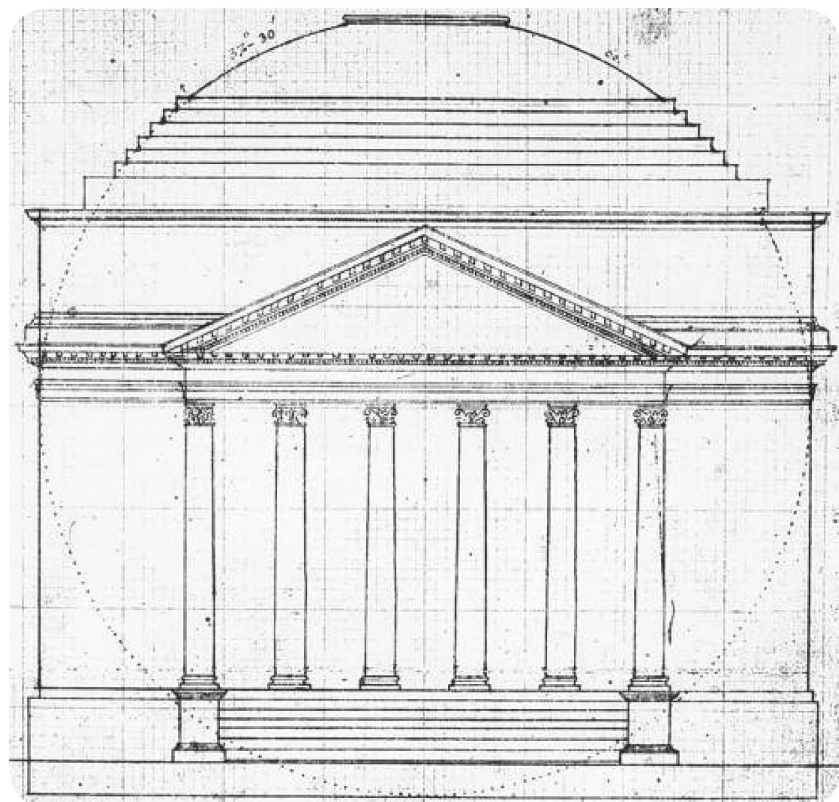
JEFFERSON THE ARCHITECT Among his many accomplishments, Thomas Jefferson was a gifted architect. This rotunda is the centerpiece of the central campus of the University of Virginia, which Jefferson designed near the end of his life. Earlier, he designed his own home near Charlottesville, Monticello; and his proposal for a president's mansion in Washington, D.C., placed second in a blind competition. (© The Granger Collection, New York. )

had ceded to Great Britain in 1763, was now mostly part of the United States and lost to France forever. But Napoleon wanted to regain the lands west of the Mississippi, which now belonged to Spain, over which Napoleon now exercised strong influence. Under the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso of 1800 between the French and the Spanish, France regained title to Louisiana, which included almost the whole of the Mississippi Valley to the west of the river, plus New Orleans near its mouth. The Louisiana Territory would, Napoleon hoped, become the heart of a great French empire in America. Also part of Napoleon's empire in the New World were the sugar-rich and strategically valuable West Indian islands that still belonged to France-Guadeloupe, Martinique, and above all Santo Domingo. But unrest among the Caribbean slaves posed a threat to Napoleon's hopes for the islands. Africans in Santo Domingo (inspired by the French Revolution) revolted and creToussaint ateC^ a rePu^c their own, under the reL'Ouverture tmarkable black leader T oussaint L'Ouverture. . Taking advantage of a truce in his war with England, Napoleon sent an army to the West Indies. It temporarily crushed the insurrection and restored French authority; but the incident was an early sign of the problems Napoleon would have in realizing his ambitions in America. Jefferson was unaware at first of Napoleon's imperial ambitions in America, and for a time he pursued a foreign policy that reflected his well-known admiration for France. He appointed as American minister to Paris the ardently pro-French Robert R. Livingston. He worked to secure ratification of the Franco-American



settlement of 1800 and began observing the terms of the treaty even before it was ratified. The Adams administration had joined with the British in recognizing and supporting the rebel regime of Toussaint L'Ouverture in Santo Domingo; Jefferson assured the French minister in Washington that the American people, especially those of the slaveholding states, did not approve of the black revolutionary, who they thought was setting a bad example for their own slaves. He even implied that the United States might join with France in putting down the rebellion (although nothing ever came of the suggestion). Jefferson began to reconsider his position toward France, however, when he heard rumors of the secret transfer of Louisiana. Jefferson was even more alarmed when, in the fall of 1802, he learned that the Spanish intendant at New Orleans (who still governed the city, since the French had not yet taken formal possession of the region) had announced a disturbing new regulation. American ships sailing the Mississippi River had for many years been accustomed to depositing their cargoes in New Orleans for transfer to oceangoing vessels. The intendant now forbade the practice—even though Spain had guaranteed Americans that right in the Pinckney Treaty of 1795—thus effectively closing the lower Mississippi to American shippers. Westerners demanded that the federal government do something to reopen the river. The president faced a dilemma. If he yielded to the frontier clamor and tried to change the policy by force, he would run the risk of a major war





THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA - 199 WEST POINT Creating a professional military was an important task for the leaders of the early republic. Without an army, they realized, it would be difficult for the United States to win respect in the world. The establishment in 1802 of the United States Military Academy at West Point (whose parade ground is pictured here) was, therefore, an important event in the early history of the republic. (© West Point Museum Collections, United States Military Academy) with France. If he ignored the westerners' demands, he might lose political support. But Jefferson saw another solution. He instructed Robert Livingston, the American ambassador in Paris, to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans. Livingston, on his own authority, proposed that the French sell the United States the vast western part of Louisiana as well. In the meantime, Jefferson persuaded Congress to appropriate funds for an expansion of the army and the construction of a river fleet, and he deliberately gave the impression that American forces might soon descend on New Orleans and that the United States might form an alliance with Great Britain if the problems with France were not resolved. Perhaps that Napoleon's Offer was Napoleon suddenly decided to accept Livingston's proposal and offer the United States the entire Louisiana Territory. Napoleon had good reasons for the decision. His plans for an American empire had already gone seriously awry. That was partly because a yellow fever epidemic had wiped out much of the French army in the New World. But it was also because the expeditionary force Napoleon sent to take possession of Louisiana had been frozen into a Dutch harbor through the winter of 1802-1803. By the time the harbor thawed in the spring of 1803, Napoleon was preparing for a renewed war in Europe. He would not, he realized, have the resources now to secure an American empire. The Louisiana Purchase Faced with Napoleon's startling proposal, Livingston and James Monroe, whom Jefferson had sent to Paris to assist in the negotiations, had to decide first whether they should even consider making a treaty for the purchase of the entire Louisiana Territory, since they had not been authorized by their government to do so. But fearful that Napoleon might withdraw the offer, they decided to proceed without further instructions from home. After some haggling over the price, Livingston and Monroe signed the agreement on April 30, 1803. By the terms of the treaty, the United

States was to pay a total of 80 million francs (\$15 million) to the French government. The United States was also to grant certain exclusive commercial privileges to France in the port of New Orleans and was to incorporate the residents of Louisiana into the Union with the same rights and privileges as other citizens. The boundaries of the purchase were not clearly defined; the treaty simply specified that Louisiana would occupy the "same extent" as it had when France and Spain had owned it.



200 CHAPTER 7 BLACKFOOT Lake of the Woods CHINOOK  
 LEWIS AND CLARK PASS CLATSOP OREGON COUNTRY (Claimed  
 by Spain, Britain and the United States) MAN DAN CLARK 1 806  
 NEZ PERCE CROW AR1KARA LEMHI PASS SHOSHONE MICHIGAN  
 TERRITORY CHEYENNE LOUISIANA PURCHASE OHIO INDIANA  
 TERRITORY ARAPAHO PAWNEE | PIKE'S 1 PEAK KANSAS  
 KENTUCKY Louis OSAGE KIOWA NAVAJO MOHAVE MISSISSIPPI  
 TERRITORY Claimed by United States 1803-1819 SPANISH  
 FLORIDA APACHE New Orleans Chihuahua Gulf of Mexico PACIFIC  
 OCEAN PA Louisiana Purchase, 1803 < — Lewis & Clark, 1 804-1  
 806 - ► Zebulon Pike, 1805-1807 HOPI Native Tribe EXPLORING  
 THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1804-1807 When Jefferson purchased  
 the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, he doubled the size of  
 the nation. But few Americans knew what they had bought. The  
 Lewis and Clark expedition set out in 1804 to investigate the new  
 territories, and this map shows their route, along with that of  
 another inveterate explorer, Zebulon Pike. Note the vast distances  
 the two parties covered (including, in both cases, a great deal of  
 land outside the Louisiana Purchase). Note, too, how much of this  
 enormous territory lay outside the orbit of even these ambitious  
 explorations. • How did the American public react to the addition of  
 these new territories? In Washington, the president was both  
 pleased and embarrassed when he received the treaty. He was  
 pleased with the terms of the bargain but uncertain whether the  
 United States had authority to accept it, since he had always  
 insisted that the federal government could rightfully exercise only  
 those powers explicitly assigned to it. Nowhere did the Constitution  
 say anything about the acquisition of new territory. But Jefferson's  
 advisers persuaded him that his treaty-making power under the  
 Constitution would justify the purchase of Louisiana. The president  
 finally agreed, trusting, as he said, "That the good sense of our  
 country will correct the evil of loose construction when it shall  
 produce ill Jefferson's effects." The Republican Congress promptly .  
 . approved the treaty and appropriated money to implement its  
 provisions. Finally, late in 1803, the French assumed formal control  
 of Louisiana from Spain Just long enough to turn the territory over  
 to General James Wilkinson, the commissioner of the United States.  
 The government organized the Louisiana Territory much as it had  
 organized the Northwest Territory, with the assumption that its

various territories would eventually become states. The first of these was admitted to the Union as the state of Louisiana in 1812. Lewis and Clark Explore the West Meanwhile, several ambitious explorations were revealing the geography of the far-flung new territory to white Americans,





THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 201 THE EXPLORATIONS OF LEWIS AND CLARK This map was drawn by William Clark while on his famous journey with Meriwether Lewis through the territory the United States had acquired in the Louisiana Purchase— and beyond.

iiiiiiiiiM 1805 from St. Louis into the upper Mississippi Valley. In the summer of 1806, he set out again up the valley of the Arkansas River and into what later became Colorado, where he encountered (but failed in his attempt to climb) the peak that now bears his name. His account of his western travels created an enduring (and inaccurate) impression among many Americans in the East that the land between the Missouri River and the Rockies was an uninhabitable, uncultivable desert. The Burr Conspiracy Jefferson's triumphant reelection in 1804 suggested that most of the nation approved the new territorial acquisition. But some New England Federalists raged against it. They realized that the more the West grew and the more new states



joined the Union, the less power the Federalists and Essex Junto their region would retain. In Massachusetts, a group of the most extreme Federalists, known as the "Essex Junto," concluded that the only recourse for New England was to secede from the Union and form a separate "Northern Confederacy." If this confederacy was to have any hope for lasting success, the Federalists believed, it would have to include New York and New Jersey as well. But the leading Federalist in New York, Alexander Hamilton, refused to support the secessionist scheme. "Dismemberment of our empire," he wrote, "will be a clear sacrifice of great positive advantages without any counterbalancing good, administering no relief to our real disease, which is democracy." Federalists in New York then turned to Hamilton's greatest political rival: Vice President Aaron Burr. He was a politician without prospects in his own party. Jefferson had never given him for the 1800 election deadlock. Burr accepted a Federalist proposal that he become their candidate for governor of New York in 1804, and there were rumors (unsupported by any evidence) that he had also agreed to support the Federalist plans for secession. Hamilton accused Burr of plotting treason and made numerous private remarks, widely reported in the press, about Burr's "despicable" character. When Burr lost the New York election, he blamed his defeat on Hamilton's malevolence. "These things must have an end," Burr wrote. He challenged Hamilton to a duel. Dueling had by then already fallen into some disrepute in America, but many people still considered it a legitimate institution for settling matters of "honor." Hamilton feared that refusing Burr's challenge would brand him a coward. And so, on a July morning in 1804, the two men met at Weehawken, New Jersey. Hamilton was mortally wounded; he died the next day. The resourceful and charismatic Burr was now a political outcast who had to flee New York to avoid an indictment for murder. But he found new outlets for his ambitions in the West. Even before the duel, he had begun corresponding with prominent white settlers in the Southwest, especially with General James Wilkinson, now governor of the Louisiana Territory. Burr and Wilkinson hoped to lead an expedition that would capture Mexico from the Spanish. "Mexico glitters in all our eyes," Burr wrote; "the word is all we wait for." But there were also rumors that they wanted to separate the Southwest from the United States and create a western empire that Burr would rule. There is little evidence to

support them. Whether the rumors were true or not, many of Burr's opponents-including, ultimately, Jefferson himself-chose to believe them. When Burr led a group of armed followers down the Ohio River by boat in 1806, disturbing reports flowed into Washington. The most alarming was from Wilkinson. He had suddenly turned against Burr and now informed the president that treason was afoot and that an attack on New Orleans was imminent. Jefferson ordered Burr and his men arrested as traitors. Burr was brought to Richmond for trial. Determined to win a conviction, Jefferson carefully managed the government's



an unpopular conflict with ambiguous results. Conflict on the Seas  
The early nineteenth century saw a dramatic expansion of American shipping in the Atlantic. Britain retained significant



THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 203 naval superiority, but the British merchant marine was preoccupied with commerce in Europe and Asia and devoted little energy to trade with America. Thus the United States stepped effectively into the void and developed one of the most important merchant marines in the world, which soon controlled a large proportion of the trade between Europe and the West Indies. In 1805, at the Battle of Trafalgar, a British fleet virtually destroyed what was left of the French navy. Because France could no longer challenge the British at sea, Napoleon now chose to pressure England through economic rather than naval means. He announced the creation of what he called the "Continental System." It was designed to close the European continent to British trade. The British government replied to Napoleon's decrees by establishing-through a series of "orders in council"-a blockade of the European coast. It required that any goods being shipped to Napoleon's Europe be carried either in British vessels or in neutral vessels stopping at British ports-precisely what Napoleon's policies forbade. American ships were caught between Napoleon's decrees and Britain's orders in council. If they sailed directly for the European continent, they risked being captured by the British navy; if they sailed by way of a British port, they risked seizure by the French. Both of the warring powers were violating America's rights as a neutral nation. But most . . . Americans considered the British, with America's Predicament their greater sea power, the worse of. fender. British ships pounced on Yankee merchantmen all over the ocean. Particularly infuriating to Americans, British vessels stopped United States ships on the high seas and seized sailors off the decks, making them victims of "impressment." Impressment The British navy-with its floggings, low pay, and terrible shipboard conditions- was known as a "floating hell" to its sailors. Few volunteered. Most had to be "impressed" (forced) into the service. At every opportunity they deserted. By 1807, many of these deserters had joined the American merchant marine or the American navy. To check this loss of vital manpower, the British claimed the right to stop and search American merchant ships (although at first not naval vessels) and reimpress deserters. They did not claim the right to take native-born Americans, but they did claim the right to seize naturalized Americans born on British soil. In practice, the British navy often

made no such distinctions, impressing British deserters and native-born Americans alike into service. In the summer of 1807, the British went to more provocative extremes in an incident involving a vessel of the American navy. Sailing from Norfolk, with several alleged deserters from the \_ British navy among the crew, the American Chesapeake-Leopard naval frigate Chesapeake encountered the Incident British ship Leopard. When the American commander, James Barron, refused to allow the British to search the Chesapeake, the Leopard opened fire. IMPORTANT AND LUMINOUS COMMUNICATION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE IMPRESSMENT OF AMERICAN AND FOREIGN SEJIMEM AND OTHER PERSONS. IT has become manifest to every attentive observer, that the early and continued aggressions of Great Britain on our persons, our property, and our rights, imperiously demand a firm stand— an effectual, though calm system of measures of ar~restation. For this purpose, it is our duty to make ourselves completely masters of the great truths and arguments by which our rights have been elucidated, supported and maintained. On the 17th of January, 1806, the President of the United States communicated to Congress an extract from a dispatch of James Madison Esq. our secretary of state, to James Monroe Esq. our minister in London, which contains many facts highly important, and observations and arguments perfectly satisfactory and conclusive against u imfircssments of seamen and passengers, whether Foreign or American, on board of our vessels.” The republication of that document at this crisis will at once display some of the reasons on which the government has probably declined to sanction the recent draught of a treaty 'with Great Britain, and will elucidate the ground on which the question of the impressment of f itrsons , both native and alien, has been rested by our administration. Extract of a letter from the Secretary of State to James Monroe j Esq, dated 5th January , 1804. We consider a neutral flag, on the high seas, as a safeguard to those sailing under it. Great Britain, on the contrary, asserts a right to search for, and seize her own subjects ; and imRESISTING THE IMPRESSMENT OF SAILORS On January 5, 1804, Secretary of State James Madison wrote this public letter to James Monroe on the unlawful impressment of American sailors by the British Royal Navy. The practice of boarding US ships and taking away sailors deemed by the British to be deserters from their navy came to a climax with the Chesapeake-Leopard Incident. (©

The Granger Collection, New York) Barron had no choice but to surrender, and a boarding party from the Leopard dragged four men off the American frigate. When news of the Chesapeake-Leopard incident reached the United States, there was great popular clamor for revenge. If Congress had been in session, it might have declared war. But Jefferson and Madison tried to maintain the peace. Jefferson expelled all British warships from American waters to lessen the likelihood of future incidents. Then he sent instructions to his minister in England, James Monroe, to demand that the British government renounce impressment. The British government disavowed the action of the officer responsible for the Chesapeake-Leopard incident and recalled him; it offered compensation for those killed and wounded in the incident;

204 CHAPTER 7 and it promised to return three of the captured sailors (one of the original four had been hanged). But the British refused to renounce impressment. "Peaceable Coercion" In an effort to prevent future incidents that might bring the nation again to the brink of war Congress enacted a drastic measure known as "the Embargo." It became one of the most controversial political issues of its time. The Embargo prohibited American ships from leaving the United States for any foreign port anywhere in the world. The law was widely evaded, but it was effective enough to create a serious depression throughout most of the nation. Hardest hit were the merchants and shipowners of the Northeast, most of them Federalists. The election of 1808 came in the midst of the Embargo-(1807) induced depression. James Madison, Jefferson's secretary of state and political ally, won the presidency. But the Embargo was clearly a growing political liability, and Jefferson decided to back down. A few days before leaving office, he approved a bill ending his experiment with what he called "peaceable coercion." To replace the Embargo, Congress passed the Non-Intercourse Act just before Madison took office. The new law reopened trade with all nations but Non-Intercourse with Great Britain and France. A year later, in March 1810 Congress allowed the Non-Intercourse Act to expire and replaced it with Macon's Bill No. 2, which conditionally reopened free commercial relations with Britain and France. Napoleon announced that France would no longer interfere with American shipping, and Madison announced that an embargo against Great Britain alone would automatically go into effect early in 1811 unless Britain renounced its restrictions on American shipping. The British government repealed its blockade of Europe. But the repeal came too late to prevent war. STRUGGLING WITH THE EMBARGO This cartoon lampoons the U.S. Embargo against Britain in 1807, a decision that created much economic hardship for many people. The word "Ograbme" (a common nickname for a snapping turtle) is "embargo" spelled backward. It shows a struggling merchant wrestling with the results of the Embargo. It was an effort to prevent the United States from being drawn into the wars between Britain and France. But the Embargo, which continued until 1812, not only hurt the American economy but also helped draw the nation into the War of 1812. (©





THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 205 The "Indian Problem" and the British The 1807 war crisis following the Chesapeake-Leopard incident „r revived the conflict between Indians and William Henry white Americans. Two important (and very Harrison different) leaders emerged to oppose one another in the conflict: William Henry Harrison and Tecumseh. The Virginia-born Harrison, already a veteran Indian fighter at age twenty-six, became a congressional delegate from the Northwest Territory in 1799. He was a committed advocate of growth and development in the western lands, and he was largely responsible for the passage in 1800 of the so-called Harrison Land Law, which enabled white settlers to acquire farms from the public domain on much easier terms than before. In 1801, Jefferson appointed Harrison governor of the Indiana Territory to administer the president's proposed solution to the "Indian problem." Jefferson offered the Native Americans a choice: they could convert themselves into settled farmers and Jefferson's assimilate-become a part of white society; Offer or theY could migrate to the west of the . Mississippi. In either case, they would have to give up their claims to tribal lands in the Northwest. Fallen Timbers, 1794 > ^OHIO \*Greenville Chillicothe Prophets own St. Cla r's Defeat, 1791 INDIANA , TERR. Vincennes KENTUCKY CHEROKEE



206 CHAPTER 7 Jefferson considered the assimilation policy a benign alternative to continuing conflict between Indians and white settlers, a conflict he assumed the tribes were destined to lose. But to the tribes, the new policy seemed far from benign, especially given the bludgeonlike efficiency with which Harrison set out to implement it. He played one tribe against another and used threats, bribes, trickery, and whatever other tactics he felt would help him conclude treaties. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the number of western Americans who had settled east of the Appalachians had grown to more than 500,000—a population far larger than that of the Native Americans. It was becoming almost inevitable, as a result, that the tribes would face ever-growing pressure to move out of the way of the rapidly growing white settlements. By 1807, the United States had extracted from reluctant tribal leaders treaty rights to eastern Michigan, southern Indiana, and most of Illinois. Meanwhile, in the Southwest, white Americans were taking millions of acres from other tribes in Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi. The Indians wanted to resist, but the separate tribes were helpless by themselves against the power of the United States. They might have accepted their fate passively but for the emergence of two new factors. One factor was the policy of the British authorities in Canada. After the Chesapeake-Leopard incident and the surge of anti-British feeling throughout the United States, the British colonial authorities began to expect an American invasion of Canada and took measures for their own defense. Among those measures were efforts to renew friendship with the Indians and provide them with increased supplies. Tecumseh and the Prophet The second, and more important, factor intensifying the border conflict was the rise of two remarkable Native American leaders, who together helped create an age of religious fervor and prophecy. One was Tenskwatawa, a charismatic religious leader and orator known as "the Prophet." He had experienced a mystical The Prophet's awakening in the process of recovering from Message alcoholism. Having freed himself from what . j^0 considered the evil effects of white culture, he began to speak to his people of the superior virtues of Indian civilization and the sinfulness and corruption of the white world. In the process, he inspired a religious revival that spread through numerous tribes and helped unite them. Like Neolin before him, and like his

contemporary to the east. Handsome Lake, Tenskwatawa demonstrated the power of religious leaders to mobilize Indians behind political and military objectives. The Prophet's headquarters at the confluence of Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River (known as Prophetstown) became a sacred place for people of many tribes and attracted thousands of Indians from throughout the Midwest. Out of their common religious experiences, they began to consider joint political and military efforts as well. Tenskwatawa advocated an Indian society entirely separate from that of white Americans and a culture rooted in tribal tradition. The effort to trade with the Anglos and to borrow from their culture would, he argued, lead to the death of Indian ways. Tecumseh-the chief of the Shawnees called by his tribe "the Shooting Star"-was in many ways even more militant than his brother. "Where today are the Pequot?" he thundered. "Where are . . . the other powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice and oppression of the white man." And he warned of his tribe's extermination if they did not take action against the white Americans moving into their lands. Tecumseh understood, as few other Indian leaders had, that only through united action could the tribes hope to resist the advance of white civilization. Beginning in 1809, after tribes in Indiana had ceded vast lands to the United States, he set out to

**TECUMSEH** Tecumseh's efforts to unite the tribes of the Mississippi Valley against further white encroachments on their lands led him ultimately into an alliance with the British after the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. In the War of 1812, he was commissioned a brigadier general by the British and fought against the United States in the Battle of the Thames. (© Parks Canada Agency - Fort Malden NHS)

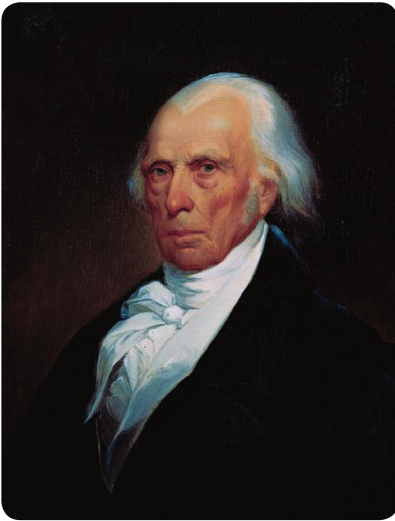


## THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 207 JAMES AND DOLLEY

**MADISON** James Madison may have been the most brilliant of the early leaders of the republic, but he was also one of the most serious and humorless, as this grim portrait suggests. His wife (born Dolley Payne in North Carolina and raised a Quaker in Virginia) was twenty-six when she married the forty-three-year-old Madison in 1794. Her charm and social grace made her one of her husband's greatest political assets. She acted as hostess for Thomas Jefferson, a widower, while her husband was secretary of state. And she presided over a lively social life during her eight years in the White House as First Lady. (Both © Collection of the New-York Historical Society, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library) unite all the Indians of the Mississippi Valley, north and south. Tecumseh's Together, he promised, they would halt Strategy white expansion, recover the whole . Northwest, and make the Ohio River the boundary between the United States and the Indian country. He maintained that Harrison and others, by negotiating treaties with individual tribes, had obtained no real title to land. The land belonged to all the tribes; none of them could rightfully cede any of it without the consent of the others. In 1811, Tecumseh left Prophetstown and traveled down the Mississippi to visit the tribes of the South, hoping to persuade them to Join the alliance. During his absence, Harrison camped near Prophetstown with 1,000 soldiers. On November 7, 181 1, he provoked a battle. The white forces suffered losses as heavy as those of the natives, but Harrison drove off the Indians and burned the town. The Battle of Tippecanoe (named for the creek near the fighting) disillusioned many of the Prophet's followers, who had believed that his magic would protect them. Tecumseh returned to find the confederacy in disarray. But there were still many warriors eager for combat, and by the spring of 1812 they were raiding white settlements and terrifying white settlers. Battle of Tippecanoe

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii The bloodshed along the western borders was largely a result of the Indians' own initiative, but Britain's agents in Canada had encouraged and helped supply the uprising. To Harrison and most white residents of the regions, there seemed only one way to make the West safe for Americans: drive the British out of Canada and annex that province to the United States. Florida and War Fever While white

"frontiersmen" in the North demanded the conquest of Canada, those in the South wanted the United States to acquire Spanish Florida, a territory that included the present state of Florida and the southern areas of what are now Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The territory was a continuing threat to whites in the southern United States. Slaves escaped across the Florida border; Indians launched frequent raids north into white settlements from Florida. But white southerners also coveted Florida because through it ran rivers that could provide residents of the Southwest with access to valuable ports on the Gulf of Mexico. In 1810, American settlers in West Florida (an area that is part of Mississippi and Louisiana today) seized the Spanish fort





208 CHAPTER 7 at Baton Rouge and asked the federal government to annex the captured territory to the United States. President Madison happily agreed and then began planning to get the rest of Florida, too. The desire for Florida became yet another motivation for war with Britain. Spain was Britain's ally, and a war with Britain might provide a pretext for taking Spanish territory. By 1812, war fever was growing on both the northern and southern borders of the United States. In the congressional elections of 1810, voters from these regions elected a large number of representatives of both parties eager for war with Britain. They became known as the "war hawks." Some of them were ardent nationalists fired by passion for territorial expansion-among them two men who would play a great role in national politics for much of the next four decades: Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Others were men impassioned in their defense of Republican values. Together, they formed a powerful coalition in favor of war. Clay became Speaker of the House in 1811, and he filled committees with those who shared his eagerness for war. He appointed Calhoun to the crucial Committee on Foreign Affairs, and both men began agitating for the conquest of Canada. Madison still hoped for peace. But he shared the concerns of other Republicans about the dangers to American trade, and he was losing control of Congress. On June 18, 1812, he gave in to the pressure and approved a declaration of war against Britain. War Hawks

## THE WAR OF 1812

Preoccupied with their struggle against Napoleon in Europe, the British were not eager for a conflict with the United States. Even after the Americans declared war, Britain largely ignored them for a time. But in the fall of 1812, Napoleon launched a catastrophic campaign against Russia that left his army in disarray and his power in Europe diminished. By late 1813, with the French Empire on its way to final defeat, Britain was able to turn its military attention to America. Battles with the Tribes Americans entered the War of 1812 with great enthusiasm, but events on the battlefield soon cooled their ardor. In the summer of 1812, American forces invaded Canada through Detroit. They soon had to retreat back to Detroit and in August surrendered the fort there. Other invasion efforts also failed. In the meantime. Fort Dearborn (Chicago) fell



before an Indian attack. Things went only slightly better for the United States on the seas. At first, American frigates won some spectacular victories over British warships, and American privateers destroyed or captured many British merchant ships, occasionally Early Defeats bravin8 the coastal waters of the British . Isles themselves and burning vessels within sight of the shore. But by 1813, the British navy-now less preoccupied with Napoleon-was counterattacking effectively, driving the American frigates to cover and imposing a blockade on the United States. The United States did, however, achieve significant early military successes on the Great Lakes. First, the Americans took command of Lake Ontario, which permitted them to raid and burn York (now Toronto), the capital of Canada. American forces then seized control of Lake Erie, mainly through the Put-in-Bay work of the youthful Oliver Hazard Perry, who engaged and dispersed a British fleet at Put-in-Bay on September 10, 1813. This made possible another invasion of Canada by way of Detroit, which Americans could now reach easily by water. William Henry Harrison, the American commander in the West, pushed up the Thames River into upper Canada and, on October 5, 1813, won a victory notable for the death of Tecumseh, who was serving as a brigadier general in the British army. The Battle of the Thames weakened and disheartened the Native Americans of the Northwest and greatly diminished their ability to defend their claims to the region. In the meantime, another white military leader was striking an even harder blow at the tribes of the Southwest. The Creeks, whom Tecumseh had aroused on a visit to the South and whom the Spanish had supplied with weapons, had been attacking white settlers near the Florida border. Andrew Jackson, a wealthy Tennessee planter and a general in the state militia, temporarily abandoned plans for an invasion of Florida and set off in pursuit of them. On March 27, 1814, in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Jackson's men took terrible revenge on the Indians-slaughtering women and children along with warriors- and broke the resistance of the Creeks. The tribe agreed to cede most of its lands to the United States and retreated westward, farther into the interior. The battle also won Jackson a commission as a major general in the United States Army. In that capacity he led his men farther south into Florida and, on November 7, 1814, seized the Spanish fort at Pensacola. Battles with the British The victories over the tribes were not enough for the United States to win the war.

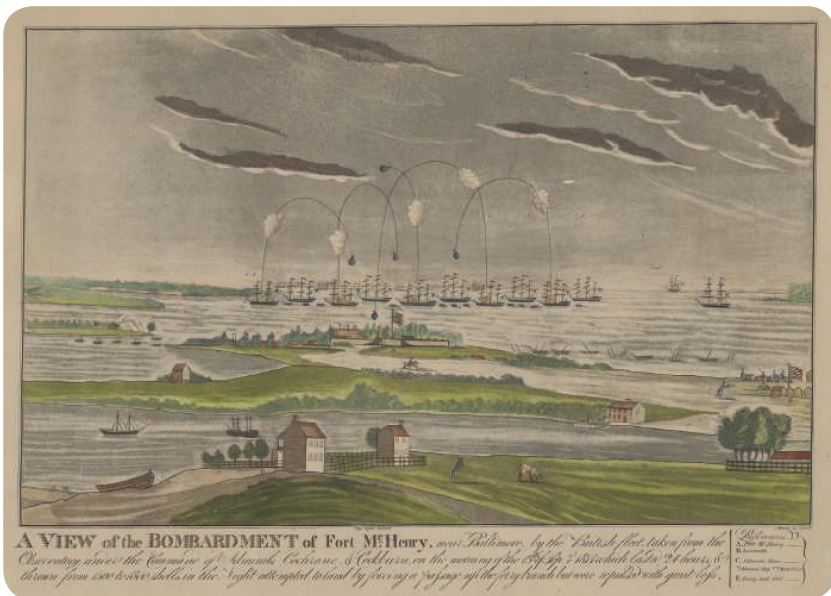
After the surrender of Napoleon in 1814, The British England prepared to invade the United Invasion States. A British armada sailed up the . Patuxent River from Chesapeake Bay and landed an army that marched a short distance overland to Bladensburg, on the outskirts of Washington, where it dispersed a poorly trained force of American militiamen. On August 24, 1814, the British troops entered Washington and set fire to several public buildings, including the White House, in retaliation for the earlier American burning of the Canadian capital at York. This was the low point of American fortunes in the war. Leaving Washington in partial ruins, the British army proceeded up the bay toward Baltimore. But Baltimore harbor, guarded by Fort McHenry, was prepared. To block the

THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 209 SH CANADA Quebec. i ~f Chesapeake ! Bay ATLANTI C OCEAN "Wilmington Gulf of Mexit EAST FLORIDA SEMINOLE THE WAR OF 1812 This map illustrates the military maneuvers of the British and the Americans during the War of 1812. It shows all the theaters of the war, from New Orleans to southern Canada, the extended land and water battle along the Canadian border and in the Great Lakes, and the fighting around Washington and Baltimore. Note how in all these theaters there are about the same number of British and American victories. • What finally brought this inconclusive war to an end? approaching fleet, the American garrison had sunk several ships to clog the entry to the harbor, thus forcing the British to bombard the fort from a distance. Through the night of September 13, Francis Scott Key, a Washington lawyer who was on board one of the British ships trying to secure the release of an American prisoner, watched the bombardment. The next morning, "by the dawn's early light," he could see the flag on the fort still flying; he recorded his pride in the moment by scribbling a poem-"The StarSpangled Banner"-on the back of an envelope. The British withdrew from Baltimore, and Key's words were soon set to the tune of an old English drinking song. In 1931, "The StarSpangled Banner" became the official national anthem. Meanwhile, American forces repelled another British invasion in northern New York at the Battle of Plattsburgh, on September 11, 1814, which turned back a much larger British naval and land force and secured the northern border of the Battle of United States. In the South, a formidable New Orleans array of battle-hardened British veterans, . fresh from the campaign against the French in Spain, landed below New Orleans and prepared to advance north up the Mississippi. Awaiting the British was Andrew



210 CHAPTER 7 Jackson with a motley collection of Tennesseans, Kentuckians, Creoles, blacks, pirates, and regular army troops behind earthen fortifications. On January 8, 1815, the British advanced, but their exposed forces were no match for Jackson's wellprotected men. After the Americans had repulsed several waves of attackers, the British finally retreated, leaving behind 700 dead (including their commander. Sir Edward Pakenham), 1,400 wounded, and 500 prisoners. Jackson's losses were 8 killed and 13 wounded. Only later did news reach North America that the United States and Britain had signed a peace treaty several weeks before the Battle of New Orleans. The Revolt of New England With a few notable exceptions, such as the Battles of Put-in-Bay and New Orleans, the military operations of the United States between 1812 and 1815 consisted of a series of humiliating failures. As a result, the American government faced increasing popular opposition as the contest dragged on. In New England, opposition both to the war and to the Republican government that was waging it was so extreme that some Federalists celebrated British victories. In Congress, in the meantime, the Republicans had persistent trouble with the Federalist opposition, led by a young congressman from New Hampshire, Daniel Webster, who missed no opportunity to embarrass the administration. By now the Federalists were a minority in the country as a whole, but they were still the majority party in New England. Some of them began to dream again of creating a separate nation in that region, which they could dominate and in which they could escape what they saw as the tyranny of slaveholders and backwoodsmen. Talk of secession revived and reached a climax in the winter of 1814-1815. On December 15, 1814, delegates from the New England states met in Hartford, Connecticut, to discuss their grievances. Those who favored secession at the Hartford Convention were outnumbered by a comparatively moderate majority. But Hartford while the convention's report only hinted Convention at secession, it reasserted the right of nullification and proposed seven amendments to the Constitution (presumably as the condition of New England's remaining in the Union)-amendments designed to protect New England from the growing influence of the South and the West. Because the war was going badly and the government was becoming desperate, the New Englanders assumed that the

Republicans would have to agree to their demands. Soon after the convention adjourned, however, the news of Jackson's smashing victory at New Orleans reached the cities of the Northeast. A day or two later, reports arrived from abroad of a negotiated peace. In the euphoria of this apparent triumph, the Hartford Convention and the Federalists came to seem futile, irrelevant, even treasonable. The failure of the secession effort was a virtual death blow to the Federalist Party. The Peace Settlement Peace talks between the United States and Britain had begun even before fighting in the War of 1812 began. John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin led the American delegation. In the negotiations, the Americans gave up their demand for a British renunciation of impressment and Treaty of for the cession of Canada to the United States. The British abandoned their call for THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT MCHENRY The British bombardment of Fort McHenry in Baltimore harbor in September 1814 was of modest importance to the outcome of the War of 1812. It is remembered as the occasion for Francis Scott Key to write his poem "The Star-Spangled Banner," which recorded his sentiments at seeing an American flag still flying over the fort "by the dawn's early light." (The Library of Congress)



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212 CHAPTER 7 expanding and diversifying. Its cities were growing, and its commercial life was becoming ever more important. In 1803, Jefferson himself made one of the most important contributions to the growth of the United States: the Louisiana Purchase, which dramatically expanded the physical boundaries of the nation-and which began extending white settlement deeper into the continent. In the process, it greatly widened the battles between Europeans and Native Americans. The growing national pride and commercial ambitions of the United States gradually created another serious conflict with Great Britain: the War of 1812, a war that went badly for the Americans on the whole, but that was settled finally in 1814 on terms at least mildly favorable to the United States. By then, the bitter party rivalries that had characterized the first years of the republic had to some degree subsided, and the nation was poised to enter what became known as the "era of good feelings." It was to be an era in which good feelings did not last for very long. Key Terms/People/Places/Events Aaron Burr 201 Cane Ridge 185 Deism 184 Eli Whitney 189 Handsome Lake 206 Hartford Convention 210 Impressment 203 John Marshall 196 Judith Sargent Murray 182 Marbury v. Madison 195 Mercy Otis Warren 184 Neolin 188 Noah Webster 184 Robert Fulton 190 Second Great Awakening 185 Tecumseh 206 The Embargo 204 The Prophet (Tenskwatawa) 206 Toussaint L'Ouverture 198 Washington Irving 184 William Henry Harrison 208 RECALL AND REFLECT 1. What was the impact of the Second Great Awakening on women, African Americans, and Native Americans? 2. What was the long-term significance of the Marbury v. Madison ruling? 3. How did Americans respond to the Louisiana Purchase? 4. What foreign entanglements and questions of foreign policy did Jefferson have to deal with during his presidency? How did these issues affect his political philosophy? 5. What were the consequences of the War of 1812?



## THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA 213 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1790 Samuel Slater builds textile mill, first modern factory in America, in Pawtucket, Rhode Island 1793 Eli Whitney invents cotton gin 1808 Madison elected president 1807 The Embargo begins 1800 United States capital moves to Washington, D.C. Gabriel Prosser's plans for slave rebellion foiled 1801-1805 Conflict with Tripoli 1801 Second Great Awakening begins John Marshall appointed chief justice 1810 Macon's Bill No. 2 reopens trade with Britain and France United States declares war on Great Britain (June 18) 1809 Embargo Act repealed Tecumseh establishes tribal confederacy 1812 Madison reelected president 1803 1804 Thomas Jefferson reelected president Louisiana Territory purchased from French Supreme Court establishes power of judicial review in Marbury v. Madison 1814 Hartford Convention meets Treaty of Ghent signed 1815 Jackson wins Battle of New Orleans 1804-1805 Lewis and Clark, and Zebulon Pike, explore Louisiana Territory

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CELEBRATING THE NATION Celebrations of Independence Day, like this one in New York City, became major festive events throughout the United States in the early nineteenth century, a sign of rising American Nationalism. (© North Wind Picture Archives/Alamy)



SETTING THE STAGE LIKE A "FIRE BELL IN THE NIGHT," as Thomas Jefferson put it, the issue of slavery arose after the War of 1812 to threaten the unity of the nation. The debate began when the territory of Missouri applied for admission to the Union, raising the question of whether it would be a free or a slaveholding state. But the larger issue, one that would arise again and again to plague the republic, was whether the vast new western regions of the United States would ultimately move into the orbit of the North or the South. The Missouri crisis, which Congress settled by compromise in 1820, was significant at the time not only because it was a sign of the sectional crises to come but also because it stood in such sharp contrast to the rising American nationalism of the years following the war. Whatever forces might be working to pull the nation apart, stronger ones were acting for the moment to draw it together. A set of widely (although never universally) shared sentiments and ideals worked to bind the nation together: the memory of the Revolution, the veneration of the Constitution and its framers, the belief that America had a special destiny in the world. On July 4, 1826—the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence—an event occurred that to many Americans seemed to confirm that the United States was a nation specially chosen by God. On that remarkable day, two of the greatest of the country's founders and former presidents—Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration, and John Adams, whom Jefferson had called "its ablest advocate and defender"—died within hours of each other. Jefferson's last words, those at his bedside reported, were "Is it the Fourth?" And Adams comforted those around him moments before his death by saying, "Thomas Jefferson still survives."

BUILDING A NATIONAL MARKET The end of the War of 1812 allowed the United States to resume the economic growth and territorial expansion that had characterized the first decade of the nineteenth century. A vigorous postwar boom led to a disastrous bust in 1819. Brief though it was, the collapse was evidence that the United States continued to lack some of the basic institutions necessary to sustain long-term growth. In the years to follow, there were strenuous efforts to introduce stability to the expanding economy. Banking, Currency, and Protection The War of 1812 may have stimulated the growth of manufacturing by cutting off imports, but it also produced chaos in shipping and



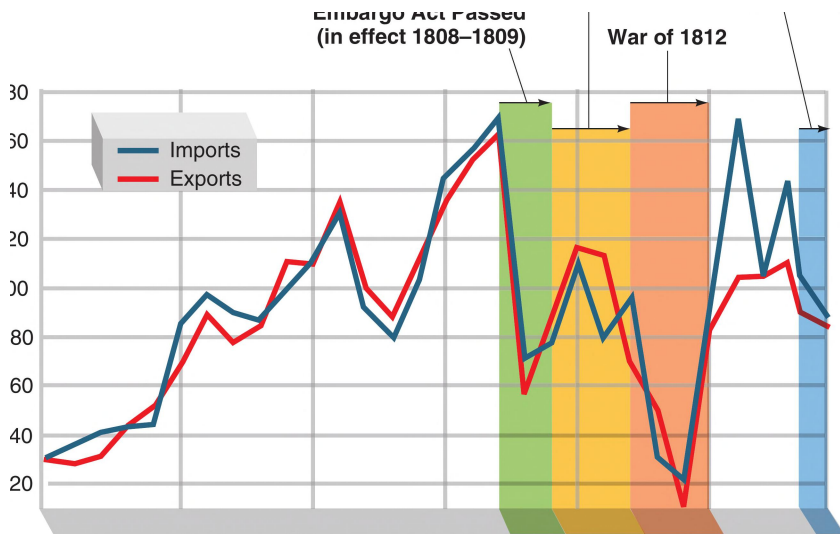
ENGLAND This early folk painting of about 1814 shows the small town of East Chelmsford, Massachusetts— still primarily agrarian, with its rural houses, open fields, and grazing livestock, but with a small textile mill already operating along the stream, at right. A little more than a decade later, the town had been transformed into a major manufacturing center and renamed for the family that owned the mills: Lowell. ( Part of the Town of Chelmsford. By Miss Warren. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA) (© Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA) unskilled labor and inexperienced management, new factories could start operations virtually assured of quick profits. The American textile industry experienced a particularly dramatic growth. Between 1807 and 1815, the total number of cotton spindles increased more than fifteenfold, from 8,000 to 130,000. Until 1814, the textile industry produced only yarn and thread; families operating hand-loom at home did the actual weaving of cloth. Then the Boston merchant Francis Cabot Lowell, after examining textile machinery in England, developed a power loom that was better than its English counterpart. In 1813, Lowell organized the Boston Manufacturing Company and, at Waltham, Massachusetts, founded the first mill in America to carry on spinning and weaving under a single roof. Lowell's company was an important step in revolutionizing American manufacturing and in shaping the character of the early industrial workforce. But the end of the war suddenly dimmed the prospects for American industry. British ships—determined to recapture their lost markets—swarmed into American ports and unloaded cargoes of manufactured goods, many priced below cost. As one English leader explained to Parliament, it was "well worth while to incur a loss upon the first

180 160 140 120 100 A Protective Tariff  
 exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States." The "infant industries" cried out for protection against these tactics, arguing that they needed time to grow strong enough to withstand the foreign competition. In 1816, protectionists in Congress won passage of a tariff law that

effectively limited competition from abroad on a wide range of items, the most important of which was cotton cloth. There were objections from agricultural interests, who would have to pay higher prices for manufactured goods as a result. But the nationalist dream of creating an important American industrial economy prevailed.

**Transportation** The nation's most pressing economic need in the aftermath of the war was for a better transportation system. Without one, manufacturers would not have access to the raw materials they needed or to domestic markets. So an old debate resumed: Should the federal government help to finance roads and other "internal improvements"? The idea of using government funds to finance road building was not new. When Ohio entered the Union in 1803, the federal government agreed that part of the proceeds Non-Intercourse Law (in effect) Embargo Act Passed (in effect 1808-1809) Panic of 1819 (followed by business depression) War of 1812 1790 1795 1800 1805 1810 1815 1820

**AMERICAN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1790-1820** This chart shows the pattern of goods imported to and exported from the United States— the level of foreign trade, and the balance between goods bought and goods sold. Americans were heavily dependent on Britain and Europe for "finished" or "manufactured" goods in these years; and as you can see, imports grew as rapidly as, and often even more rapidly than, exports. Note how the nation's disputes with European powers depressed both exports and imports from about 1808 to 1814. How does this chart help explain Congress's passage of a protective tariff law in 1816?

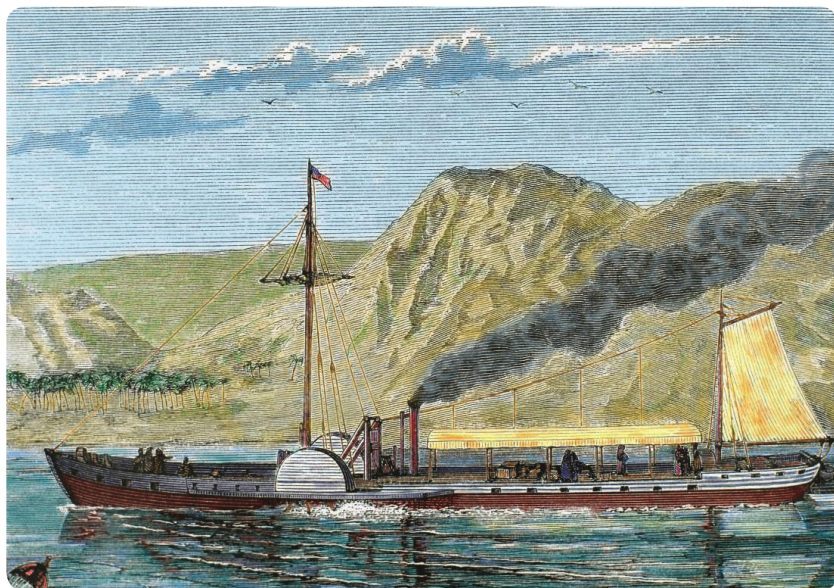


VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM 217 from the government's sale of public lands should finance road construction. In 1807, Jefferson's secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, proposed that revenues from the Ohio land sales should help finance a National Road from the Potomac River to the Ohio River. Both Congress and the president approved. After many delays, construction of the National Road finally began in 1811 at Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac; and by 1818, this highway-with a crushed stone surface and massive Government-funded stone bridges-ran as far as Wheeling, Virginia, on the Ohio River. Meanwhile, the state of Pennsylvania gave \$100,000 to a private company to extend the Lancaster pike westward to Pittsburgh. Over both of these roads a heavy traffic soon moved: stagecoaches, Conestoga wagons, private carriages, and other vehicles, as well as droves of cattle. Despite high tolls, the roads made transportation costs across the mountains lower than ever before. Manufactures, particularly textiles, moved from the Atlantic seaboard to the Ohio Valley in unprecedented quantities. At the same time, on the rivers and the Great Lakes, steampowered shipping was expanding rapidly. The development of steamboat lines was already well under way before the War of 1812, thanks to the technological advances introduced by Robert Fulton and others. The war had retarded expansion for a time, but by 1816, river steamers were beginning to journey Steamboats up and down the Mississippi to the Ohio River, and up the Ohio as far as Pittsburgh. Within a few years, steamboats were carrying far more cargo on the Mississippi than all the earlier forms of river transport-flatboats, barges, and others-combined. They stimulated the agricultural economy of the West and the South, by providing much readier access to markets at greatly reduced cost. And they enabled eastern manufacturers to send their finished goods west. Despite the progress with steamboats and turnpikes, there remained serious gaps in the nation's transportation network, as the War of 1812 had shown. Once the British blockade cut off Atlantic shipping, the coastal roads became choked by the unaccustomed volume of north-south traffic. Long lines of STEAMBOATS ON THE HUDSON

Inventor Robert Fulton developed an engine that could propel a boat from Manhattan to Albany, a distance of about 150 miles, in thirty two hours. His steampowered vessels, first built in 1807, were



the first large and reliable enough to be commercially valuable.  
(Photo © Tarker/The Bridgeman Art Library)



1818 CHAPTER 8 wagons waited for a chance to use the ferries that were still the only means of crossing most rivers. Ox carts, pressed into emergency service, took six or seven weeks to go from Philadelphia to Charleston. In some areas there were serious shortages of goods that normally traveled by sea, and prices rose to new heights. Rice cost three times as much in New York as in Charleston, flour three times as much in Boston as in Richmond—all because of the difficulty of transportation. There were military consequences, too. On the northern and western frontiers, the absence of good roads had frustrated American campaigns. In 1815, with this wartime experience in mind. President Madison called the attention of Congress to the "great importance of establishing throughout our country the roads and canals which can be best executed under the national authority," and suggested that a constitutional amendment would resolve any doubts about Congress's authority to provide for their construction. Representative John C. Calhoun promptly introduced a bill that would have used the funds owed the government by the Bank of the United States to finance internal improvements. "Let us, then, bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals," Calhoun urged. "Let us conquer space." Congress passed Calhoun's internal improvements bill, but President Madison, on his last day in office (March 3, 1817), vetoed it. He supported the purpose of the bill, he Vetoing explained, but he still believed that Internal Congress lacked authority to fund the Improvements improvements without a constitutional  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii amendment. It remained for state governments and private enterprise to undertake the tremendous task of building the transportation network necessary for the growing American economy.

EXPANDING WESTWARD One reason for the growing interest in internal improvements was the sudden and dramatic surge in westward expansion in the years following the War of 1812. "Old America seems to be breaking up and moving westward," wrote an English observer at the time. By the time of the census of 1820, white settlers had pushed well beyond the Mississippi River, and the population of the western regions was increasing more rapidly than that of the nation as a whole. Almost one of every four white Americans lived west of the Appalachians in 1820; ten years before,

only one in seven had resided there. The Great Migrations The westward movement of the white American population was one of the most important developments of the nineteenth century. It had a profound effect on Westward the nation's economy, bringing vast new Expansion regions into the emerging capitalist system. It had great political ramifications, which ultimately became a major factor in the coming of the Civil War. And like earlier movements west, it thrust peoples of different cultures and traditions into intimate (and often disastrous) association with one another. There were several important reasons for this expansion. The pressures driving white Americans out of the East came in part from the continued growth of the nation's population both through natural increase and through immigration. Between 1800 and 1820, the population nearly doubled—from 5.3 million to 9.6 million. The growth of cities absorbed some of that increase, but most Americans were still farmers. The agricultural lands of the East were by now largely occupied, and some of them were exhausted. In the South, the spread of the plantation system, and of a slave labor force, limited opportunities for new settlers. At the same time, the West itself was becoming increasingly attractive to white settlers. The War of 1812 had helped diminish (although it did not wholly eliminate) one of the traditional deterrents to western expansion: Native American opposition. And in the aftermath of the war, the federal government continued its policy of pushing the remaining tribes farther and farther west. A series of treaties in 1815 wrested more land from the Indians. In the meantime, the government was erecting a chain of stockaded forts along the Great Lakes The Factor and Mississippi to protect the frontier. System It also created a "factor" system, by which . government factors (or agents) supplied the tribes with goods at cost. This not only worked to drive Canadian traders out of the region; it also helped create a situation of dependency on the factors that made Native Americans easier to control. Now that fertile lands were secure for white settlement, migrants from throughout the East flocked to the Old Northwest (now called the Midwest). The Ohio and Monongahela Rivers were the main routes westward, until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825. Once on the Ohio, the migrants floated downstream on flatboats bearing all their possessions, then left the river (often at Cincinnati, which was becoming one of the region's—and the nation's—principal cities) and pressed on overland with wagons,

handcarts, packhorses, cattle, and hogs. The Plantation System in the Southwest In the Southwest, the new agricultural economy emerged along different lines. The principal attraction was cotton. The cotton lands in the uplands of the Old South had lost much of their fertility through overplanting and erosion. But the market for cotton continued to grow, so there was no lack of ambitious farmers seeking fresh soil in a climate suitable for the crop. In the Southwest, there were vast tracts of land appropriate for growing cotton. They included what would become known as the Black Belt of central Alabama and Mississippi, a large region with a dark, productive soil of rotted limestone. The growth of southern settlement spread cotton, plantations, and slavery. The first arrivals in an uncultivated region

«, ■ jl~ /«,,; a.( V/ffo ,, . ,, .. /t\* / - V FORT SNELLING This is an 1838 sketch of Fort Spelling (at the juncture of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers), containing instructions for reaching it from St. Louis. It was one of a string of fortifications built along the western edge of European settlement along the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The forts were designed to protect the new white communities from hostile Indians. Fort Spelling stands today in Minnesota as a "living history" site. ("Fort Spelling from the East." Smithsonian Institution Archives. Record Unit 7290, Carl Andreas Geyer Journal, 1838. Negative # SA-861.) were usually small farmers who made rough clearings in the ^ forest. But wealthier planters soon folthe Expansion lowed. They bought up cleared or partially of Slavery cleared land, and the original settlers moved farther west and started over again. The large planters made the westward journey in a style quite different from that of the first pioneers. Over the alternately dusty and muddy roads came great caravans consisting of herds of livestock, wagonloads of household goods, long lines of slaves, and-at the rear-the planter's family riding in carriages. Success in the wilderness was by no means ensured, even for the wealthiest settlers. But many planters soon expanded small clearings into vast cotton fields. They replaced the cabins of the early pioneers with sumptuous log dwellings and ultimately with imposing mansions that symbolized the emergence of a newly wealthy class. In later years, these western planters would assume the airs of a long-standing aristocracy. But by the time of the Civil War, few planter families in the Southwest had been there for more than one or two generations. The rapid growth of the Northwest and Southwest resulted in the admission of four new states to the Union in the immediate aftermath of the War of 1812: Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, and Alabama in 1819. Trade and Trapping in the Far West Not many Anglo-Americans had much knowledge of or interest in the far western areas of the continent. But a significant trade nevertheless developed between these far western regions and the United States beginning early in the nineteenth century and growing steadily for decades. Mexico, which controlled Texas, California, and much of the rest of the Southwest, won its independence from Spain in 1821. Almost

immediately, it opened its northern territories to trade with the United States. American traders poured into the region-overland into Texas and New Mexico, by sea into California. Merchants from the United States quickly displaced both Indian and Mexican traders who had previously dominated trade. A steady traffic of commercial wagon trains was moving back and forth along the Santa Fe Trail between Missouri and New Mexico. Fur traders created a wholly new commerce with the West. Before the War of 1812, John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company established Astoria as a American Fur trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon. But when the war came, Astor sold his suddenly imperiled interests to the Northwestern Fur Company, a British concern operating out of Canada. After the war, Astor centered his operations in the Great Lakes area and eventually extended them westward to the Rockies. Other companies carried on operations up the Missouri and its tributaries and into the Rocky Mountains. At first, fur traders did most of their business by purchasing pelts from the Indians. But increasingly, white trappers entered the region and began to hunt beaver on their own. Substantial numbers of Anglo-Americans and French Canadians moved deep into the Great Lakes region and beyond to join the Iroquois and other Indians in pursuit of furs. As the trappers, or "mountain men," moved west from the Great Lakes region, they began to establish themselves in what is now Utah and in parts of New Mexico. In 1822, Andrew Henry and William Ashley founded the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and recruited white trappers to move permanently into the Rockies in search of furs, which were becoming increasingly scarce farther east. Henry and Ashley dispatched supplies annually to their trappers in exchange for furs and skins. The arrival of the supply train became the occasion for a gathering of scores of mountain men, some of whom lived much of the year in considerable isolation. But however isolated their daily lives, these mountain men were closely bound up with the expanding market economy of the United States. Some were employees of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company (or some other, similar enterprise), earning a salary in return for providing a steady market economy

The annual gathering of fur trappers and traders was a major event in the lives of the lonely men who made their livelihoods gathering furs. It was also a meeting of representatives of the many cultures that mingled in the Far West, among them Anglo-Americans, French Canadians, and those of Spanish origins. (© Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library) supply of furs. Others were nominally independent but relied on the companies for credit; they were almost always in debt and hence economically bound to the companies. Some trapped entirely on their own and simply sold their furs for cash, but they too depended on merchants from the East for their livelihoods. And it was to those merchants that the bulk of the profits from the trade flowed. Many trappers and mountain men lived peacefully and successfully with the Native Americans and Mexicans whose lands they shared. Perhaps two-thirds of the white trappers married women of Indian or Spanish backgrounds while living in the West. But white-Indian relations were not always friendly or peaceful. Jedediah S. Smith, a trapper who became an Ashley partner, led a series of forays deep into Mexican territory that ended in disastrous battles with the Mojaves and other tribes. Four years after an 1827 expedition to Oregon in which sixteen members of his party of twenty had died. Smith set out for New Mexico and was killed by Comanches, who took the weapons he was carrying and sold them to Mexican settlers. Eastern Images of the West Americans in the East were only dimly aware of the world the trappers were entering and helping to reshape. Smith and others became the source of dramatic (and often exaggerated) popular stories. But few trappers themselves wrote of their lives. More important in increasing eastern awareness of the West were explorers, many of them dispatched by the U.S. government with instructions to chart the territories they visited. In 1819 and 1820, Stephen H. Long led nineLong's teen s'ldiers on a Journey up the Platte and Expedition South Platte Rivers through what is now Nebraska and eastern Colorado, and then returned eastward along the Arkansas River through what is now Kansas. He wrote an influential report on his trip, including an assessment of the region's potential for future settlement and development that echoed the dismissive conclusions of Zebulon Pike fifteen years before. On the published map of his expedition, he labeled the

Great Plains the "Great American Desert." THE "ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS" The expansion of the economy, the growth of white settlement and trade in the West, the creation of new states-all reflected the rising spirit of nationalism that was permeating the United States in the years following the War of 1812. That spirit found reflection for a time in the character of national politics.





TRIUMPHANT TOUR OF JAMES MONROE After James Monroe's enormously successful tour of the northern and eastern states in 1818, midway through his first term as president, there was widespread selfcongratulation through much of the United States for the apparent political unity that had gripped the nation. Only a few years earlier, the Northeast had been the bastion of Federalist Party opposition to the Republican governments of the early nineteenth century. At one point, some Federalist leaders had even proposed secession from the United States. But now a Virginia Republican president had been greeted as a hero in the former Federalist strongholds. This book, published in 1820 (when Monroe ran virtually unopposed for reelection), is an account of the president's triumphant tour and a short account of his life— an early version of the now-familiar campaign biography. (© Collection of David J. and Janice L. Frent) threats. American politicians had dreamed since the first days of the republic of a time in which partisan divisions and factional disputes might come to an end. In the prosperous postwar years, Monroe attempted to use his office to realize that dream. He made that clear, above all, in the selection of his cabinet. For secretary of state, he chose the New Englander and former Federalist John Quincy Adams. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe had all served as secretary of state before becoming president; Adams, therefore, immediately became the heir apparent, suggesting that the "Virginia Dynasty" would soon come to an end. Speaker of the House Henry Clay declined an offer to be secretary of war, so Monroe named John C. Calhoun instead. In his other appointments, too, Monroe took pains to include both northerners and southerners, easterners and westerners, Federalists and Republicans. Soon after his inauguration, Monroe did what no president since Washington had done: he made a , goodwill tour through the counMonroe's t , t , , , f , Goodwill try' In New EnSland > so recently Tour the scene of rabid Federalist discontent, he was greeted everywhere with enthusiastic demonstrations. The Columbian Centinel, a Federalist newspaper in Boston, commenting on the "Presidential Jubilee" in that city, observed that an "era of good feelings" had arrived. And on the surface, at least, the years of Monroe's presidency did appear to be an "era of good feelings." In 1820, Monroe was reelected without opposition. For all practical

purposes, the Federalist Party had now ceased to exist. The End of the First Party System Ever since 1800, the presidency seemed to have been the special possession of Virginians. After two terms in office, Jefferson chose his secretary of state, James Madison of Virginia, to succeed him, and after two more terms, Madison secured the presidential nomination for his secretary of state, James Monroe, „ . r also of Virginia. Many in the North were Dynasty expressing impatience with the so-called . Virginia Dynasty, but the Republicans had no difficulty electing their candidate in the listless campaign of 1816. Monroe received 183 ballots in the electoral college; his Federalist opponent, Rufus King of New York, received only 34-from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. Monroe was sixty-one years old when he became president. In the course of his long career, he had served as a soldier in the Revolution, as a diplomat, and most recently as a cabinet officer. He entered office under what seemed to be remarkably favorable circumstances. With the decline of the Federalists, his party faced no serious opposition. With the conclusion of the War of 1812, the nation faced no important international John Quincy Adams and Florida Like his father, the second president, John Quincy Adams had spent much of his life in diplomatic service. Even before becoming secretary of state, he had become one of the great diplomats in American history. He was also a committed nationalist, and he considered his most important task to be the promotion of American expansion. Adams's first challenge as secretary of state was Florida. The United States had already annexed West Florida, but that claim remained in dispute. Most Americans believed the nation should gain possession of the entire peninsula. In 1817, Adams began negotiations with the Spanish minister, Luis de Onís, in hopes of resolving the dispute and gaining the entire territory for the United States. In the meantime, events were taking their own course in Florida. Andrew Jackson, now in command of American troops „ 0 along the Florida frontier, had orders from The Seminole „ & ^ „ War Secretary of War Calhoun to adopt the . necessary measures” to stop continuing raids on American territory by Seminole Indians south of the Florida border. Jackson used those orders as an excuse to



JAMES MONROE

President of the United States

TOUR  
OF  
JAMES MONROE,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
THROUGH THE  
NORTHERN AND EASTERN  
STATES, IN 1817.

WITH  
A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE,  
AND  
DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL NOTICES  
OF THE PRINCIPAL PLACES THROUGH  
WHICH HE PASSED.

BY  
J. PUTNAM WALDO, ESQ.  
Author of "Waldo's Travels," and "Waldo's History of the State of New York."

BARTFORD:  
PUBLISHED BY HENRY ANDERSON.  
1818.

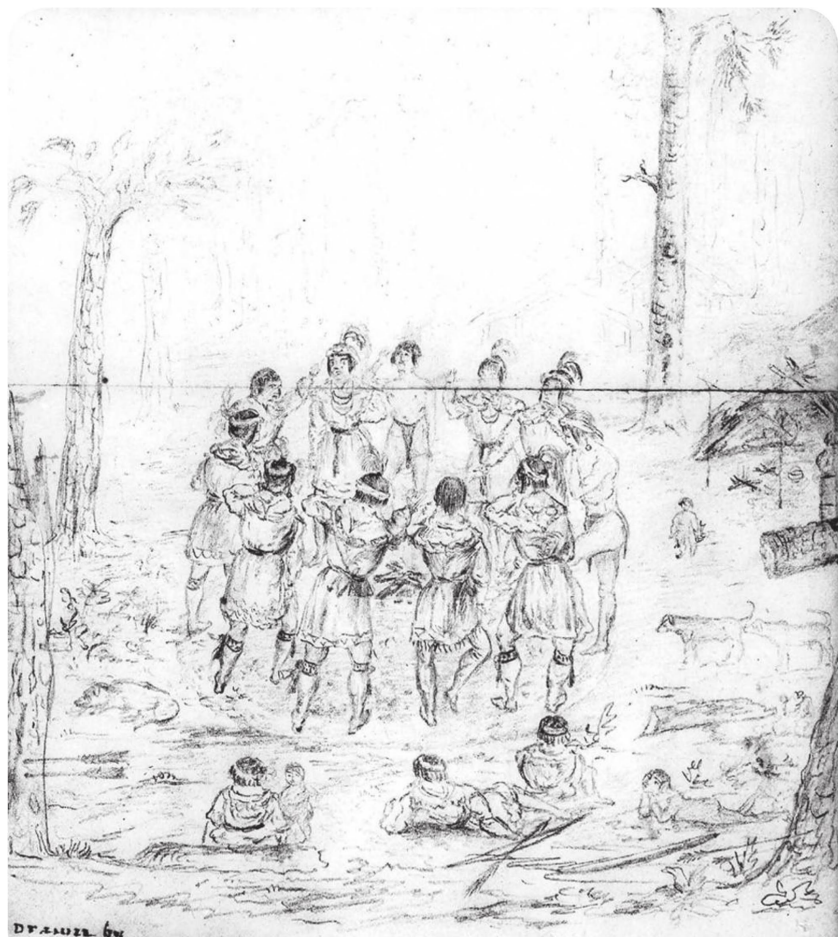
1838 drawing by a U.S. military officer portrays a dance by Seminole Indians near Fort Butler in Florida. It was made in the midst of the prolonged Second Seminole War, which ended in 1842 with the removal of most of the tribe from Florida to reservations west of the Mississippi. (© Huntington Library (HM 4021)/SuperStock) invade Florida, seize the Spanish forts at St. Marks and Pensacola, and order the hanging of two British subjects on the charge of supplying and inciting the Indians. The operation became known as the Seminole War. Instead of condemning Jackson's raid, Adams urged the government to assume responsibility for it. The United States, he told the Spanish, had the right under international law to defend itself against threats from across its borders. Since Spain was unwilling or unable to curb those threats, America had simply done what was necessary. Jackson's raid demonstrated to the Spanish that the United States could easily take Florida by force. Adams implied that the nation might consider doing so. Onís realized, therefore, that he had little choice but to come to terms with the Americans. Under the provisions of Adams-Onís Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, Spain Treaty ceded all of Florida to the United States . and gave up as well its claim to territory north of the 42nd parallel in the Pacific Northwest. In return, the American government gave up its claims to Texas. The Panic of 1819 But the Monroe administration had little time to revel in its diplomatic successes, for the nation was falling victim to a serious economic crisis: the Panic of 1819. It followed a period of high foreign demand for American farm goods and thus of exceptionally high prices for American farmers (all as a result of the disruption of European agriculture caused by the Napoleonic Wars). The rising prices for farm goods had stimulated a land boom in the western United States. Fueled by speculative investments, land prices soared. The availability of easy credit to settlers and speculators—from the government (under the land acts of 1800 and 1804), from state banks and wildcat banks, even for a time from the rechartered Bank of the United States—fueled the land boom. Beginning Boom and 1^19, however, new management at the gUST national bank began tightening credit, calling in loans, and foreclosing mortgages. This precipitated a series of failures by state banks. The result was a financial panic, which many Americans, particularly those in the

West, blamed on the national bank. Six years of depression followed and began a process that would eventually make the Bank's existence one of the nation's most burning political issues.

## SECTIONALISM AND NATIONALISM

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For a brief but alarming moment in 1819-1820, the increasing differences between the North and the South threatened the unity of the United States-until the Missouri Compromise temporarily averted a sectional crisis. The Missouri Compromise When Missouri applied for admission to the Union as a state in 1819, slavery was already well established there. Even so, Tallmadge Representative James Tallmadge Jr. of New Amendment York proposed an amendment to the Missouri statehood bill that would prohibit the further introduction of slaves into Missouri and provide for the gradual emancipation of those already there. The Tallmadge Amendment provoked a controversy that raged for the next two years. Since the beginning of the republic, partly by chance and partly by design, new states had come into the Union more or less in pairs, one from the North, another from the South. In 1819, there were eleven free states and eleven slave states; the admission of Missouri as a free state would upset that balance and increase the political power of the North over the South. Hence the controversy over slavery and freedom in Missouri. Complicating the Missouri question was the application of Maine (previously the northern part of Massachusetts) for admission as a new (and free) state. Speaker of Missouri Compromise House Henry Clay informed northern members that if they blocked Missouri from entering the Union as a slave state, southerners would block the admission of Maine. But Maine ultimately offered a way out of the impasse, as the Senate agreed to combine the Maine and Missouri proposals into a single bill. Maine would be admitted as a free state, Missouri as a slave state. Then



DEANER 6W

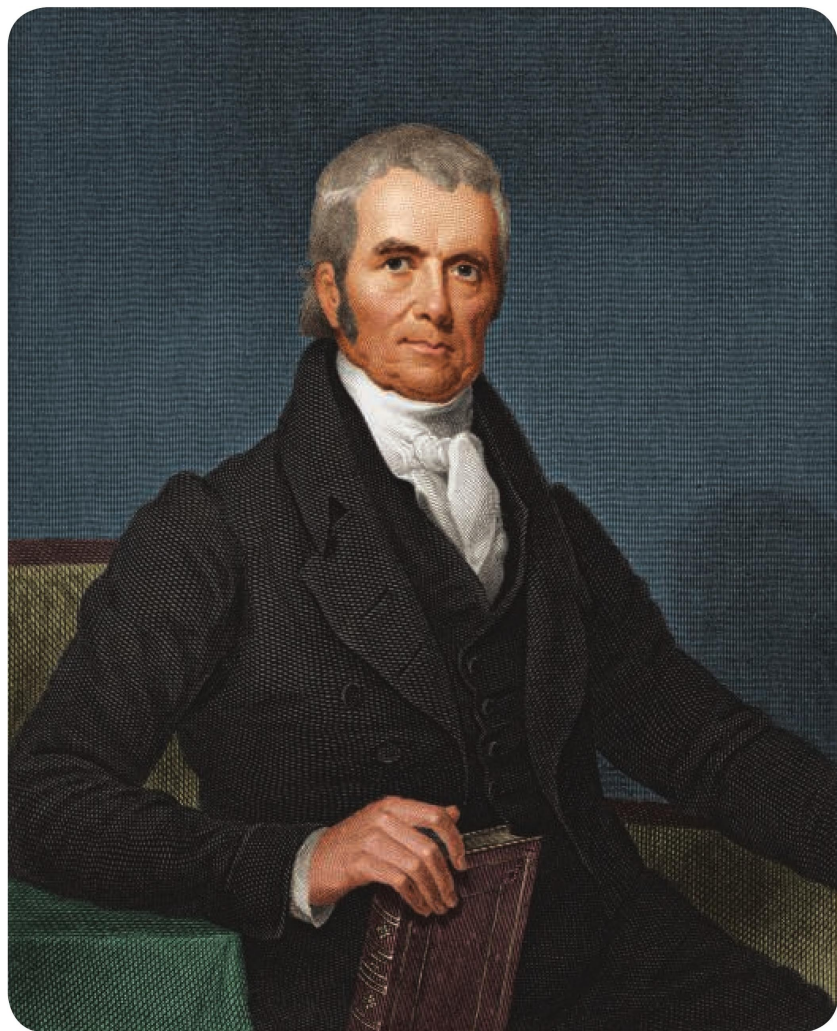
## VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM 223 THE

MISSOURI COMPROMISE, 1820 This map illustrates the way the Missouri Compromise proposed to settle the controversy over slavery in the new western territories of the United States. The compromise rested on the virtually simultaneous admission of Missouri and Maine to the Union, one a slave state and the other a free one. Note the red line extending beyond the southern border of Missouri, which in theory established a permanent boundary between areas in which slavery could be established and areas where it was banned. • What precipitated the Missouri Compromise? Senator Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois proposed an amendment prohibiting slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase territory north of the southern boundary of Missouri (the 36°30' parallel). Congress adopted the Thomas Amendment. Nationalists in both North and South hailed this settlement-which became known as the Missouri Compromise-as a happy resolution of a danger to the Union. But the debate over the bill had revealed a strong undercurrent of sectionalism that was competing with-although at the moment failing to derail-the powerful tides of nationalism. Marshall and the Court John Marshall served as chief Justice of the United States from 1801 to 1835, and he dominated the Court more fully than anyone else before or since. More than anyone but the framers themselves, he molded the development of the Constitution: strengthening the judicial branch at the expense of the executive and legislative branches, increasing the power of the federal government at the expense of the states, and advancing the interests of the propertied and commercial classes. Committed to promoting commerce, the Marshall Court staunchly defended the inviolability of contracts. In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), which arose out of a series of notorious land frauds in Georgia, Marshall held that a land grant was a valid contract and could not be repealed even if corruption was involved. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) further expanded Dartmouth's meaning of the contract clause of the Constitution. Having gained control of the Woodward New Hampshire state government. Republicans tried to revise Dartmouth's meaning of the contract clause of the Constitution. JOHN MARSHALL The imposing figure in this image is John Marshall, the most important chief justice of the Supreme Court in American history. A former secretary of state, Marshall served as chief justice

from 1801 until his death in 1835 at the age of eighty. Such was the power of his intellect and personality that he dominated his fellow justices throughout that period, regardless of their previous party affiliations or legal ideologies. Marshall established the independence of the Court, gave it a reputation for nonpartisan integrity, and established its powers, which were only vaguely defined by the Constitution. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images)







224 CHAPTER 8 College's charter (granted by King George III in 1769) to convert the private college into a state university. Daniel Webster, a Dartmouth graduate and brilliant orator, argued the college's case. The Dartmouth charter, he insisted, was a contract, protected by the same doctrine that the Court had already upheld in *Fletcher v. Peck*. Then, according to legend, he brought some of the justices to tears with an irrelevant passage that concluded: "It is, sir, ... a small college. And yet there are those who love it." The Court ruled for Dartmouth. The decision placed important restrictions on the ability of state governments to control corporations. In overturning the act of the legislature and the decisions of the New Hampshire courts, the justices also implicitly claimed for themselves the right to override the decisions of state courts. But advocates of states' rights, especially in the South, continued to challenge the Supreme Court's right to do so. In *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821), Marshall explicitly affirmed the constitutionality of federal review of state court decisions. The states had given up part of their sovereignty in ratifying the Constitution, he explained, and their courts must submit to federal jurisdiction; otherwise, the federal government would be powerless "at the feet of every state in the Union." Meanwhile, in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), Marshall confirmed the "implied powers" of Congress by upholding the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States. The Bank had become so unpopular in the South and the West that several of the states tried to drive branches out of business by outright prohibition or by confiscatory taxes. This case presented two constitutional questions: Could Congress charter a bank? And if so, could individual states ban it or tax it? Daniel Webster, one of the Bank's attorneys, argued that establishing such an institution came within the "necessary and proper" clause of the Constitution and that the power to tax involved a "power to destroy." If the states could tax the Bank at all, Webster said, they could "tax it to death." Marshall adopted Webster's words in deciding for the Bank. In the case of *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Court strengthened Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce. The state of New York had indirectly granted Aaron Ogden the business of carrying passengers across the river between New York and New Jersey. But Thomas Gibbons, with a license granted under an act of Congress, began competing with

Ogden for the ferry traffic. Ogden brought suit against him and won in the New York courts. Gibbons appealed to the Supreme Court. The most important question facing the justices was whether Congress's power to give Gibbons a license to operate his ferry superseded the state of New York's power to grant Ogden a monopoly. Marshall claimed that the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce (which, he said, included navigation) was "complete in itself" and might be "exercised to its utmost extent." Ogden's state-granted monopoly, therefore, was void. The decisions of the Marshall Court established the primacy of the federal government over the states in regulating the economy and opened the way for an increased federal role in promoting economic growth. They protected corporations and other private economic institutions from local government interference. They were, in short, highly nationalistic decisions, designed to promote the growth of a strong, unified, and economically developed United States. The Court and the Tribes The nationalist inclinations of the Marshall Court were visible as well in a series of decisions concerning the legal status of Indian tribes within the United States. But these decisions did not simply affirm the supremacy of the United States; they also carved out a distinctive position for Native Americans within the constitutional structure. The first of the crucial Indian decisions was in the case of *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823). Leaders of the Illinois and Pinckeshaw tribes had sold parcels of their land to a group of white settlers (including Johnson) but later signed a treaty with the federal government ceding territory that included those same parcels to the United States. The government proceeded to grant homestead rights to new white settlers (among them McIntosh) on the land claimed by Johnson. The Court was asked to decide which claim had precedence. Marshall's ruling, not surprisingly, favored the United States. But in explaining it, he offered a preliminary definition of the place of Indians within the nation. The tribes had a basic right to their tribal lands, he said, that preceded all other American law. Individual American citizens could not buy or take land from the tribes; only the federal government-the supreme authority-could do that. Even more important was the Court's 1832 decision in *Worcester v. Georgia*, in which the Court invalidated Georgia laws that attempted to regulate access by U.S. citizens to Cherokee country. Only the federal government could do that, Marshall claimed, thus

taking another important step in consolidating federal authority over the states (and Georgia over the tribes). In doing so, he further defined the nature of the Indian nations. The tribes, he explained, were sovereign entities in much the same way Georgia was a sovereign entity—"distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries within which their authority is exclusive." In defending the power of the federal government, he was also affirming, indeed expanding, the rights of the tribes to remain free from the authority of state governments. The Marshall decisions, therefore, did what the Constitution itself had not done: they defined a place for Indian tribes within the American political system. The tribes had basic property rights. They were sovereign entities not subject to the authority of state governments. But the federal government, like a "guardian" governing its "ward," had ultimate authority over tribal affairs—even if that authority was, according to the Court, limited by the government's obligation to protect Indian welfare. These provisions were seldom enough to defend Indians from the steady westward march of white civilization, but they formed the basis of what few legal protections they had. Establishing Federal Primacy

The Latin American Revolution and the Monroe Doctrine Americans looking southward in the years following the War of 1812 beheld a gigantic spectacle: the Spanish Empire in its death throes, a whole continent in revolt, new Revolution in Latin America nations in the making. Already the United States had developed a profitable trade with Latin America and was rivaling Great Britain as the principal trading nation there. Many Americans believed the success of the anti-Spanish revolutions would further strengthen America's position in the region. In 1815, the United States proclaimed neutrality in the wars between Spain and its rebellious colonies, implying a partial recognition of the rebels' status as nations. Moreover, the United States sold ships and supplies to the revolutionaries, a clear indication that it was not genuinely neutral but was trying to help the insurgents. Finally, in 1822, President Monroe established diplomatic relations with five new nations-La Plata (later Argentina), Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico-making the United States the first country to recognize them. In 1823, Monroe went further and announced a policy that would ultimately be known (beginning some thirty years later) as the "Monroe Doctrine," even though it was primarily the work of John Quincy Adams. "The American Doctrine continents," Monroe declared, ". . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The United States would consider any foreign challenge to the sovereignty of existing American nations an unfriendly act. At the same time, he proclaimed, "Our policy in regard to Europe ... is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers." The Monroe Doctrine emerged directly out of America's relations with Europe in the 1820s. Many Americans feared that Spain's European allies (notably France) would assist Spain in an

CHEROKEE LEADER SEQUOYAH Sequoyah (who also used the name George Guess) was a mixed-blood Cherokee who translated his tribe's language into writing through an elaborate syllabary (equivalent to an alphabet) of his own invention, pictured here. He opposed Indian assimilation into white society and saw the preservation of the Cherokee language as a way to protect the culture of his tribe. He moved to Arkansas in the 1820s and became a chief of the western Cherokee tribes. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

effort to 11 ' 111 ' ' ' retake its lost empire. Even more troubling to Adams (and many other Americans) was the fear that Great Britain had designs on Cuba. Adams wanted to keep Cuba in Spanish hands until it fell (as he believed it ultimately would) to the Americans. The Monroe Doctrine had few immediate effects, but it was important as an expression of the growing spirit of nationalism in the United States in the 1820s. And it established the idea " > ■' 1 jgL Z Jt1 ^ fit » ■ . /' . \* i r t ^ I /ij 4 - \* /l, jzfL\* i t ' \* 'M \*»■'\*\*\*- ^ — - - \*7\*\*~m?\ I \* , > ' \* <0 \_ \_ \_ \_ ^ . .rfi i i THE MONROE DOCTRINE On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe delivered his seventh annual message to Congress. In it, he outlined an important part of his foreign policy that subsequently became known as the "Monroe Doctrine." Monroe declared that henceforth any attempt by a European power to colonize any part of the "American continents" would be viewed as an "unfriendly act" toward the United States. (© Everett Collection Historical/Alamy)

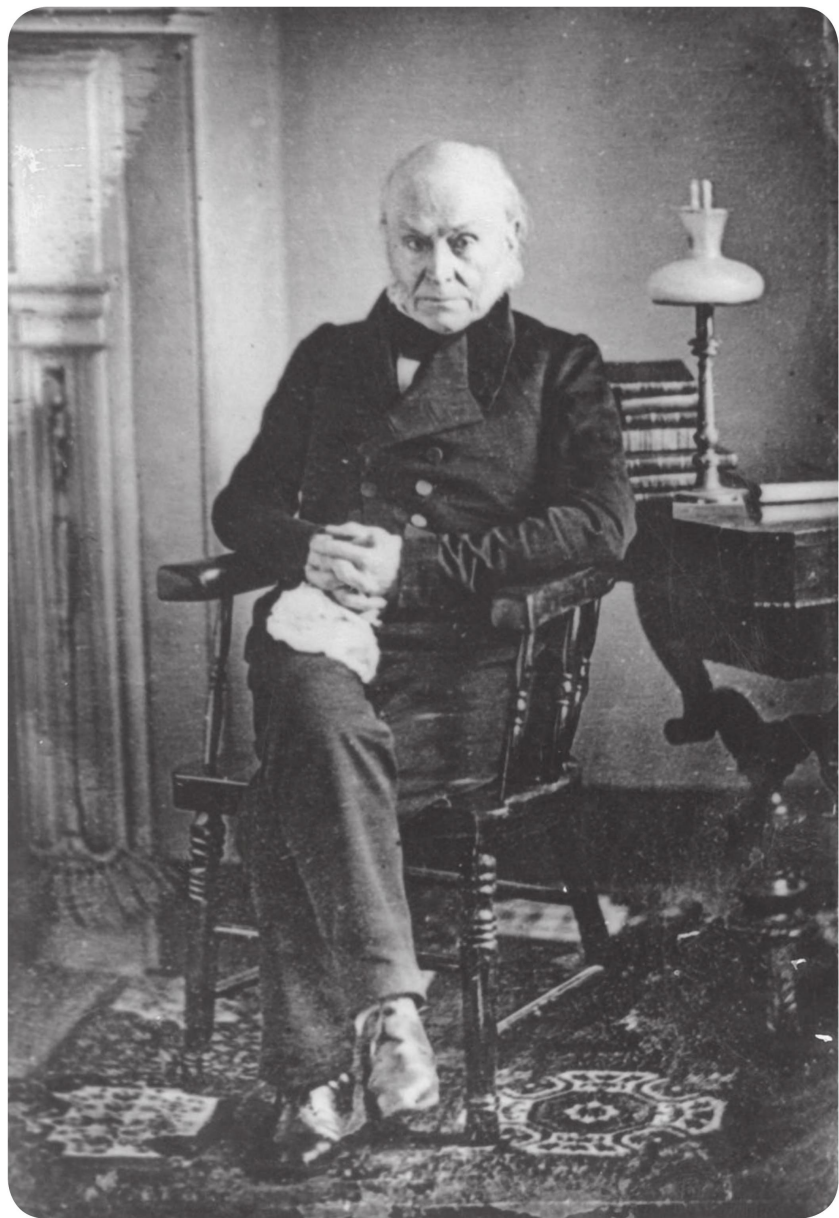


226 CHAPTER 8 of the United States as the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere. THE REVIVAL OF OPPOSITION After 1816, the Federalist Party offered no presidential candidate and soon ceased to exist as a national political force. The Republican Party (which considered itself not a party but an organization representing the whole of the population) was the only organized force in national politics. By the late 1820s, however, partisan divisions were emerging once again. In some respects, the division mirrored the schism that had produced the first party system in the 1790s. XT The Republicans had in many ways come New Political \ 1 1 1 7 7 Divisions t0 resem> le the early Federalist regimes in . their promotion of economic growth and centralization. And the opposition, like the opposition in the 1790s, objected to the federal government's expanding role in the economy. There was, however, a crucial difference. At the beginning of the century, the opponents of centralization had also often been opponents of economic growth. Now, in the 1820s, the controversy involved not whether but how the nation should continue to expand. The "Corrupt Bargain" Until 1820, when the Federalist Party effectively ceased operations and James Monroe ran for reelection unopposed, presidential candidates were nominated by End of the 7 Caucus System caucuses of the two parties in Congress. . But in the presidential election of 1824, "King Caucus" was overthrown. The Republican caucus nominated William H. Crawford of Georgia, the secretary of the treasury and the favorite of the extreme states' rights faction of the party. But other candidates received nominations from state legislatures and won endorsements from irregular mass meetings throughout the country. One of them was Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, who held the office that was the traditional stepping-stone to the presidency. But as he himself ruefully understood, he was a man of cold and forbidding manners, with little popular appeal. Another contender was Henry Clay, the Speaker of the House. He had a devoted personal following and a definite and coherent program: the "American System," which proposed creating a great home market for factory and farm producers by raising the protective tariff, strengthening the national bank, and financing internal improvements. Andrew Jackson, the fourth major candidate, had no significant political record-even though he had served briefly as a



representative in Congress and was now a new member of the U.S. Senate. But he was a military hero and had the help of shrewd political allies from his home state of Tennessee. Jackson received more popular and electoral votes than any other candidate, but not a majority. He had 99 electoral votes to Adams's 84, Crawford's 41, and Clay's 37. The Twelfth JOHN QUINCY ADAMS This photograph of the former president was taken shortly before his death in 1848 at the age of eighty— almost twenty years after he had left the White House— when he was serving as a congressman from Massachusetts. During his years as president, he was— as he had been throughout his life— an intensely disciplined and hardworking man. He rose at four in the morning and made a long entry in his diary for the previous day. He wrote so much that his right hand at times became paralyzed with writer's cramp, so he taught himself to write with his left hand as well. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Election of 1824 iiii  
Amendment to the Constitution (passed in the aftermath of the contested 1800 election) required the House of Representatives to choose among the three candidates with the largest numbers of electoral votes. Crawford was by then seriously ill and not a plausible candidate. Clay was out of the running, but he was in a strong position to influence the result. Jackson was Clay's most formidable political rival in the West, so Clay supported Adams, in part because, alone among the candidates, Adams was an ardent nationalist and a likely supporter of the American System. With Clay's endorsement, Adams won election in the House. The Jacksonians believed their large popular and electoral pluralities entitled their candidate to the presidency, and they were enraged when he lost. But they grew angrier still when Adams named Clay his secretary of state. The State Department was the well-established route to the presidency, and Adams thus appeared to be naming Clay as his own successor. The



VARIETIES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM 227 outrage the Jacksonians expressed at what they called a "corrupt bargain" haunted Adams throughout his presidency. The Second President Adams Throughout Adams's term in the White House, the political bitterness arising from the "corrupt bargain" charges thoroughly frustrated his policies. Adams proposed an ambitiously nationalist program reminiscent of Clay's American System. But Jacksonians in Congress blocked most of it. Adams also experienced diplomatic frustrations. He appointed delegates to an international conference that the Venezuelan liberator, Simon Bolivar, had called in Panama in 1826. But Haiti was one of the participating nations, and southerners in Congress opposed the idea of white Americans mingling with the black delegates. Congress delayed approving the Panama mission so long that the American delegation did not arrive until after the conference was over. Adams also lost a contest with the state of Georgia, which wished to remove the remaining Creek and Cherokee Indians from the state to gain additional soil for cotton planters. The U.S. government, in a 1791 treaty, had guaranteed that land to the Creeks; but in 1825, white Georgians had extracted a new treaty from William McIntosh, the leader of one faction in the tribe and a longtime advocate of Indian cooperation with the United States. Adams believed the new treaty had no legal force, since McIntosh clearly did not represent the wishes of the tribe; and he refused to enforce the treaty, setting up a direct conflict between the president and the state. The governor of Georgia defied the president and proceeded with plans for Indian removal. Adams found no way to stop him. Even more damaging to the administration was its support for a new tariff on imported goods in 1828. This measure originated with the demands of Massachusetts Tariff of Abominations and Rhode Island woolen manufacturers, who complained that the British were dumping textiles on the American market at artificially low prices. But to win support from middle and western states, the administration had to accept duties on other items. In the process, it antagonized the original New England supporters of the bill; the benefits of protecting their manufactured goods from foreign competition now had to be weighed against the prospects of having to pay more for raw materials. Adams signed the bill, earning the animosity of southerners, who cursed it as the "tariff of abominations." Jackson

Triumphant By the time of the 1828 presidential election, a new two-party system had begun to emerge out of the divisions among the Republicans. On one side stood the supporters of John Quincy Adams, who called themselves the National Republicans and who supported the economic nationalism of the preceding years. Opposing them were the followers of Andrew Jackson, who took the name Democratic Republicans and who called for an assault on privilege and a widening of opportunity. i Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%) Andrew Jackson 178 642,553 (Democrat) (56) John Quincy Adams 83 500,897 (National Republican) (44) THE ELECTION OF 1828 As this map shows, Andrew Jackson's victory over John Quincy Adams was one of the most decisive in American history for a challenger facing an incumbent president. • What accounts for this decisive repudiation of President Adams? Adams attracted the support of most of the remaining Federalists; Jackson appealed to a broad coalition that opposed the "economic aristocracy." But issues seemed to count for little in the end, as the campaign degenerated into a war of personal invective. The Jacksonians charged that Adams as president had been guilty of gross waste and extravagance and had used public funds to buy gambling devices (a chess set and a billiard table) for the White House. Adams's supporters hurled even worse accusations at Jackson. They called him a murderer and distributed a "coffin handbill," which listed, within coffin-shaped outlines, the names of militiamen whom Jackson was said to have shot in cold blood during the War of 1812. (The men had been deserters who were legally executed after sentence by a court-martial.) And they called his wife a bigamist. Jackson had married his beloved Rachel at a time when the pair incorrectly believed her first husband had divorced her. (When Jackson's wife first read of the accusations against her shortly after the election, she collapsed and, a few weeks later, died; not without reason, Jackson blamed his opponents for her death.) Jackson's victory was decisive, but sectional. He won 56 percent of the popular vote and an electoral majority of 178 votes to 83. Adams swept virtually all of triumphant New England and showed significant . strength in the mid-Atlantic region. Nevertheless, the Jacksonians considered their victory as complete and as important as Jefferson's in 1800. Once again, the forces of privilege had been driven from Washington. Once

1228 CHAPTER 8 again, a champion of democracy would occupy the White House and restore liberty to the people and to the economy. America had entered, some Jacksonians claimed, a new era of democracy, the "age of the common man." LOOKING BACK  
In the aftermath of the War of 1812, a vigorous nationalism came increasingly to characterize the political and popular culture of the United States. In all regions of the country, white men and women celebrated the achievements of the early leaders of the republic, the genius of the Constitution, and the success of the nation in withstanding serious challenges from both without and within. Party divisions faded to the point that James Monroe, the fifth president, won reelection in 1820 without opposition. But the broad nationalism of the so-called era of good feelings disguised some deep divisions within the United States. Indeed, the character of American nationalism differed substantially from one region, and one group, to another. Battles continued between those who favored a strong central government committed to advancing the economic development of the nation and those who wanted a decentralization of power to open opportunity to more people. Battles continued as well over the role of slavery in American life—and in particular over the place of slavery in the new western territories that the United States was rapidly populating (and wresting from the tribes). The Missouri Compromise of 1820 postponed the day of reckoning on that issue—but only for a time, as Andrew Jackson would discover soon after becoming president in 1829.

Terms/People/Places/Events Adams-Onís Treaty 222  
American System 226 Factor system 218 Francis Cabot Lowell 216  
Gibbons v. Ogden 224 Henry Clay 226 John Quincy Adams 226  
McCulloch v. Maryland 224 Missouri Compromise 222 Monroe  
Doctrine 225 Seminole War 221 Stephen H. Long 220 Tallmadge  
Amendment 222 RECALL AND REFLECT 1. How did the War of  
1812 stimulate the national economy? 2. What were the reasons for  
the rise of sectional differences in this era? What attempts were  
made to resolve these differences? How successful were those  
attempts? 3. Why was the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed? 4. What  
was the significance of Andrew Jackson's victory in the election of  
1828? SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1815 U.S. signs treaties with tribes  
taking western lands from Indians Monroe elected president 1818

Jackson invades Florida, ends first Seminole War 1816 Second Bank of the United States chartered Commercial panic destabilizes economy 1819 Spain cedes Florida to United States in Adams-OnT's Treaty Supreme Court hears Dartmouth College v. Woodward and McCulloch v. Maryland 1820 Missouri Compromise enacted O Monroe reelected president without opposition - 1821 O \_ \_ . \_ . Mexico achieves independence from Spain 1823 \_ O Monroe Doctrine proclaimed Supreme Court rules in Gibbons v. Ogden 1824 John Quincy Adams wins disputed presidential election 1828 "Tariff of abominations" passed Andrew Jackson elected president

## 91 JACKSONIAN I AMERICA LOOKING AHEAD

1. How did the electorate expand during the Jacksonian era, and what were the limits of that expansion? 2. What events fed the growing tension between nationalism and states' rights, and what were the arguments on both sides of that issue? 3. What was the Second Party System, and how did its emergence and rise change national politics? THE VERDICT OF THE PEOPLE (1855), BY GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM This scene of an election-day gathering is peopled almost entirely by white men. Women and African Americans were barred from voting, but political rights expanded substantially in the 1830s and 1840s among white males. (© Courtesy of The Saint Louis Art Museum)



SETTING THE STAGE DURING THE YEARS OF ECONOMIC AND TERRITORIAL expansion in the early nineteenth century, Americans pondered the future of their democracy. Some feared that the nation's rapid growth would produce social chaos and insisted that the country's first priority must be to establish order and a clear system of authority. Others argued that the greatest danger facing the nation was privilege and that society's goal should be to eliminate the favored status of powerful elites and make opportunity more widely available. Advocates of this latter vision won control of the federal government in 1829 with the inauguration of Andrew Jackson. The "democratization" of government over which Andrew Jackson presided was accompanied by a lofty rhetoric of equality and aroused the excitement of working people. But Jackson and his followers were not egalitarians. They accepted economic inequality and social gradation. Jackson himself was a frontier aristocrat, and most of those who served him were people of wealth and standing. They were not, however, usually aristocrats by birth. They had, they believed, risen to prominence on the basis of their own talents and energies, and their goal in public life was to ensure that others like themselves would have the opportunity to do the same. For these national leaders the purpose of democratization was not primarily to aid farmers and laborers or to assist the disenfranchised: African Americans (both slave and free), women, and Native Americans. It was, rather, to challenge the power of eastern elites for the sake of the rising entrepreneurs of the South and the West.

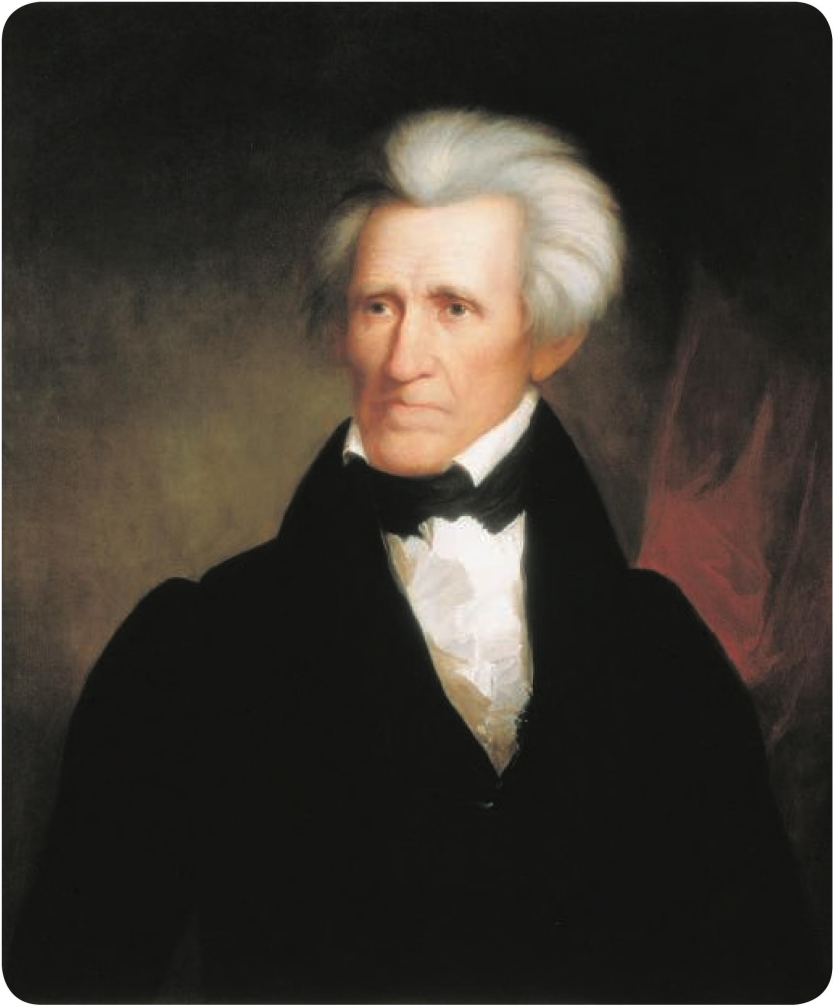
THE RISE OF MASS POLITICS On March 4, 1829, an unprecedented throng—thousands of Americans from all regions of the country, including farmers, laborers, and others of modest social rank—crowded before the Capitol in , Washington, D.C., to witness the inauguration of Andrew Jackson. After the Inauguration ceremonies, the boisterous crowd poured down Pennsylvania Avenue, following their hero to the White House. There, at a public reception open to all, they filled the state rooms to overflowing, trampling one another, soiling the carpets, ruining elegantly upholstered sofas and chairs in their eagerness to shake the new president's hand, "It was a proud day for the people," wrote Amos Kendall, one of Jackson's closest political associates. "General Jackson is their own President." To other observers, however, the scene was less appealing. Justice of the



Supreme Court Joseph Story, a friend and colleague of John Marshall, looked on the inaugural levee, as it was called, and remarked with disgust: "The reign of King 'Mob' seems triumphant." The Emergence of Andrew Jackson Jackson, one of the most powerful presidents of the nineteenth century, was born in 1767 to modest parents. They had moved from Ireland two years before Andrew was born in a small village in the Carolinas. At the age of thirteen, he was captured by the British during the American Revolution. When Jackson refused to clean the boots of a British officer, the officer cut Jackson with a sword, leaving him with scars and an enduring hatred of the British. As he became older, Jackson received only sporadic education and worked in various shops and on farms. As a young man, he studied law and was admitted to the bar. Most of Jackson's early legal work involved disputed land-claims of which he soon tired. He was elected as a delegate to the Tennessee constitutional convention in 1796 and, later that same year, became a U.S. congressman. In 1797, he went on to become a U.S. senator but resigned within a year. In 1798, he was appointed a Judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court, a position he held until 1804. Gradually, Jackson prospered as planter and merchant. He also bought slaves to help his growing plantation. In 1804, he acquired an elegant home, the Hermitage, a large plantation in Davidson County, near Nashville. In time, he had one of the largest plantations in the state with up to 300 slaves. 230

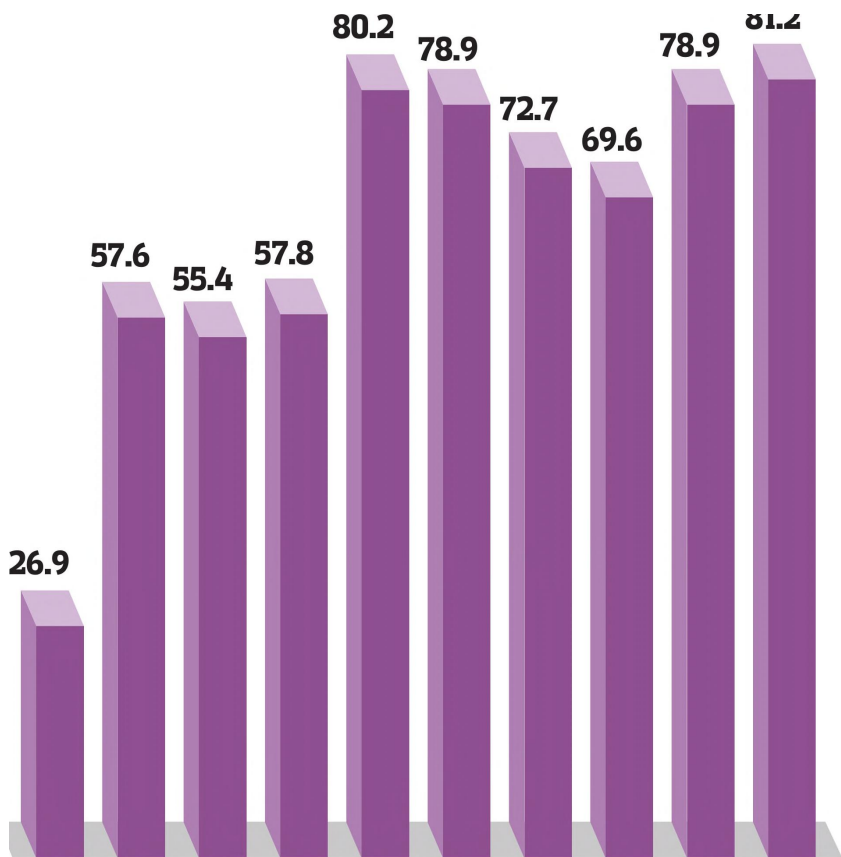
JACKSONIAN AMERICA 231 Jackson Joined the Tennessee militia in 1801 and in the next year was elected major general. He fought Indians in Alabama and Georgia. In the War of 1812, he fought against Britain. When the British threatened New Orleans, Jackson took command. In the Battle of New Orleans, his soldiers won a decisive victory over the British that ensured New Orleans would be part of the United States. He developed the reputation for being as "tough as old hickory" and thus earned the nickname "Old Hickory." Jackson left the war with many people calling for him to run for president of the United States. Expanding Democracy What some have called the "age of Jackson" did not much advance the cause of economic equality. The distribution of wealth and property in America was little different at the end of the Jacksonian era than it had been at the start. But it did mark a transformation of American politics that widely extended to new groups the right to vote. Until the 1820s, relatively few Americans had been permitted to vote. Most states restricted the franchise to white males „ who were property owners or taxpayers or Broadening l l , , the Franchise both, effectively barring an enormous num. her of the less affluent from the voting rolls. But beginning even before Jackson's election, the rules governing voting began to expand. Changes came first in Ohio and other new states of the West, which, on joining the Union, adopted constitutions that guaranteed all adult white males the right to vote and gave all voters the right to hold public office. Older states, concerned about the loss of their population to the West and thinking that extending the franchise might encourage some residents to stay, began to grant similar political rights to their citizens, dropping or reducing their property ownership or taxpaying requirements. Eventually, every state democratized its electorate to some degree, although some much later and less fully than others. Change provoked resistance, and at times the democratic trend fell short of the aims of the radical reformers, as when Massachusetts held its constitutional convention in 1820. Reform-minded delegates complained that in the Massachusetts government the rich were better represented than the poor, both because of restrictions on voting and officeholding and because of a peculiar system by which members of the state senate represented property rather than simply people. But Daniel Webster, one of the conservative delegates, opposed democratic changes on the grounds

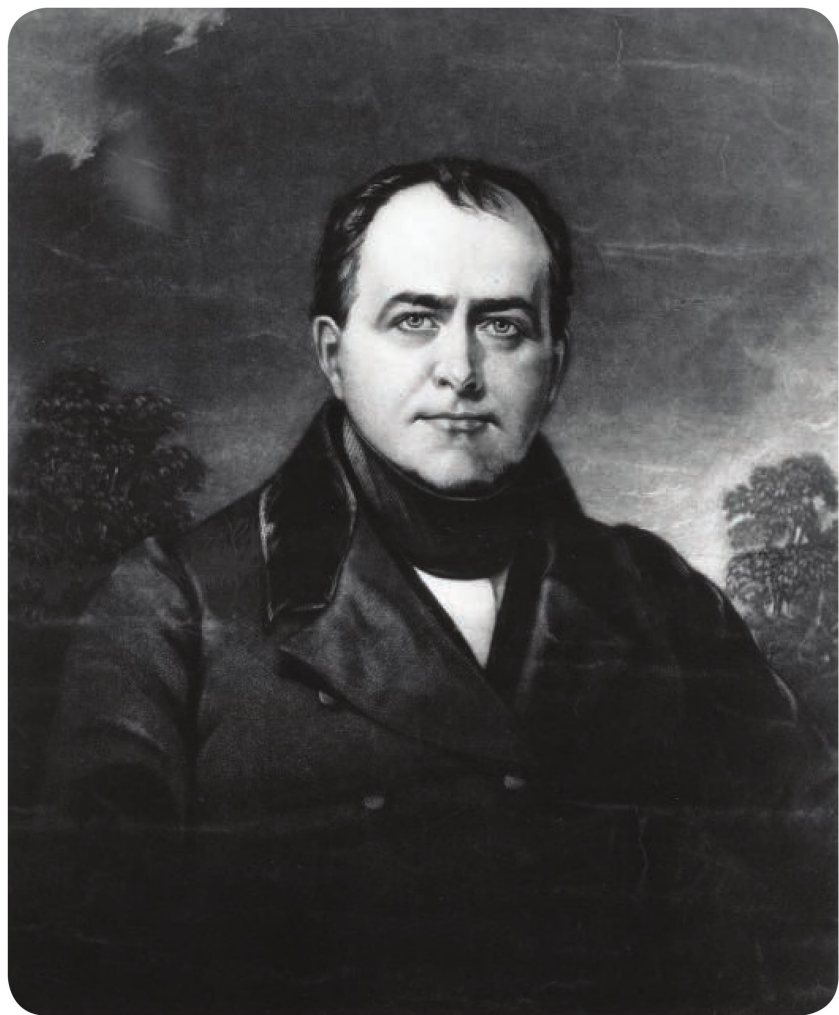
that "power naturally and necessarily follows property" and that "property as such should have its weight and influence in political arrangement." Webster and the rest of the conservatives could not prevent the reform of the rules for representation in the state senate; nor could they prevent elimination of the property requirement for voting. But, to the dismay of the radicals, the new constitution required that every voter be a taxpayer and that the governor be the owner of considerable real estate. More often, however, the forces of democratization prevailed in the states. In the New York convention of 1821, for ANDREW JACKSON This stern portrait suggests something of the fierce determination that characterized Andrew Jackson's military and political careers. Shattered by the death of his wife a few weeks after his election as president— a death he blamed (not without reason) on the attacks his political opponents had leveled at her— he entered office with a steely determination to live by his own principles and give no quarter to his adversaries. (© Collection of the New-York Historical Society, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library) example, conservatives led by James Kent insisted that a taxpaying requirement for suffrage was not enough and that, at least in the election of state senators, the property qualification should survive. But reformers, citing the Declaration of Independence, maintained that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, not property, were the main concerns of society and government. The property qualification was abolished. The wave of state reforms was generally peaceful, but in Rhode Island democratization efforts created considerable instability. The Rhode Island constitution (still basically the old colonial charter) barred more than half the adult males of the state from voting. The conservative legislature, chosen by this restricted electorate, consistently blocked all efforts at reform. In 1840, the lawyer and activist Thomas W. Dorr and a group The Dorr ^is Flowers f^rmed a "People's Party," Rebellion held a convention, drafted a new constitution, and submitted it to a popular vote. It was overwhelmingly approved. The existing legislature, however, refused to accept the Dorr document and submitted a new constitution of its own to the voters. It was narrowly defeated. The Dorrites, in the meantime, had begun to set up a new government, under their own constitution, with Dorr as governor; and so, in 1842, two governments were claiming



232 CHAPTER 9 Percentage 1824 1828 1832 1836 1840  
1844 1848 1852 1856 1860 Year PARTICIPATION IN  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1824-1860 This chart reveals the  
remarkable increase in popular participation in presidential  
elections in the years after 1824. Participation almost doubled  
between 1824 and 1828, and it increased substantially again  
beginning in 1840 and continuing through and beyond the Civil  
War. • What accounts for this dramatic expansion of the electorate?  
Who remained outside the voting population in these years?  
legitimacy in Rhode Island. The old state government proclaimed  
that Dorr and his followers were rebels and began to imprison  
them. Meanwhile, the Dorrites made a brief and ineffectual effort to  
capture the state arsenal. The Dorr Rebellion, as it was known,  
quickly failed. Dorr himself surrendered and was briefly  
imprisoned. But the episode helped pressure the old guard to draft a  
new constitution, which greatly expanded the suffrage. The  
democratization process was far from complete. In much of the  
South, election laws continued to favor the planters and politicians  
of the older counties and to limit the influence of newly settled  
western areas. Slaves, of course, were disenfranchised by definition;  
they were not considered citizens and were believed to have no  
legal or political rights. Free blacks could vote nowhere in the  
South and hardly anywhere in the North. Pennsylvania, in fact,  
amended its state constitution in 1838 to strip African Americans of  
the right to vote they had previously enjoyed. In no state could  
women vote. Nowhere was the ballot secret, and often voters had to  
cast a spoken vote rather than a written one, which meant that  
political bosses could, and often did, bribe and intimidate them.  
Despite the persisting limitations, however, the number of voters  
increased far more rapidly than did the population as a whole.  
Indeed, one of the most striking political trends of the early  
nineteenth century was the change in the method of THE DORR  
REBELLION The democratic sentiments that swept much of the  
nation in the 1830s and 1840s led to, among many other events, the  
Dorr Rebellion (as its opponents termed it) in Rhode Island. Thomas  
Dorr was one of many Rhode Islanders who denounced the state's  
constitution, which limited voting rights to a small group of  
property owners known as "freeholders." (Encyclopaedia Britannica/  
© UIG/The Bridgeman Art Library) Democratic choosing

presidential electors and the dramatic increase in popular participation in the process. In 1800, the legislature had chosen the presidential electors in ten of the states, and the people in only six. By 1828, electors were chosen by popular vote in every state but South Carolina. In the presidential election of 1824, less than 27 percent of adult white males had voted. In the election of 1828, the figure rose to 58 percent, and in 1840 to 80 percent. Tocqueville and Democracy in America The rapid growth of the electorate-and the emergence of political parties-were among the most striking events of the early nineteenth century. As the right to vote spread widely in these years, it came to be the mark of freedom and democracy. One of the most important commentaries on this extraordinary moment in American life was a book by a French aristocrat, Alexis de Tocqueville. He spent two years in the United States in the 1830s watching the dramatic political changes in the age of Andrew Jackson. The French government had requested him to make a study of American prisons, which were thought to be more humane and effective institutions than prisons in Europe.







## JACKSONIAN AMERICA 233 LES KEPRESHtAHS

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liroiiny Hu Lhuys \_ Puisst? Is (wat Innjourns a la mun 3 Jiirt wir dalr  
iilitie. 1e:. ipfirmi trlmTigerei ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE Renowned  
French printmaker and lithographer Honore Daumier created this  
caricature of Alexis de Tocqueville in 1849. Tocqueville, also a  
Frenchman, traveled throughout the United States for two years in  
the 1830s witnessing the extraordinary growth of the U.S.  
electorate. In his famous book *Democracy in America*, he examined  
and analyzed the political, cultural, and social life of the United  
States. His work strongly influenced how many in France and the  
rest of Europe would understand the young country's experience of  
its emerging democracy. (© Sterling and Francine Clark Art  
Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, USA/The Bridgeman Art  
Library) But Tocqueville quickly went far beyond the study of  
prisons and wrote a classic study of American life, titled *Democracy  
in America*. Tocqueville examined not just the politics of the United  
States, but also the daily lives of many groups of Americans and  
their cultures, their associations, and their visions of democracy. In  
France in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the fruits of  
democracy were largely restricted to landowners and aristocrats.  
But Tocqueville recognized that traditional aristocracies were  
rapidly fading in America and that new elites could rise and fall no  
matter what their backgrounds. Tocqueville also realized that the  
rising democracy of America had many limits. Democracy was a  
powerful, visible force in the lives of most white men. Few women  
could vote, although some shared the democratic ethos through  
their families. For many other Americans, democracy was a distant  
hope. Tocqueville wrote of the limits of equality and democracy: ...  
he first who attracts the eye, the first in enlightenment, in power  
and in happiness, is the white man, the European, man par  
excellence; below him appear the Negro and the Indian. These two  
unfortunate races have neither birth, nor face, nor language, nor  
mores in common; only their misfortunes look alike. Both occupy  
an equally inferior position in the country that they inhabit; both  
experience the effects of tyranny; and if their miseries are different,  
they can accuse the same author for them. Tocqueville's book  
helped spread the idea of American democracy into France and  
other European nations. Only later did it become widely read and

studied in the United States as a remarkable portrait of the emerging democracy of the United States. The Legitimization of Party The high level of voter participation was only partly the result of an expanded electorate. It was also the result of a growing interest in politics and a strengthening of party organization and, perhaps equally important, party loyalty. Although party competition was part of American politics almost from the beginning of the republic, acceptance of the idea of party was not. For more than thirty years, most Americans who had opinions about the nature of government considered parties evils to be avoided and thought the nation should seek a broad consensus in which permanent factional lines would not exist. But in the 1820s and 1830s, those assumptions gave way to a new view: that permanent, institutionalized parties were a desirable part of the political process, that indeed they were essential to democracy. The elevation of the idea of party occurred first at the state level, most prominently in New York State. There Martin Van Buren led a dissident political faction (known as the "Bucktails" or the "Albany Regency"). In the years after the War of 1812, this group began to challenge the established political leadership-led by the aristocratic governor De Witt Clinton-that had dominated the state for years. Factional rivalries were not new, of course. But the nature of Van Buren's challenge was. Refuting the traditional view of a political party as undemocratic, they argued that only an institutionalized party, based in the populace at large, could ensure genuine democracy. The alternative was the sort of closed elite that Clinton had created. In the new kind of party the Bucktails proposed, ideological commitments would be less important than loyalty to the party itself. Preservation of the party as an institution-through the use of favors, rewards, and patronage-would be the principal goal of the leadership. Above all, for a party to survive, it must have a permanent opposition. Competing parties would give each political faction a sense of purpose; they would force politicians to remain continually attuned to the will of the people; and they would check and balance each other in much the same way that the different branches of government checked and balanced one another. By the late 1820s, this new idea of party was spreading beyond New York. The election of Jackson in 1828, the result of a popular movement that seemed to stand apart from the usual political elites, seemed further to legitimize the idea of The Second

Party as a popular, democratic institution. Party System "Parties of some sort must exist," said a New York newspaper. "Tis in the nature and genius of our government." Finally, in the 1830s, a fully

I , DEBATING THE PAST /ft . ar The "Age of Jackson" | -p ^

many Americans in the 1820s and 1830s, Andrew Jackson was a champion of democracy, 1 \J a symbol of a spirit of anti-elitism and egalitarianism that was sweeping American life. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, however, historians have disagreed sharply not only in their assessments of Jackson himself, but also in their portrayal of American society in his era. The "progressive" historians of the early twentieth century tended to see the politics of Jackson and his supporters as a forerunner of their own generation's battles against economic privilege and political corruption. Frederick Jackson Turner encouraged scholars to see Jacksonianism as the product of the democratic West: a protest by the people of the frontier against the conservative aristocracy of the East, which they believed restricted their own freedom and opportunity. Jackson represented those who wanted to make government responsive to the will of the people rather than to the power of special interests. The culmination of this progressive interpretation of Jacksonianism was the publication in 1945 of Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s *The Age of Jackson*. Less interested in the regional basis of Jacksonianism than Turner's disciples had been, Schlesinger argued that Jacksonian democracy was an effort "to control the power of the capitalist groups, mainly Eastern, for the benefit of non-capitalist groups, farmers and laboring men, East, West, and South." He portrayed Jacksonianism as an early version of modern reform efforts to "restrain the power of the business community." Richard Hofstadter, in an influential essay in his 1948 book *The American Political Tradition*, sharply disagreed. Jackson, he argued, was the spokesman of rising entrepreneurs— aspiring businessmen who saw the road to opportunity blocked by the monopolistic power of eastern (The Library of Congress (3g06446u)) formed two-party system began to operate at the national level, with each party committed to its own existence as an institution and willing to accept the legitimacy of its opposition. The anti-Jackson forces began to call themselves Whigs. Jackson's followers called themselves Democrats (no longer Democratic Republicans), thus giving a permanent name to what is now the nation's oldest political party. "President of the Common Man" Unlike Thomas Jefferson, Jackson was no democratic philosopher. The Democratic Party, much less than Jefferson's Republicans,

embraced no clear or uniform ideological position. But Jackson himself did embrace a distinct, if simple, theory of democracy. It should offer "equal protection and equal benefits" to all its white male citizens and favor no region or class over another. In practice, that meant an assault on what Jackson and his associates considered the citadels of the eastern aristocracy and an effort to extend opportunities to the rising classes of the West and the South. It also meant a firm commitment to the continuing subjugation of African Americans and Indians (and, although for different reasons, women), for the Jacksonians believed that only by keeping these "dangerous" elements from the body politic could the white-male democracy they valued be preserved. Jackson's first targets were the entrenched officeholders in the federal government, many of whom had been in place for a generation or more. Official duties, he believed, could be made "so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." Offices belonged to the people, he argued, not to the entrenched officeholders. Or, as one of his henchmen, William L. Marcy of New York, cynically put it, "To the victors belong the spoils." In the end, Jackson removed a total of no more than one-fifth of the federal officeholders during his eight years in office, many The Spoils r'em  
^ess f'r Partisan reasons than because System they had misused government funds or en. gage d in other corruption. Proportionally, Jackson dismissed no more jobholders than Jefferson had dismissed during his presidency. But by embracing the philosophy of the "spoils system," a system already well entrenched in a number of state governments, the Jackson administration helped make the right of elected officials to appoint their own followers to public office an established feature of American politics. Jackson's supporters also worked to transform the process by which presidential candidates won their party's nomination. They had long resented the congressional caucus, a process they believed favored entrenched elites. Jackson himself had avoided the caucus process in 1828. In 1832, the president's followers staged a national party convention to 234 • iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

aristocrats. The Jacksonian leaders were less sympathetic to the aspirations of those below them than they were to the destruction of obstacles to their own success. Bray Hammond, writing in 1957, argued similarly that the Jacksonian cause was "one of enterpriser against capitalist." Other historians saw Jacksonianism less as a democratic reform movement than as a nostalgic effort to restore a lost (and largely imagined) past. In *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (1957), Marvin Meyer argued that Jackson and his followers looked with misgivings on the new industrial society emerging around them and yearned instead for a restoration of the agrarian, republican virtues of an earlier time. In the 1960s, historians examining the Jacksonian era began looking less at Jackson himself and more at the nature of American society in the early nineteenth century. Lee Benson's *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (1961) used quantitative methods to demonstrate the role of religion and ethnicity in determining political divisions in the 1830s. Edward Pessen's *Jacksonian America* (1969) portrayed the Jacksonian era as an increasingly stratified society. This inclination to look more closely at society than at formal "Jacksonianism" continued into the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Sean Wilentz, in *Chants Democratic* (1984) and in *The Rise of American Democracy* (2005), examined the rise in the 1820s of powerful movements among ordinary citizens, who were attracted less to Jackson than to the notion of popular democracy. Gradually, this attention to Jacksonian-era society has led to reassessments of Jackson himself and the nature of his regime. In *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (1975), Michael Rogin portrays Jackson as a leader of a new American revolution, not against British tyranny but against those who challenged the ability of white men to control the continent. Alexander Saxton, in *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic* (1990), makes the related point that "Jacksonian democracy" was explicitly a white man's democracy that rested on the subjugation of women, slaves, and Indians. But the portrayal of Jackson as a champion of the common man has not vanished from scholarly life. The leading Jackson biographer of the postwar era, Robert V. Remini, has noted the flaws in Jackson's concept of democracy; but within the context of his time, Remini claims, Jackson was a genuine "man of the people." • UNDERSTAND,

ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What was Jacksonian democracy? Was it a reform movement against conservative special interests? Was it a regional movement designed to shift power to the West? Or was it a class-based movement to elevate workers and farmers? 2. Jackson was known as a "man of the people." Which people were attracted to him? 3. Can you think of a political movement today that is similar to Jacksonianism (a people's protest against restrictions on their freedom and opportunity, and the desire to make government responsive to the will of the people rather than to the power of special interests)? renominate him for the presidency-one year after the AntiMasons (see p. 245) became the first party to hold such a meeting. In later generations, some Americans would see the party convention as a source of corruption and political exclusivity. But those who created it in the 1830s considered it a great triumph for democracy. Through the convention, they believed, power would arise directly from the people, not from aristocratic political institutions such as the caucus. The "spoils" system and the political convention did serve to limit the power of two entrenched elites-permanent officeholders and the exclusive party caucus. Yet neither really transferred power to the people. Appointments to office almost always went to prominent political allies of the president and his associates. Delegates to national conventions were less iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii often common men than members of local party organizations. Political opportunity within the party was expanding, but much less so than Jacksonian rhetoric suggested. Limited Nature of Democratic Reform "OUR FEDERAL UNION" Jackson's commitment to extending power beyond entrenched elites led him to want to reduce the functions of the federal government. The concentration of power in Washington, he believed, restricted opportunity to people with political connections. But Jackson also believed in forceful presidential leadership and was strongly committed to the preservation of the Union. Thus, at the same time that Jackson was promoting an economic program to reduce the power of the national government, he was asserting the supremacy of the Union in the face of a potent challenge. For no sooner had he entered office than his own vice president-John C. Calhoun-began to champion a controversial (and, in Jackson's view, dangerous) constitutional theory: nullification. Calhoun and Nullification Calhoun was forty-six years old in 1828, with a distinguished past

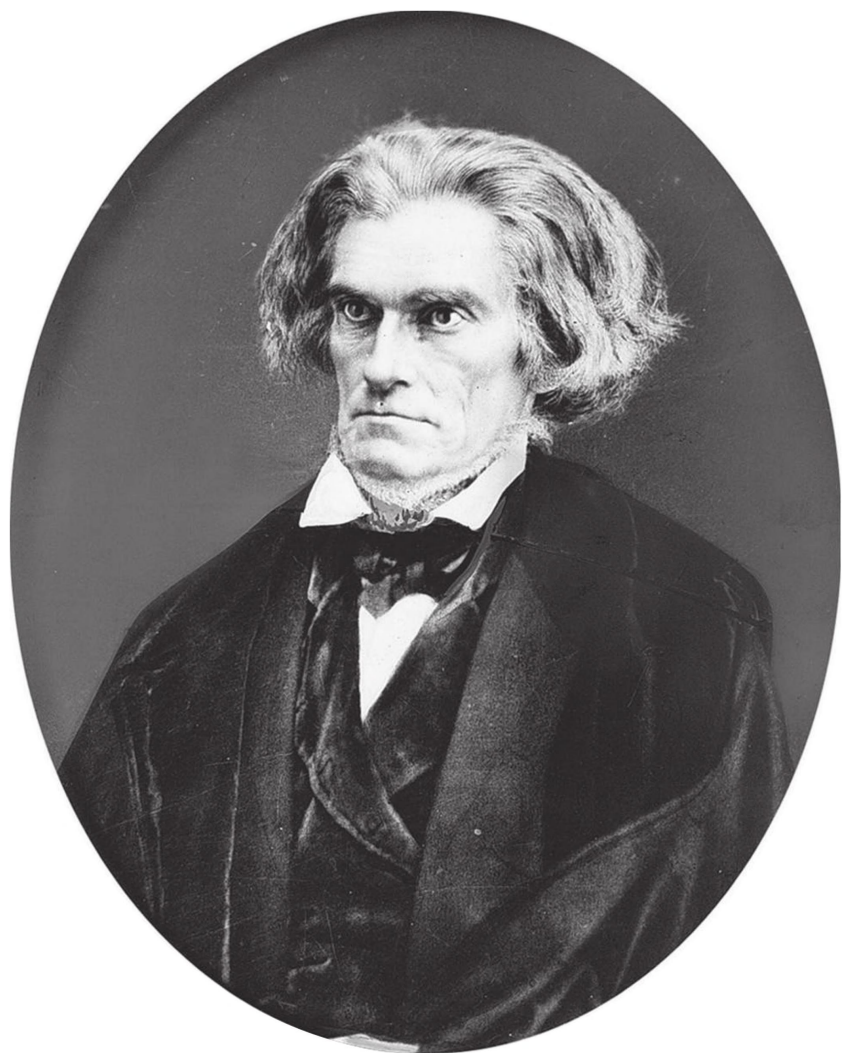
and an apparently promising future. But the smoldering issue of the tariff created a dilemma for him. Once he had been an outspoken protectionist and had strongly supported the tariff of 1816. But by the late 1820s, many South Carolinians had come to believe that the "tariff of abominations" was responsible for the stagnation of the state's economy-even though the stagnation was largely a result of the exhaustion of South Carolina's farmland, which could no longer compete effectively with the newly opened fertile lands of the Southwest. Some exasperated Carolinians were ready to consider a drastic remedy-secession. . 235 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimmi



236 CHAPTER 9 JOHN C. CALHOUN This photograph, by Mathew Brady, captured Calhoun toward the end of his life, when he was torn between his real commitment to the ideals of the Union and his equally fervent commitment to the interests of the South. The younger generation of southern leaders, who would dominate the politics of the region in the 1850s, were less idealistic and more purely sectional in their views. (The Library of Congress) Calhoun's future political hopes rested on how he met this challenge in his home state. He did so by developing a theory that he believed offered a moderate alternative to secession: the theory of nullification. Drawing from the ideas of Madison and Jefferson and their Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-1799 and citing the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, Calhoun argued that since the federal government was a creation of the states, the states—not the courts or Congress—were the final arbiters of the constitutionality of federal laws. If a state concluded that Congress had passed an unconstitutional law, then it could hold a special convention and declare the federal law null and void within the state. The nullification doctrine and the idea of using it to nullify the 1828 tariff quickly attracted broad support in South Carolina. But it did nothing to help Calhoun's standing within the new administration, in part because he had a powerful rival in Martin Van Buren. The Rise of Van Buren Van Buren was about the same age as Calhoun and equally ambitious. He had won election to the governorship of New York Martin Van Buren's Growing Influence in 1828 and then resigned in 1829 when Jackson appointed him secretary of state. Alone among the figures in the Jackson administration, Van Buren soon established himself as a member both of the official cabinet and of the president's unofficial circle of political allies, known as the "Kitchen Cabinet" (which included such Democratic newspaper editors as Isaac Hill of New Hampshire and Amos Kendall and Francis P. Blair of Kentucky). Van Buren's influence with the president was unmatched and grew stronger still as a result of a quarrel over etiquette that drove a wedge between the president and Calhoun. Peggy O'Neale was the attractive daughter of a Washington tavernkeeper with whom both Andrew Jackson and his friend John H. Eaton had taken lodgings while serving as senators from Tennessee. O'Neale was married, but rumors

circulated in Washington in the mid- 1820s that she and the unmarried Senator Eaton were having an affair. O'Neale's husband died in 1828, and she and Eaton were soon married. A few weeks later, Jackson named Eaton secretary of war and thus made the new Mrs. Eaton a cabinet wife. The rest of the administration wives, led by Mrs. Calhoun, refused to receive her socially. Jackson (remembering the effects of public slander directed against his own late wife) was furious and demanded that the members of the cabinet accept her into their social world. Calhoun, under pressure from his wife, refused. Van Buren, a widower, befriended the Eatons and thus ingratiated himself with Jackson. By 1831, partly as a result of the Peggy Eaton affair, Jackson had chosen Van Buren to succeed him in the White House, apparently ending Calhoun's dreams of the presidency.

The Webster-Hayne Debate In January 1830, as the controversy over nullification grew more intense, a great debate occurred in the U.S. Senate over another sectional controversy. In the midst of a routine debate over federal policy toward western lands, a senator from Connecticut suggested that all land sales and surveys in the west be temporarily discontinued so as to slow the growth of slavery. Robert Y. Hayne, a young senator from South Carolina, responded, charging that slowing down the growth of the West was a way for the East to retain its political and economic power. Although he had no real interest in western lands, he hoped his stance would attract support from westerners in Congress for South Carolina's drive to lower the tariff. Both the South and the West, he argued, were victims of the tyranny of the Northeast. He hinted that the two regions might combine to defend themselves against that tyranny. Daniel Webster, now a senator from Massachusetts and a nationalistic Whig, attacked Hayne the next day, and through him Calhoun, for what he considered their challenge to the integrity of the Union. He was, in fact, challenging Hayne to a debate not on public lands and the tariff but on the issue of states' rights versus national power. Hayne, coached by Calhoun,

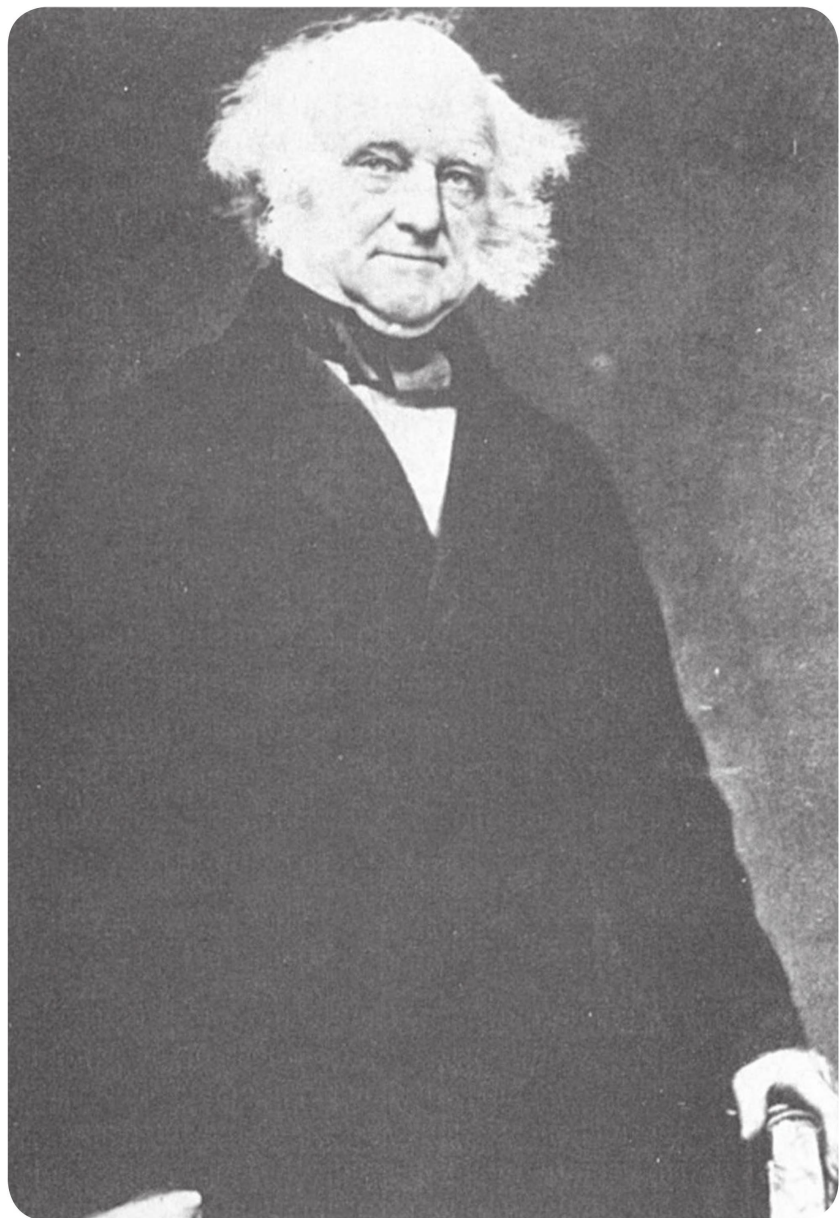


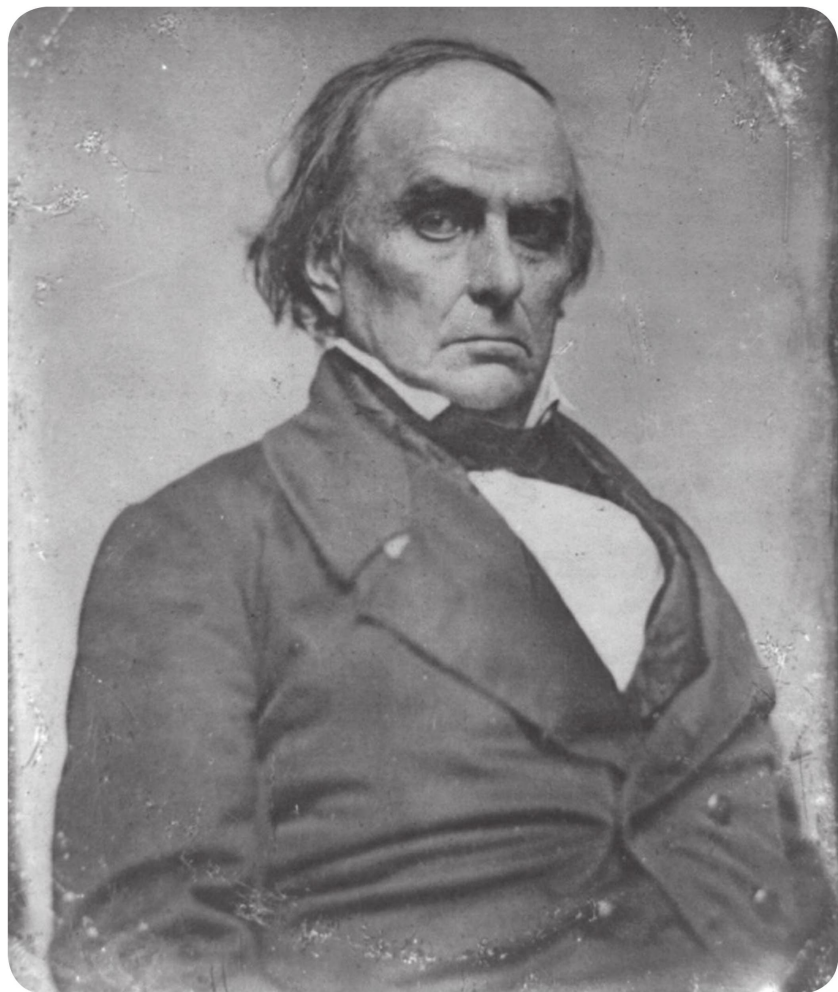
## JACKSONIAN AMERICA 237 MARTIN VAN BUREN

As leader of the so-called Albany Regency in New York in the 1820s, Van Buren helped create one of the first modern party organizations in the United States. Later, as Andrew Jackson's secretary of state and (after 1832) vice president, he helped bring party politics to the national level. In 1840, when he ran for reelection to the presidency, he lost to William Henry Harrison, whose Whig Party made effective use of many of the techniques of mass politics that Van Buren himself had pioneered. (The Library of Congress)

**DANIEL WEBSTER** The great Civil War photographer Mathew Brady took this portrait of Daniel Webster shortly before Webster's death in 1852. It conveys something of Webster's intensity of purpose—an intensity that was perhaps most famously visible in his dramatic 1830 debate with South Carolina senator Robert Y. Hayne. In his response to Hayne, he spoke words that became a rallying cry in the North: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." During his long political career, Webster was one of the giants of American politics, a man of much greater stature than many of the presidents who were his contemporaries. (The Library of Congress) with his own: "The Union, next to our liberty most dear." The two most important figures in government had drawn sharp lines between themselves. responded with a defense of the theory of nullification. Webster then spent two full afternoons delivering what became known „ , , as his "Second Reply to Hayne," a speech versus National r^at northerners quoted and revered for Power years to come. He concluded with the ringing appeal Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" Both sides now waited to hear what President Jackson thought of the argument. The answer became clear at the annual Democratic Party banquet in honor of Thomas Jefferson. After dinner, guests delivered a series of toasts. The president arrived with a written text in which he had underscored certain words: "Our Federal Union-It must be preserved." While he spoke, he looked directly at Calhoun. The diminutive Van Buren, who stood on his chair to see better, thought he saw Calhoun's hand shake and a trickle of wine run down his glass as he responded to the president's toast The Nullification Crisis In 1832, finally, the controversy over nullification produced a crisis. A congressional tariff bill was passed that offered South Carolinians no relief from the 1828 "tariff of abominations." Almost

immediately, the legislature summoned a state convention, which voted to nullify the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 and to forbid the collection of duties within the state. At the same time, South Carolina elected Hayne to serve as governor and Calhoun (who resigned as vice president) to replace Hayne as senator. Jackson insisted that nullification was treason and that those implementing it were traitors. He strengthened the federal forts in South Carolina and ordered a warship and several revenue ships to Charleston. When Congress convened early in 1833, Jackson proposed a force bill authorizing the president to use the military to see that acts of Congress were obeyed. Violence seemed a real possibility.



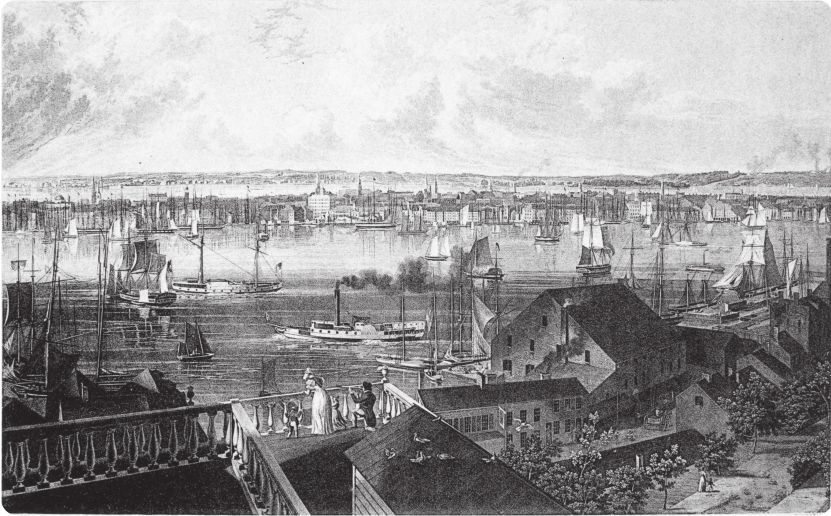


This aquatint, by W. J. Bennett (after the painting by John William Hill) shows Manhattan viewed from Brooklyn Heights around 1836. By this time, overseas traders had increasingly directed their business to New York, leaving much less opportunity for other cities, especially those in the South. (© The Granger Collection, New York) Calhoun faced a predicament as he took his place in the Senate. Not a single state had come to South Carolina's support. Even South Carolina itself was divided and could not hope to prevail in a showdown with the federal government. But the timely intervention of Henry Clay, newly elected to the Senate, Compromise averted a crisis. Clay devised a compromise by which the tariff would be lowered gradually so that, by 1842, it would reach approximately the same level as in 1816. The compromise and the force bill were passed on the same day, March 1, 1833. Jackson signed them both. In South Carolina, the convention reassembled and repealed its nullification of the tariffs. Calhoun and his followers claimed a victory for nullification, which had, they insisted, forced the revision of the tariff. But the episode made clear that no state could defy the federal government alone.

**THE REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS** There had never been any doubt about Andrew Jackson's attitude toward the Indian tribes that continued to live in the eastern states and territories of the United States. He wanted them to move west, beyond the Mississippi, out of the way of expanding white settlement. Jackson's antipathy toward the Native Americans had a special intensity because of his own earlier experiences leading military campaigns against tribes along the southern border. But in most respects, his views were little different from those of most other white Americans. White Attitudes toward the Tribes In the eighteenth century, many white Americans had considered the Indians "noble savages," peoples without real civilization but with an inherent dignity that made civilization possible among them. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, this vaguely paternalistic attitude (the attitude of Thomas Jefferson, among others) was giving way to a more hostile one, particularly among the whites in the western states and territories whom Jackson came to represent. Such whites were coming to view Native Americans simply as "savages," not only uncivilized but uncivilizable. Whites, they believed, should not be



expected to live in close proximity to the tribes. Changing Attitudes  
TOWARD THE Indians



JACKSONIAN AMERICA 239 White westerners favored removal as well because they feared that continued contact between the expanding white settlements and the Indians would produce endless conflict and violence. Most of all, however, they favored Indian removal because of their own insatiable desire for territory. The tribes possessed valuable land in the path of expanding white settlement. White Americans wanted it. The Black Hawk War In the Old Northwest, the long process of expelling the woodland Indians culminated in a last battle in 1831-1832, between white settlers in Illinois and an alliance of Sauk (or Sac) and Fox Indians under the fabled and now aged warrior Black Hawk. An earlier treaty had ceded tribal lands in Illinois to the United States; but Black Hawk and his followers refused to recognize the legality of the agreement, which a rival tribal faction had signed. Hungry and resentful, a thousand of them crossed the river and reoccupied vacant lands in Illinois. White settlers in the region feared that the resettlement was the beginning of a substantial invasion, and they assembled the Illinois state militia and federal troops to repel the "invaders." The Black Hawk War, as it became known, was notable chiefly for the viciousness of the white military efforts. White „ „ leaders in western Illinois vowed to exterSAUK AND FOX , „ r T Indians ruate the bandit collection of Indians Defeated and attacked them even when Black Hawk . attempted to surrender. The Sauks and Foxes, defeated and starving, retreated across the Mississippi into Iowa. White troops (and some bands of Sioux whom they encouraged to join the chase) pursued them as they fled and BLACK HAWK AND WHIRLING THUNDER After his defeat by white settlers in Illinois in 1832, the famed Sauk warrior Black Hawk and his son Whirling Thunder were captured and sent on a tour of the East by Andrew Jackson, displayed to the public as trophies of war. They showed such dignity through the ordeal that much of the white public quickly began to sympathize with them. This portrait, by John Wesley Jarvis, was painted on the tour's final stop, in New York City. Black Hawk wears the European-style suit, while Whirling Thunder wears native costume to emphasize his commitment to his tribal roots. Soon thereafter, Black Hawk returned to his tribe, wrote a celebrated autobiography, and died in 1838. (© The Granger Collection, New York) slaughtered most of them. United States troops captured Black Hawk himself and sent

him on a tour of the East, where Andrew Jackson was one of many curious whites who arranged to meet him. (Abraham Lincoln served as a captain of the militia, but saw no action, in the Black Hawk War; Jefferson Davis was a lieutenant in the regular army.) The "Five Civilized Tribes" More troubling to the government in the 1830s were the tribes remaining in the South. In western Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida lived what were Agrarian . . . , \_ .. „ . Tribes of the known as the Five Civilized Tribes -the South Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw-most of whom had established settled agricultural societies with successful economies. The Cherokees in Georgia had formed a particularly stable and sophisticated culture, with their own written language and a formal constitution (adopted in 1827) that created an independent Cherokee Nation. They were more closely tied to their lands than many of the nomadic tribes to the north. Even some whites argued that the Cherokees, unlike other tribes, should be allowed to retain their eastern lands, since they had become such a "civilized" society and had, under pressure from missionaries and government agents, given up many of their traditional ways. Cherokee men had once been chiefly hunters and had left farming mainly to women. By now the men had given up most of their hunting and (like most white men) took over the farming themselves; Cherokee women, also like their white counterparts, restricted themselves largely to domestic tasks. The federal government worked steadily to negotiate treaties with the southern Indians that would remove them to the West „ . and open their lands for white settlement. Removal Act r But the negotiating process did not proceed III HIM II llllll III II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II Mill Mill II III fast enough to satisfy the region's whites. The state of Georgia's independent effort to dislodge the Creeks, over the objection of President Adams, was one example of this impatience. That same impatience became evident early in Jackson's administration, when the legislatures in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi began passing laws to regulate the tribes remaining in their states. They received assistance in these efforts from Congress, which in 1830 passed the Removal Act (with Jackson's approval) to appropriate money to finance federal negotiations with the southern tribes aimed at relocating them to the West. The president quickly dispatched federal officials to negotiate nearly a hundred new treaties with the remaining tribes.

Thus the southern tribes faced a combination of pressures from both the state and federal governments. Most tribes were too weak to resist, and they ceded their lands in return for token payments. Some, however, balked. In Georgia, the Cherokees tried to stop the white encroachments (which were actively encouraged by Jackson) by appealing to the Supreme Court. The Court's decisions in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1831 and 1832 (see p. 224) seemed at least partially to vindicate the tribe. But Jackson's longtime hostility toward Native Americans left him

240 CHAPTER 9 with little sympathy for the Cherokees and little patience with the Court. He was eager to retain the support of white southerners and westerners in the increasingly bitter partisan battles in which his administration was becoming engaged. When the chief justice announced the decision in *Worcester v. Georgia*, Jackson reportedly responded with contempt. "John Marshall has made his decision," he was reported to have said. "Now let him enforce it." The decision was not enforced. In 1835, the federal government extracted a treaty from a minority faction of the Cherokees, none of them a chosen representative of the Cherokee Nation. The Resistance treaty ceded the tribe's land to Georgia in return for \$5 million and a reservation west of the Mississippi. The great majority of the 17,000 Cherokees did not recognize the treaty as legitimate and refused to leave their homes. But Jackson would not be thwarted. He sent an army of 7,000 under General Winfield Scott to round them up and drive them westward at bayonet point. Trails of Tears About 1,000 Cherokees fled across the state line to North Carolina, where the federal government eventually provided a Cherokee small reservation for them in the Smoky Removal Mountains, which survives today. But most

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii J of the rest made the long, forced trek to "Indian Territory" (which later became Oklahoma) beginning in the winter of 1838. Along the way, a Kentuckian observed: "Even aged females, apparently nearly ready to drop in the grave, were travelling with heavy burdens attached to their backs, sometimes on frozen ground and sometimes on muddy streets, with no covering for their feet." Thousands, perhaps an eighth or more of the emigres, perished before or soon after reaching their unwanted destination. Indian In harsh new reservations in which they Removal were now forced to live, the survivors never forgot the hard journey. They called their route "The Trail Where They Cried," the Trail of Tears. Jackson claimed that the "remnant of that ill-fated race" was now "beyond the reach of injury or oppression," apparently trying to convince himself or others that he had supported removal as a way to protect the tribes. The Cherokees were not alone in experiencing the hardships of the Trail of Tears. Between 1830 and 1838, virtually all the "Five Civilized Tribes" were expelled from the southern states and forced

to relocate in the new Indian Territory, which THE EXPULSION OF THE TRIBES, 1830-1835 Andrew Jackson was famous well before he became president for his military exploits against the tribes. Once in the White House, he ensured that few Indians would remain in the southern states of the nation, now that white settlement was increasing there. The result was a series of dramatic "removals" of Indian tribes out of their traditional lands and into new territories west of the Mississippi— mostly in Oklahoma. Note the very long distance many of these tribes had to travel. Why was the route of the Cherokees, shown in the upper portion of the map, known as the "Trail of Tears"?



JACKSONIAN AMERICA • 241 Congress had officially created by the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834. The Choctaws of Mississippi and western Alabama were the first to make the trek, beginning in 1830. The army moved out the Creeks of eastern Alabama and western Georgia in 1836. The Chickasaws in northern Mississippi began the long march westward a year later, and the Cherokees, finally, a year after that. The government thought the Indian Territory was safely distant from existing white settlements and consisted of land that most whites considered undesirable. It had the additional advantage, the government believed, of being on the eastern edge of what earlier white explorers had christened the "Great American Desert," land unfit for habitation. It seemed unlikely that whites would ever seek to settle along the western borders of the Indian Territory; and thus the prospect of whites surrounding the reservation and producing further conflict seemed remote. Only the Seminoles in Florida managed to resist the pressures to relocate, and even their success was limited. Like other tribes, the Seminoles had agreed under pressure to a settlement (the 1832-1833 treaties of Payne's Landing), by which they ceded their lands to the government and agreed to move to Indian Territory within three years. Most did move west, but a substantial minority, under the leadership of the chieftain Osceola, refused to leave and staged an uprising beginning in 1835 to defend their lands. (Joining the Seminoles in their struggle was a group of runaway black slaves who had been living with the tribe.) The Seminole War dragged on for years. Jackson sent troops to Florida, but the Seminoles with their African American associates were masters of guerrilla warfare in The Seminole the 'ungly EverSlades- Even after Osceola War had been treacherously captured by white . troops while under a flag of truce and had died in prison; even after white troops had engaged in a systematic campaign of extermination against the resisting Indians and their black allies; even after 1,500 white soldiers had died and the federal government had spent \$20 million on the struggle-even then, followers of Osceola remained in Florida. Finally, in 1842, the government abandoned the war. By then, many of the Seminoles had been either killed or forced westward. But the relocation of the Seminoles, unlike the relocation of most of the other tribes, was never complete. The Meaning of Removal By the end of the 1830s, almost all the important Indian societies east

of the Mississippi had been removed to the West. The tribes had ceded over 100 million acres of eastern land to the federal government; they had received in return about \$68 million and 32 million acres in the far less hospitable lands west of the Mississippi between the Missouri and Red Rivers. There they lived, divided by tribe into a series of carefully defined reservations, in a territory surrounded by a string of United States forts to keep them in (and to keep most whites out), in a region whose climate and topography bore little relation to anything they had known before. Eventually, even this forlorn enclave would face incursions from white civilization. What were the alternatives to the removal of the eastern Indians? There was probably never any realistic possibility that the government could stop white expansion westward. White people had already been penetrating the West for nearly two centuries, and such penetrations were certain to continue. But did that expansion really require removal? There were, in theory at least, several alternatives to the brutal removal policy. There were many examples in the West of white settlers and native tribes living side by side, creating a shared (if not necessarily equal) world. In the pueblos of New Mexico, to Removal I II Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II III I Mill II III II 1 1 III Mill II III ACTS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA AN ACT 7c ratify and confirm certain articles of agreement and cession entered into on the 24th day of April 1802, between the Commissioners of the State of Georgia on the one part \* and the Commissioners of the United States on the other part . WHEREAS the Commissioners of the State of Georgia, to wit; James Jackson, Abraham Baldwin, and John Milledge, duly authorized and appointed by, and on the part and behalf of the said State of Georgia ; and the Commissioners of the United States, James Madison, Albert Gallatin, and Levi Lincoln, duly authorized and appointed by, and on the part and behalf of the said United States, to make an amicable Settlement of limits, between the two Sovereignities, after a due examination of their respective power\*, did, on the 24th day of April last, enter into a Treaty of friendship, and mutual alliance, in the words following, to wit : ARTICLES of agreement and cession, entered into on the twenty-fourth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and two, between the Commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, by virtue of an act entitled, “ An act for an amicable settlement of limits\* THE REMOVAL OF INDIANS FROM GEORGIA On April 24, 1831,



Georgia issued an agreement to document the forced removal of Native Americans from the state. This policy forced thousands of Native Americans from their traditional tribal lands to new "reservations" west of the Mississippi River. The Cherokees were among the first tribes forced to move. The conditions of this forced displacement were harsh and many people died, prompting survivors to call the route they had traveled the "Trail of Tears." (Private Collection/© Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library)

242 CHAPTER 9 in the fur trading posts of the Pacific Northwest, in parts of Texas and California, settlers from Mexico, Canada, and the United States had created societies in which Indians and whites were in intimate contact with each other. Even during the famous Lewis and Clark expedition, white explorers had lived with western Indians on terms of such intimacy that many of them contracted venereal disease from Indian sexual partners. Sometimes these close contacts between whites and Indians were beneficial to both sides, even reasonably equal. Sometimes they were cruel and exploitive. But the early multiracial societies of the West did not separate whites and Indians. They demonstrated ways in which the two cultures could interact, each shaping the other. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, white Americans had adopted a different model as they contemplated westward expansion. Much as the early British settlers along the Atlantic coast had established "plantations," from which natives were, in theory, to be excluded, so the westward-moving whites of later years came to imagine the territories they were entering as virgin land, with no preexisting civilization. Native Americans, they believed, could not be partners—either equal or subordinate—in the creation of new societies in the West. They were obstacles, to be removed and, as far as possible, isolated. Indians, Andrew Jackson once said, had "neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement" to be fit partners in the project of extending white civilization westward. By dismissing Native American cultures in that way, white Americans justified to themselves a series of harsh policies that they believed (incorrectly) would make the West theirs alone. JACKSON AND THE BANK WAR Jackson was quite willing to use federal power against rebellious states and Indian tribes. On economic issues, however, he was consistently opposed to concentrating power either in the federal government or in powerful and, in his view, aristocratic institutions associated with it. An early example of his skeptical view of federal power was his 1830 veto of a congressional measure providing a subsidy to the pro-opposition State of Maysville Road in Kentucky. The bill concentrated was unconstitutional, Jackson argued, because the road in question lay entirely within Kentucky and was not, therefore, a part of "interstate commerce."

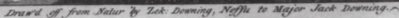
But the bill was also unwise, he believed, because it committed the government to what Jackson considered extravagant expenditures. Jackson's opposition to federal power and aristocratic privilege lay behind the most celebrated episode of his presidency: the war against the Bank of the United States. Biddle's Institution The Bank of the United States in the 1830s was a mighty institution, and it is not surprising that it would attract Jackson's wrath. Its stately headquarters in Philadelphia seemed to Nicholas Biddle  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii symbolize its haughty image of itself. It had branches in twenty-nine other cities, making it the most powerful and far-flung financial institution in the nation. By law, the Bank was the only place that the federal government could deposit its own funds; the government, in turn, owned one-fifth of the Bank's stock. The Bank did a tremendous business in general banking. It provided credit to growing enterprises; it issued bank notes, which served as a dependable medium of exchange throughout the country; and it exercised a restraining effect on the less well-managed state banks. Nicholas Biddle, who served as president of the Bank from 1823 on, had done much to put the institution on a sound and prosperous basis. Nevertheless, Andrew Jackson was determined to destroy it. Opposition to the Bank came from two very different groups: the "soft-money" faction and the "hard-money" faction. Advocates of soft money-people who wanted more currency in circulation and believed that issuing bank notes unsupported by gold and silver was the best way to circulate more currency-consisted largely of state bankers and their allies. Hard and They objected to the Bank of the United Soft Money States because it restrained the state banks . from issuing notes freely. The hard-money people believed that gold and silver were the only basis for money. They condemned all banks that issued bank notes, including the Bank of the United States. The soft-money advocates were believers in rapid economic growth and speculation; the hard-money forces embraced older ideas of "public virtue" and looked with suspicion on expansion and speculation. Jackson supported the hard-money position. Many years before, he had been involved in some grandiose land and commercial speculations based on paper credit. His business had failed in the Panic of 1797, and he had fallen deeply into debt. After that, he was suspicious of all banks and all paper currency. But as president he was also sensitive to the complaints of his many soft-money supporters in the West and the

South. He made it clear that he would not favor renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States, which was due to expire in 1836. A Philadelphia aristocrat unaccustomed to politics, Biddle nevertheless began granting financial favors to influential men who he thought might help him preserve the Bank. In particular, he turned to Daniel Webster and cultivated a close personal friendship with him. He named Webster the Bank's legal counsel and director of its Boston branch; Webster was also a frequent, heavy borrower from the Bank. He helped Biddle win the support of other important figures, among them Henry Clay. Clay, Webster, and other advisers persuaded Biddle to apply to Congress in 1832 for a bill to renew the Bank's charter. That was four years ahead of the date the original charter was scheduled to expire. But forcing a vote now would allow the Bank to become a major issue in the 1832 national elections. Congress passed the recharter bill; Jackson, predictably, vetoed it; and the Bank's supporters m

JACKSONIAN AMERICA 243 Candidate (Party) Electoral  
Vote Popular Vote (%) Andrew Jackson 219 687,502 (Democrat)  
(55) Henry Clay 49 530,189 I (National Republican) (42) William  
Wirt 7 33,108 (Anti-Mason) (3) ■ John Floyd 1 1 (Independent  
Democrat) Not voted 2 THE ELECTION OF 1832 Jackson's  
reelection victory in 1832 was almost as decisive as his earlier  
victory in 1828. • What changes are visible in party loyalties since  
the previous election? Congress failed to override the veto. Just as  
Clay had hoped, the 1832 campaign now centered on the future of  
the Bank. Clay ran for president that year as the unanimous choice  
of the National Republicans, who held a nominating convention in  
Baltimore late in 1831. But the Bank War failed to provide him with  
the winning issue for which he had hoped. Jackson, with Van Buren  
as his running mate, overwhelmingly defeated Clay (and several  
minor party candidates) with 55 percent of the popular vote and  
219 electoral votes (more than four times as many as Clay  
received). These results were a defeat not only for Clay, but also for  
Biddle. appointed a new one. When the new secretary similarly  
balked, Jackson fired him too and named a third, more compliant  
secretary: Attorney General Roger B. Taney, his close friend and  
loyal ally. Taney began placing the government's deposits not in the  
Bank of the United States, as it had in the past, but in a number of  
state banks (which Jackson's enemies called "pet banks"). Nicholas  
Biddle, whom Jacksonians derisively called "Czar Nicholas," did not  
give in without a fight. "This worthy President," he wrote  
sarcastically, "thinks that because he has scalped Indians and  
imprisoned Judges, he is to have his way with the Bank. He is  
mistaken." When the administration began to transfer funds directly  
from the Bank of the United States to the pet banks (as opposed to  
the initial practice of simply depositing new funds in those banks),  
Biddle called in loans and raised interest rates, explaining that  
without the government deposits the Bank's resources were  
stretched too thin. He realized his actions were likely to cause  
financial distress. He hoped a short recession would persuade  
Congress to recharter the Bank. "Nothing but the evidence of  
suffering," he told a colleague, would "produce any effect in  
Congress." By now, the struggle had become not Just a conflict over  
policy and principle, but also a bitter personal battle between two  
proud men-both of them acting recklessly in an effort to humiliate

and defeat the other. As financial conditions worsened in the winter of 1833, supporters of the Bank blamed Jackson's policies for the recession. They organized meetings around the country and sent petitions to Washington urging a rechartering of the Bank. But the Jacksonians blamed the recession on Biddle and refused to budge. When distressed citizens appealed to the president for help, he dismissively answered, "Go to Biddle." Finally, Biddle contracted credit too far even for his own allies in the business community, who began to fear that in his effort to save his own bank he was threatening their interests. Some of them did "go to Biddle." A group of New York and Boston merchants protested. To appease the business community, Biddle at last reversed himself and began to grant credit in abundance and on reasonable terms. His vacillating and unpopular tactics ended his chances of winning a recharter of the Bank. Jackson had won a considerable political victory. But when the Bank of the United States died in 1836, the country lost a Jackson valuable, albeit flawed, financial institution. Victorious and was left with a fragmented and chronically unstable banking system that would plague the economy for more than a century. The "Monster" Destroyed The Taney Court Jackson was now more determined than ever to destroy the "monster" Bank as quickly as possible. He could not legally abolish the institution before the expiration of Government's charter. Instead, he tried to weaken it. He decided to remove the government's deposits from the Bank. His secretary of the treasury believed that such an action would destabilize the financial system and refused to give the order. Jackson fired him and in the aftermath of the Bank War, Jackson moved against the most powerful institution of economic nationalism of all: the Supreme Court. In 1835, when John Marshall died, the president appointed as the new chief justice his trusted ally Roger B. Taney. Taney did not bring a sharp break in constitutional interpretation, but he gradually helped modify Marshall's vigorous nationalism. Perhaps the clearest indication of the new judicial mood was the celebrated case of *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*.

LAITIK. AmW k/\4\*I MJtM\*J\*«\* + \* 0\* \*tm\*di Jit JST lfr\* ' "THE DOWNFALL OF MOTHER BANK" This 1832 cartoon celebrates Andrew Jackson's destruction of the Bank of the United States. The president is shown here driving away the Bank's corrupt supporters by ordering the withdrawal of government deposits. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-809)) Charles River of 1837. The case involved a dispute between two Massachusetts companies Warren Bridge over the right to build a bridge across the Charles River between Boston and Cambridge. One company had a long-standing charter from the state to operate a toll bridge and claimed that this charter guaranteed it a monopoly of the bridge traffic. Another company had applied to the legislature for authorization to construct a second, competing bridge that would—since it would be toll free—greatly reduce the value of the first company's charter. The first company contended that in granting the second charter the legislature was engaging in a breach of contract and noted that the Marshall Court, in the Dartmouth College case and other decisions, had ruled that states had no right to abrogate contracts. But now Taney, speaking for the Democratic majority on the Court, supported the right of Massachusetts to award the second charter. The object of government, Taney maintained, was to promote the general happiness, an object that took precedence over the rights of contract and property. A state, therefore, had the right to amend or abrogate a contract if such action was necessary to advance the well-being of the community. Such an abrogation was clearly necessary in the case of the Charles River Bridge, he argued, because the original bridge company, by exercising a monopoly, was benefiting from unjustifiable privilege. (It did not help the first company that its members were largely Boston aristocrats closely associated with Harvard College; the challenging company, by contrast, consisted largely of newer, aspiring entrepreneurs—the sort of people with whom Jackson and his allies instinctively identified.) The decision reflected one of the cornerstones of the Jacksonian ideal: that the key to democracy was an expansion of economic opportunity, which would not occur if older corporations could maintain monopolies and choke off competition from newer companies. THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICAN POLITICS Jackson's forceful—some people claimed tyrannical—tactics in

[illegible]



JACKSONIAN AMERICA 245 Denouncing the president as "King Andrew I," they began to refer to themselves as Whigs, after the party in England that had traditionally worked to limit the power of the king. With the emergence of the Whigs, the nation once again had two competing political parties. What scholars now call the "Second Party System" began what turned out to be its relatively brief life. Democrats and Whigs The two parties were different from one another in their philosophies, in their constituencies, and in the character of their leaders. But they became increasingly alike in the way they approached the process of electing their followers to office. Democrats in the 1830s envisioned a future of steadily expanding economic and political opportunities for white males. 9 The role of government should be limited, they believed, but it should include efforts Opportunity to remove obstacles to opportunity and to . avoid creating new ones. That meant defending the Union, which Jacksonians believed was essential to the dynamic economic growth they favored. It also meant attacking centers of corrupt privilege. As Jackson himself said in his farewell address, the society of America should be one in which "the planter, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer, all know that their success depends on their own industry and economy," in which artificial privilege would stifle no one's opportunity. Among the most radical members of the party-the so-called Locofocos, mainly workingmen and small businessmen and professionals in the Northeast-sentiment was strong for a vigorous, perhaps even violent assault on monopoly and privilege far in advance of anything Jackson himself ever contemplated. The political philosophy that became known as Whiggery was very different. It favored expanding the power of the fedWhigs\* Call era^ 8overnmenb encouraging industrial for Economic and commercial development, and knitting Union the country together into a consolidated economic system. Whigs embraced material progress enthusiastically; but unlike the Democrats, they were cautious about westward expansion, fearful that rapid territorial growth would produce instability. Their vision of America was of a nation embracing the industrial future and rising to world greatness as a commercial and manufacturing power. Thus, while Democrats were inclined to oppose legislation establishing banks, corporations, and other modernizing institutions, Whigs generally favored such

measures. The Whigs were strongest among the more substantial merchants and manufacturers of the Northeast; the wealthier planters of the South (those who favored commercial development and the strengthening of ties with the North); and the ambitious farmers and rising commercial class of the West—usually migrants from the Northeast—who advocated internal improvements, expanding trade, and rapid economic progress. The Democrats drew more support from smaller merchants and the workingmen of the Northeast; from southern planters suspicious of industrial growth; and from westerners—usually with southern roots—who favored a predominantly agrarian economy and opposed the development of powerful economic institutions in their region. Whigs tended to be wealthier than Democrats, to have more aristocratic backgrounds, and to be more commercially ambitious. But Whig and Democratic politicians alike were more interested in winning elections than in maintaining philosophical purity. And both parties made frequent adjustments in their public postures to attract the largest possible number of voters. In New York, for example, the Whigs worked to develop an Anti-Masonic Party following by making a connection to a movement known as Anti-Masonry. The Anti-Mason movement had emerged in the 1820s in response to widespread resentment against the secret, exclusive, and hence supposedly undemocratic Society of Freemasons. Such resentments greatly increased in 1826 when a former Mason, William Morgan, mysteriously disappeared (and was assumed to have been murdered) from his home in Batavia, New York, shortly before he was scheduled to publish a book exposing the supposed secrets of Freemasonry. Whigs seized on the Anti-Mason frenzy to launch harsh attacks on Jackson and Van Buren (both Freemasons), implying that the Democrats were part of the antidemocratic conspiracy. In the process, the Whigs presented themselves as opponents of aristocracy and exclusivity. They were attacking the Democrats with the Democrats' own issues. Religious and ethnic divisions also played an important role in determining the constituencies of the two parties. Irish and German Catholics, among the largest of the recent immigrant groups, tended to support the Democrats, who appeared to share their own vague aversion to commercial development and entrepreneurial progress and who seemed to respect family- and community-centered values and habits. Evangelical Protestants

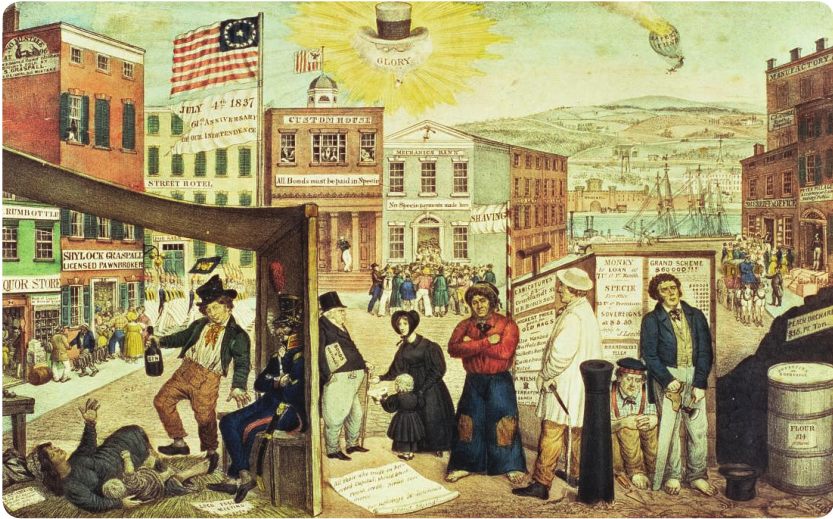
gravitated toward the Whigs because they associated the party with constant development and improvement, goals their own faith embraced. These and other ethnic, religious, and cultural tensions were often more influential in determining party alignments than any concrete political or economic proposals. The Whig Party was more successful at defining its positions and attracting a constituency than it was in uniting behind a national leader. No single person was ever able to command the loyalties of the party in the way Andrew Jackson did the Democrats. Instead, Whigs tended to divide their loyalties among three figures, each of whom was so substantial a figure that together they became known as the "Great Triumvirate": Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John Calhoun. Clay won support from many of those who favored his program for internal improvements and economic development. Clay's what he called the "American System"; but American his image as a devious operator and his System identification with the West proved to be II i in 1 1 in 1 1 in i uni in hi II 1 1 in 1 1 in 1 1 ini i mi 1 1 1 1 ii in 1 1 hi 1 1 ill r ii serious liabilities. He ran for president three times and never won. Daniel Webster, the greatest orator of his era, won broad support with his passionate speeches in defense of the Constitution and the Union; but his close connection with the Bank of the United States and the protective

246 CHAPTER 9 tariff, his reliance on rich men for financial support, and his excessive and often embarrassing fondness for brandy prevented him from developing enough of a national constituency to win him the office he so desperately wanted. John C. Calhoun, the third member of the Great Triumvirate, never considered himself a true Whig, and his identification with the nullification controversy in effect disqualified him from national leadership in any case. But he had tremendous strength in the South, supported a national bank, and shared with Clay and Webster a strong animosity toward Andrew Jackson. The problems that emerged from this divided leadership became particularly clear in 1836. The Democrats were united Election behind Andrew Jackson's personal choice for of 1836 president, Martin Van Buren. The Whigs . could not agree on a single candidate. Instead, they ran several candidates, hoping to profit from the regional strength of each. Webster represented the party in New England; Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee ran in the South; and the former Indian fighter and hero of the War of 1812, William Henry Harrison, from Ohio, was the candidate in the middle states and the West. Party leaders hoped the three candidates together might draw enough votes from Van Buren to prevent his getting a majority and throw the election to the House of Representatives, where the Whigs might be able to elect one of their own leaders. In the end, however. Van Buren won easily, with 170 electoral votes to 124 for all his opponents combined. Van Buren and the Panic of 1837 Andrew Jackson retired from public life in 1837, beloved by most Americans. Martin Van Buren was very different from his predecessor and far less fortunate. He was never able to match Jackson's personal popularity, and his administration encountered economic difficulties that devastated the Democrats and helped the Whigs. Van Buren's success in the 1836 election was a result in part of a nationwide economic boom that was reaching its height in that year. Canal and railroad builders were at a peak of activity. Prices were rising, money was plentiful, and credit was easy as banks increased their loans and notes with little regard to their reserves of cash. The land business, in particular, was booming. Between 1835 and 1837, the government sold nearly 40 million acres of public land, nearly three-fourths of it to speculators, who purchased large tracts in

hopes of reselling them at a profit. These land sales, along with revenues the government received from the tariff of 1833, created a series of substantial federal budget surpluses and made possible a steady reduction of the national debt (something Jackson had always advocated). From 1835 to 1837, the government for the first and only time in its history was out of debt, with a substantial surplus in the Treasury. Congress and the administration now faced the question of what to do with the Treasury surplus. Reducing the tariff was not an option, since no one wanted to raise that thorny issue again. Instead, support grew for returning the federal surplus to Distribution the states- In 1836 > Congress passed a "disActTribution" act requiring the federal government . 1 . to pay its surplus funds to the states each year in four quarterly installments as interest-free, unsecured Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%) loans. No one expected the "loans" to be repaid. The states spent the money quickly, mainly to encourage construction of highways, railroads, and canals. The distribution of the surplus Martin Van Buren 170 765,483 (Democrat) (50.9) thus gave further stimulus to the economic boom. W. H. Harrison 73 550,816 Congress did nothing to check the speculative fever, with (Whig) (36.6) which many congressmen themselves were badly infected. Hugh L. White 26 146,107 Webster, for one, was buying up thousands of acres in the (Whig) (9.7) West. But Jackson, always suspicious of paper currency, was Daniel Webster 14 41,201 unhappy that the government was selling good land and re(Whig) (2.7) ceiving in return various state bank notes worth no more than W. P. Magnum 11 the credit of the issuing bank. (Independent) In 1836, not long before leaving office, he issued a THE ELECTION OF 1836 Martin Van Buren, who had served as vice president and secretary of state for Andrew Jackson, was the Democratic candidate for president in 1836. His connection to the revered Jackson helped him easily defeat his Whig opponent, William Henry Harrison. Four years later, the same two men contested the presidency, but that time it was Harrison who won. presidential order, the "specie circular." It provided that in payment for public lands the government would accept only gold or silver coins or currency securely backed by gold or silver. Jackson was right to fear the speculative fever but wrong in thinking the specie circular would cure it. On the contrary, it produced a financial panic that began in the first months of

JACKSONIAN AMERICA • 247 “THE TIMES,” 1837 This savage caricature of the economic troubles besetting the United States in 1837 illustrates, among other things, popular resentment of the hard-money orthodoxies of the time. A sign on the Custom House reads: "All bonds must be paid in Specie." Next door, the bank announces: "No specie payments made here." Women and children are shown begging in the street, while unemployed workers stand shoeless in front of signs advertising loans and "grand schemes." (© Museum of the City of New York, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library)

Panic of 1837 Van Buren's presidency. Hundreds of banks I HIM Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill II Mill Mill II and businesses failed. Unemployment grew. Bread riots broke out in some of the larger cities. Prices fell, especially the price of land. Many railroad and canal projects failed. Several of the debt-burdened state governments ceased to pay interest on their bonds, and a few repudiated their debts, at least temporarily. It was the worst depression in American history to that point, and it lasted for five years. It was a political catastrophe for Van Buren and the Democrats. Both parties bore some responsibility for the panic. But the depression was only partly a result of American policies. England and western Europe were facing panics of their own, which caused European (and especially English) investors to withdraw funds from America, putting an added strain on American banks. A succession of crop failures on American farms reduced the purchasing power of farmers and required increased imports of food, which sent more money out of the country. But whatever its actual causes, the Panic of 1837 occurred during a Democratic administration, and the Democrats paid the political price for it. The Van Buren administration, which strongly opposed government intervention in the economy, did little to fight the depression. Some of the steps it took-borrowing money to pay government debts and accepting only specie for payment of taxes-may have made things worse. Van Buren did succeed in establishing a ten-hour workday on all federal projects, by presidential order, but he had only a few legislative achievements. The most important and controversial of them was the creation of a new financial system to replace the Bank of the United States. Under Van Buren's plan, known as the "independent treasury" or "subtreasury" system, the government would Independent place its funds in an indePendent treasury



248 CHAPTER 9 result, they held their first national nominating convention in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in December 1839. Passing over the controversial Henry Clay, who had expected the nomination, the convention chose William Henry Harrison and, for vice president, John Tyler of Virginia. Harrison was a descendant of the Virginia aristocracy but had spent his adult life in the Northwest. He was a renowned soldier, a famous Indian fighter, and a popular national figure. The Democrats nominated Van Buren. But because they were not much more united than the Whigs, they failed to nominate a vice presidential candidate, leaving the choice of that office to the electors. The 1840 campaign was the first in which the new popular "penny press" carried news of the candidates to a large audience of workers and tradespeople. It also illustrated how fully the concept of party competition, the j^EW subordination of ideology to immediate Techniques political needs, had established itself in of Political America. The Whigs represented the afCampaigning fluent elements of the population, and they favored government policies that would aid business. But they presented themselves in 1840 as the party of the common people. So, of course, did the HARRISON AND REFORM This hand-colored engraving was made for a brass brooch during the 1840 presidential campaign and served the same purposes that modern campaign buttons do. It conveys Harrison's presumably humble beginnings in a log cabin. In reality, Harrison was a wealthy, aristocratic man; but the unpopularity of the aristocratic airs of his opponent, President Martin Van Buren, persuaded the Whig Party that it would be good political strategy to portray Harrison as a humble "man of the people." (© David J. & Janice L. Frent Collection/Corbis) Democrats. Both parties used the same techniques of mass voter appeal, the same evocation of simple, rustic values. What mattered now was not the philosophical purity of the party but its ability to win votes. The Whig campaign was particularly effective in portraying William Henry Harrison, a wealthy member of the frontier elite with a considerable estate, as a simple man of the people who loved log cabins and hard cider. They accused Van Buren of being an aloof aristocrat who used cologne, drank champagne, and ate from gold plates. The Democrats had no defense against the combination of these campaign techniques and the effects of the depression. Harrison



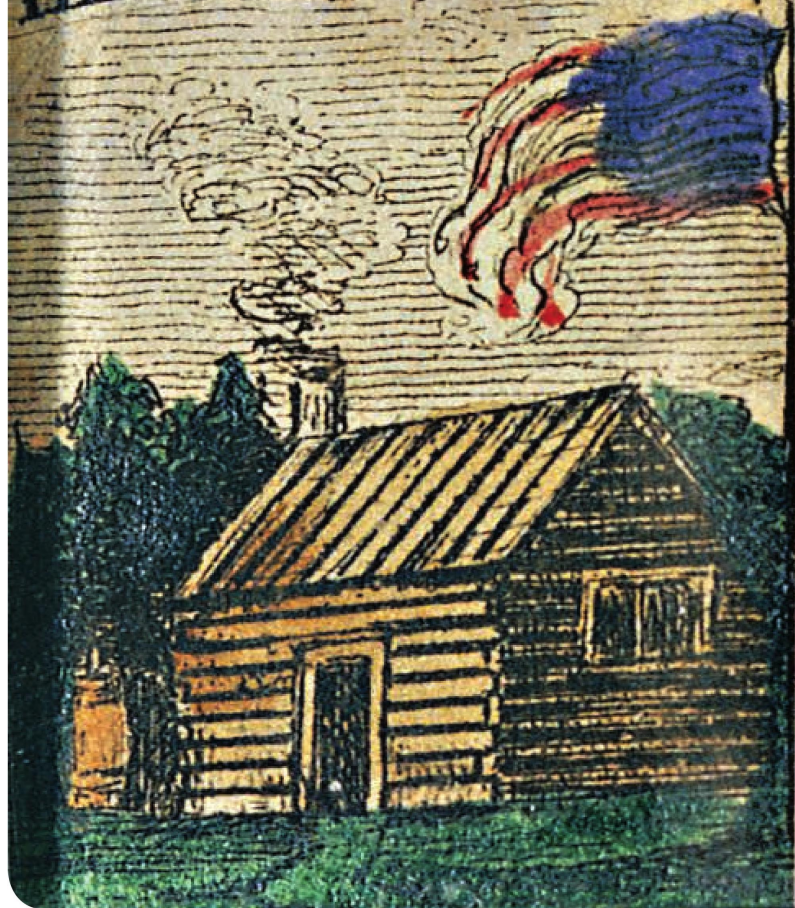
won the election with 234 electoral votes to 60 for Van Buren and with a popular vote majority of 53 percent. The Frustration of the Whigs Despite their decisive victory, the Whigs found their four years in power frustrating and divisive. In large part, that was because their popular new president, "Old Tippecanoe," William Henry Harrison, died of pneumonia one month after taking office. Vice President Tyler succeeded him. Control of the administration thus fell to a man with whom the Whig party leadership had weak ties. Harrison had generally deferred

| Candidate              | Party      | Electoral Vote (%) | Popular Vote (%) |
|------------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------|
| William Henry Harrison | Whig       | 234 (80)           | 1,275,016 (53)   |
| Martin Van Buren       | Democratic | 60 (20)            | 1,129,102 (47)   |

Nonvoting territories Not U.S. territory

THE ELECTION OF 1840 President Martin Van Buren was defeated in 1840 despite his close relationship to the popular former president, Andrew Jackson. Van Buren, unlike Jackson, was president during a sharp economic recession. And even though his opponent, William Henry Harrison, was a wealthy frontier aristocrat, the Whig Party effectively portrayed him as a humble man of the people, a contrast to what they claimed was Van Buren's extravagance and elitism.

HARRISON & RE FOR



## JACKSONIAN AMERICA 249 AN ATTACK ON VAN BUREN

This "pull card," made during the 1840 presidential campaign, which Van Buren lost to William Henry Harrison, satirizes the president as an aristocratic dandy. The card displays Van Buren grinning while he drinks champagne in the White House. Pulling a tab on the card changes his champagne glass to a mug of hard cider (with Harrison's initials on it) and changes his expression from delight to revulsion. (© The Granger Collection, New York) to Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, whom he named secretary of state. Under Tyler, things quickly changed. Tyler was a former Democrat who had left the party in reaction to what he considered Jackson's excessively egalitarian program and imperious methods. But there were still signs of his Democratic past in his approach to public policy. The president did agree to bills abolishing Van Buren's independent treasury system and raising tariff rates. But he refused to support Clay's attempt to recharter a Bank of the United States. And he vetoed several internal improvement bills that Clay Whigs Break and other congressional Whigs sponsored. with Tyler Finally, a conference of congressional . Whigs read Tyler out of the party. Every cabinet member but Webster resigned; five former Democrats took their places. When Webster, too, left the cabinet, Tyler appointed Calhoun, who had rejoined the Democratic Party, to replace him. A new political alignment was emerging. Tyler and a small band of conservative southern Whigs were preparing to rejoin the Democrats. Joining the "common man's party" of Jackson and Van Buren was a faction with decidedly aristocratic political ideas, who thought that government had an obligation to protect and even expand the institution of slavery, and who believed in states' rights with almost fanatical devotion. Whig Diplomacy In the midst of these domestic controversies, a series of incidents in the late 1830s brought Great Britain and the United States once again to the brink of war. Residents of the eastern provinces of Canada launched a rebellion against the British colonial government in 1837, and some of the rebels chartered an American steamship, the Caroline, to ship supplies across



A BEAUTIFUL GOBLET OF  
WHITEHOUSE CHAMPAGNE



AN UGLY MUG OF  
LOG-CABIN HARD CIDER

The Penny Press O T V T September 3, 1833, a small newspaper appeared in New York City for the first time: the New vJ IN York Sun, published by a young former apprentice from Massachusetts named Benjamin Day. Four pages long, it contained mostly trivial local news, THE NEW YORK SUN This 1834 front page of The Sun, which had begun publication a year earlier, contains advertisements, human interest stories, a description of a slave auction in Charleston, S.C., and homespun advice: "Life is short. The poor pittance of several years is not worth being a villain for." (© Collection of the New-York Historical Society) with particular emphasis on sex, crime, and violence. It sold for a penny, launching a new age in the history of American journalism, the age of the "penny press." Before the advent of the penny press, newspapers in America were far too expensive for most ordinary citizens to buy. But several important changes in the business of journalism and the character of American society paved the way for Benjamin Day and others to challenge the established press. New technologies— the steam-powered cylinder printing press, new machines for making paper, railroads and canals for distributing issues to a larger marketmade it possible to publish newspapers inexpensively and to sell them widely. A rising popular literacy rate, a result in part of the spread of public education, created a bigger reading public. The penny press was also a response to the changing culture of the 1820s and 1830s. The spread of an urban, market economy contributed to the growth of the penny press by drawing a large population of workers, artisans, and clerks into large cities, where they became an important market for the new papers. The spirit of democracysymbolized by the popularity of Andrew Jackson and the rising numbers of white male voters across the country— helped create an appetite for journalism that spoke to and for "the people." Flence Benjamin Day's slogan for his new paper: "It Shines for ALL." The Sun and papers like it were committed to feeding the appetites of the people of modest means, who constituted most of their readership. "Human interest stories" helped solidify their hold on the working public. Condescending stories about poor black men and women— ridiculing their subjects' illiteracy and their accents— were also popular among these papers' virtually all-white readership. Within six months of its first issue, the Sun had the largest circulation in New York— 8,000 readers,

more than twice the number of its nearest competitors. James Gordon Bennett's New York Herald, which began publication in 1835, soon surpassed the Sun in popularity with its lively combination of sensationalism and local gossip and with its aggressive pursuit of national and international stories. The Herald pioneered a "letters to the editor" column, was the first paper to have regular reviews of books and the arts, and launched the first daily sports section. By 1860, its circulation of more than 77,000 was the largest of any daily newspaper in the world. The Niagara River to them from New York. British authorities in Canada seized the Caroline and burned it, killing one American in the process. The British government refused either to disavow the attack or to provide compensation for it, and resentment in the United States ran high. But the British soon had reasons for anger as well. Authorities in New York, \_ \_ attempting to exploit the Caroline affair, arThe Caroline , ^ , A1 , Affair rested a Canadian named Alexander . McLeod and charged him with the murder of the American who had died in the incident. The British government, expressing majestic rage, insisted that McLeod could not be accused of murder because he had acted under official orders. The foreign secretary, the bellicose Lord Palmerston, demanded McLeod's release and threatened that his execution would bring "immediate and frightful" war. Webster as secretary of state did not think McLeod was worth a war, but he was powerless to release him. The prisoner was under New York Jurisdiction and had to be tried in the state courts, a peculiarity of American Jurisprudence that the British did not seem to understand. A New York Jury did what Webster could not: it defused the crisis by acquitting McLeod. At the same time, tensions flared over the boundary between Canada and Maine, which had been in dispute since Aroostook the Treaty of 1783' In 1838' SrouPs of \yAR Americans and Canadians, mostly lumber. jacks, began moving into the Aroostook River region in the disputed area, precipitating a violent brawl between the two groups that became known as the "Aroostook War." Several years later, there were yet more Anglo-American problems. In 1841, an American ship, the Creole, sailed from Virginia for New Orleans with more than 100 slaves aboard. En route the slaves mutinied, took possession of the ship, and took it to the Bahamas. British officials there declared the slaves free, and the English government refused to overrule them. Many Americans, especially southerners,

were furious. At this critical juncture, a new government eager to reduce the tensions with the United States came to power in 250  
imimimiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

ntnm-fmтт , rfft rQO FefтbPN'S FERJ&HEIJ, w THE LEXINGTON BLOWS! This image in the New York Sun was one of the first examples of large and (in this case at least) lurid illustration in the daily press. This dramatic picture depicts an event that took place on the Long Island Sound in 1840. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-2527)) Not all the new penny papers were as sensationalist as the Sun and the Herald. Both the Philadelphia Public Ledger and the Baltimore Sun, founded in 1836 and 1837 respectively, strove to provide serious coverage of the news. The Baltimore Sun even developed a Washington bureau, the first of the penny papers to do so. The New York Tribune, founded in 1841 by Horace Greeley, prided itself on serious reporting and commentary, all of it tinged with a conspicuous sympathy for socialism and for the aspirations of working people. As serious as the Tribune, but more sober and self-consciously "objective" in its reportage, was the New York Times, which Henry Raymond founded in 1851. "We do not mean to write as if we were in a passion— unless that shall really be the case," the Times huffily proclaimed in its first issue, in an obvious reference to Greeley and his impassioned reportage; "and we shall make it a point to get into a passion as rarely as possible." The newspapers of the penny press initiated the process of turning journalism into a profession. They were the first to pay their reporters and the first to rely heavily on advertisements, often devoting up to half their space to paid advertising. They tended to be sensationalist and opinionated, but they were often also aggressive in uncovering serious and important news— in police stations, courts, jails, streets, and private homes as well as in city halls, state capitals, Washington, D.C., and the world. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How were the penny press newspapers a product of the Jacksonian era? 2. Before the advent of the penny press, newspapers in America were aimed at a much narrower audience. Some published mainly business news, and others worked to advance the aims of a political party. What nationally circulated newspapers and other media today continue this tradition? 3. What characteristics of penny press newspapers are still common in newspapers today? In what other contemporary news media do you see these same (or similar) elements? Great Britain. In the spring of 1842, it sent Lord Ashburton, an admirer of America, to negotiate an agreement on the Maine boundary and



other matters. The Webster- result of his negotiations with Secretary of Ashburton State Webster and representatives from . . Maine and Massachusetts was the Webster- Ashburton Treaty of 1842. Its terms established a firm northern boundary between the United States and Canada along the Maine-New Brunswick border that survives to this day; the new border gave the United States a bit more than half of the previously disputed territory. Other, smaller provisions placated Maine and Massachusetts and protected critical trade routes in both the northern United States and southern Canada. In a separate exchange of notes, Ashburton eased the memory of the Caroline and Creole affairs by expressing regret and promising no future "officious interference" with American ships. During the Tyler administration, the United States established its first diplomatic relations with China. In 1842, Treaty of Britain forced China to open certain ports Wang Hya to foreign trade. Eager to share the new privileges, American mercantile interests persuaded Tyler and Congress to send a commissioner Caleb Cushing to China to negotiate a treaty giving the United States some part in the China trade. In the Treaty of Wang Hya, concluded in 1844, Cushing secured most-favored-nation provisions giving Americans the same privileges as the English. He also won for Americans the right of "extraterritoriality"-the right of Americans accused of crimes in China to be tried by American, not Chinese, officials. In the next ten years, American trade with China steadily increased. In their diplomatic efforts, at least, the Whigs were able to secure some important successes. But by the end of the Tyler administration, the party could look back on few other victories. In the election of 1844, the Whigs lost the White House. They were to win only one more national election in their history. • 251



*Awful Conflagration of the Steam Boat*

**LEXINGTON**

*By Long Island Sound, on Monday*

Events Andrew Jackson 230 Anti-Masonry 245 Aroostook War 250

Bank War 242 Caroline affair 250 Daniel Webster 231 Dorr  
Rebellion 231 "Five Civilized Tribes" 239 Indian Territory 240 John  
C. Calhoun 246 John Tyler 248 Martin Van Buren 233 Nicholas  
Biddle 242 Nullification 235 Panic of 1837 246 Removal Act 239  
Roger B. Taney 243 Seminole War 241 Specie circular 246 Spoils  
system 234 Trail of Tears 240 Webster- Ashburton Treaty 251  
Webster-Hayne debate 236 Whigs 234 William Henry Harrison 246  
RECALL AND REFLECT 1. What was Andrew Jackson's political  
philosophy, and how was it reflected in the policies and actions of  
his administration? 2. Who benefited under Jacksonian democracy?  
Who suffered? 3. How did Andrew Jackson change the office of the  
presidency? 4. Who supported and who opposed the Bank of the  
United States, and why? Who was right? 5. How and why did white  
attitudes toward Native Americans change, and how did these  
changes lead to the Indian Removal Act and the Trail of Tears?

## SIGNIFICANT EVENTS JACKSONIAN AMERICA 253 1828 ^

Calhoun's South Carolina Exposition and Protest outlines nullification doctrine 1829 O Andrew Jackson inaugurated 1830 Webster and Hayne debate Indian Removal Act passed - 1830-1838 O Indians expelled from Southeast 1835-1842 Seminole War 1837-1842 Commercial panic and depression 1836 Jackson issues "specie circular" Martin Van Buren elected president 1838 "Aroostook War" fought in Maine and Canada 1831 a 1839 • Anti-Mason Party established • w Whigs hold their first national 1832 convention • 1840 Democrats hold first national o William Henry Harrison elected party convention president Jackson vetoes bill to recharter 1832-1833 O Bank of the United States 1841 o Nullification crisis erupts Jackson reelected president Harrison dies John Tyler becomes president 1835 A 1842 • Roger B. Taney succeeds CJ Dorr Rebellion hastens reform Marshall as chief justice of the in Rhode Island Supreme Court Webster- Ashburton Treaty signed

iiiiiiiii

SETTING THE STAGE WHEN THE UNITED STATES ENTERED THE WAR OF 1812, it was still an essentially agrarian nation. There were, to be sure, cities in America, several of substantial size, and there was modest but growing manufacturing activity. But the overwhelming majority of Americans were farmers and tradespeople, and the economy was largely a local one. By the time the Civil War began in 1861, the United States had transformed itself. Most Americans were still rural people, but even most American farmers were now part of a national, and increasingly international, market economy as well as a growing urbanized nation. The United States had developed a major manufacturing sector and was beginning to challenge the industrial nations of Europe for supremacy. The nation had experienced the first stage of its industrial revolution. The dramatic changes that resulted from the industrial revolution affected the nation's economy, society, culture, and politics, but the changes did not have the same impact everywhere. The Northeast and the Northwest were rapidly developing a complex, modern economy and society, increasingly dominated by large cities, important manufacturing, and profitable commercial farming. It was in many ways an unequal society, but it was also a fluid one, firmly committed to the ideal of free labor. In the South and Southwest, there were changes, too. Southern agriculture, particularly cotton farming, flourished as never before in response to the growing demand from textile mills in New England and elsewhere. But the South remained much less economically developed than the North. As the North became ever more committed to the fluidity and mobility of its free-labor system, the South was becoming more and more resolute in its defense of slavery. The economic revolution was transforming the nation. It was also dividing it.

THE CHANGING AMERICAN POPULATION

The American industrial revolution was a result of many factors. Before it could occur, the United States needed a population large enough both to grow its own food and to provide a surplus workforce for an industrial economy. It needed a transportation and communications system capable of sustaining commerce over a large geographic area. It needed the technology to permit manufacturing on a large scale. And it needed systems of business organization capable of managing large industrial enterprises. By

1860, the northern regions of the nation had acquired at least the beginnings of all those things. The American Population, 1820-1840

Three trends characterized the American population between 1820 and 1840, all of them contributing in various ways to economic growth. The population was increasing rapidly; much of it was moving from the countryside into the industrializing cities of the Northeast and Northwest; and much of it was migrating westward. The American population had stood at only 4 million in 1790. By 1820, it had reached 10 million; by 1830, nearly 13 million; and by 1840, 17 million. The United States was growing much more rapidly in population than Britain or Europe. One reason for this substantial population growth was improvements in public health. The number and ferocity of epidemics (such as the great cholera plague of 1832)-which had periodically decimated urban and even rural populations in America-slowly declined, as did the nation's mortality rate. The population increase was also a result of a high birth rate. In 1840, white women bore an average of 6.14 children each, a decline from the very high rates of the eighteenth century but still substantial enough to produce rapid population increases, particularly since a larger proportion of children could expect to grow to adulthood than had been the case a generation or two earlier. 255

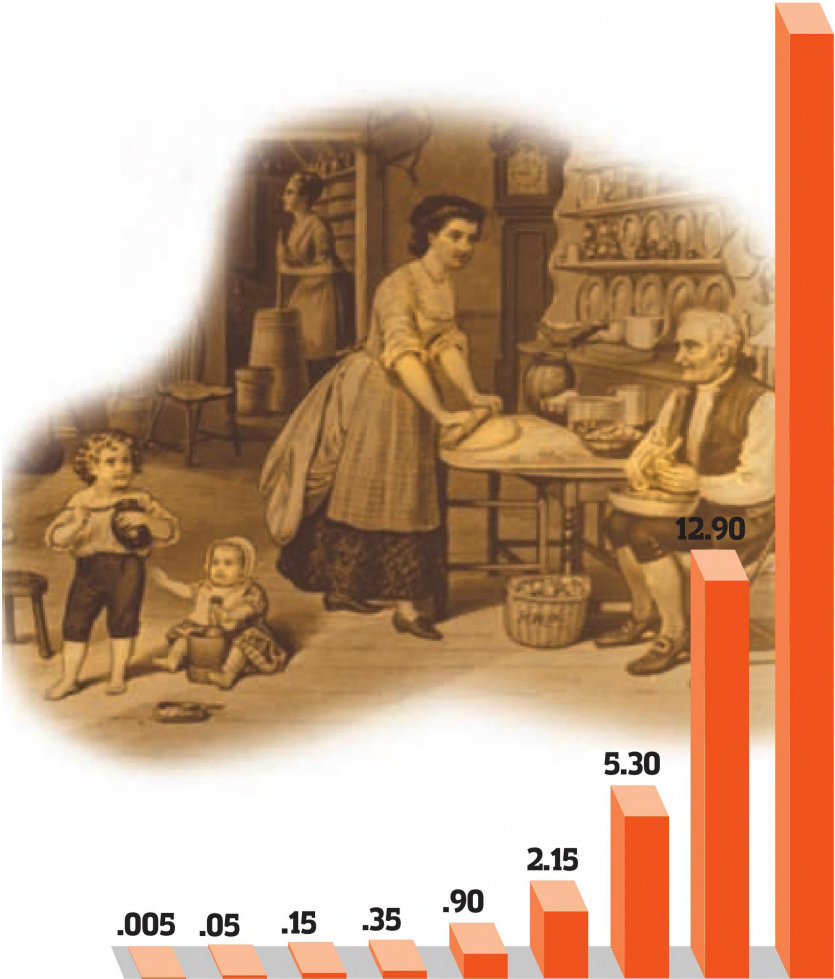


1680 1710 1740 1770 1800 1830 1860 Year POPULATION

GROWTH, 1620-1860 From its tiny beginnings in the seventeenth century, the American population grew rapidly and dramatically so that by 1860— with more than 31 million people— the United States was one of the most populous countries in the world. • How did this growing population contribute to the nation's economic transformation? Total immigration during 347 five-year periods (in thousands) 41 1821-1825 1826-1830 1831-1835 1836-1840 Year IMMIGRATION, 1821-1840 Among the sources of the nation's growing population in the nineteenth century was rapidly increasing immigration. This graph shows how rapidly immigration to the United States increased in the 1820s and 1830s. The 347,000 immigrants in the second half of the 1830s were almost nine times the number in the first half of the 1820s. • Where did most of these new immigrants settle? Immigration, choked off by wars in Europe and economic crises in America, contributed little to the American population in the first three decades of the nineteenth century but rapidly revived beginning in the 1830s. Of the total 1830 population of nearly 13 million, the foreign-born numbered fewer than 500,000. But the number of immigrants climbed by 60,000 in 1832 and nearly 80,000 in 1837. Reduced transportation costs and increasing economic opportunities helped stimulate the immigration boom, as did deteriorating economic conditions in some areas of Europe. The migrations introduced new groups to the United States. In particular, the number of immigrants arriving from the southern counties of Ireland began to grow, marking the beginning of a tremendous influx of Irish Catholics that would continue through the three decades before the Civil War. Much of this new European immigration flowed into the rapidly growing cities of the Northeast. But urban growth was a result of substantial internal migration as well. As the agricultural regions of New England and other areas grew less profitable, more and more people picked up stakes and moved—some to more promising agricultural regions in the West, but many to eastern cities. In 1790, one person in thirty had lived in a city (defined as a community of 8,000 or more); in 1820, one in twenty; and in 1840, one in twelve. The rise of New York City was particularly dramatic. By 1810, it was the largest city in the United States. That was partly a result of its

superior natural harbor. It was also a result of the Erie Canal (completed in 1825), which gave the city unrivaled access to the interior, and of liberal state laws that made the city attractive for both foreign and domestic commerce.

**Immigration and Urban Growth, 1840-1860** The growth of cities accelerated even more dramatically between 1840 and 1860. The population of New York, for example, rose from 12,000 to 805,000. (New York's population would have numbered 1.2 million in 1860 if Brooklyn, which was then a separate municipality, had been included in the total.) Philadelphia's population grew over the same twenty-year period from 220,000 to 565,000; Boston's from 93,000 to 177,000. By 1860, 26 percent of the population of the free states was living in towns (places of 2,500 people or more) or cities (8,000 people or more), up from 14 percent in 1840. That percentage was even higher for the industrializing states

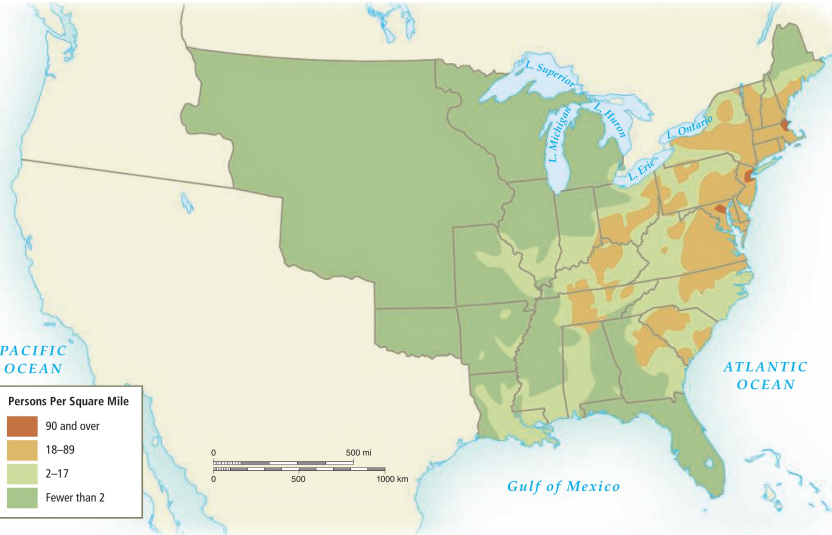


## AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 257 All Others 1%

**SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1820-1840** This pie chart shows where the large numbers of immigrants portrayed in the previous chart came from. Note the very large number of Irish immigrants. • Why were the Irish among the most likely immigrant groups to become part of the industrial workforce? of the Northeast. (In the South, by contrast, the increase of urban residents was only from 6 percent in 1840 to 10 percent in 1860.) The booming agricultural economy of the western regions of the nation produced significant urban growth as well. Between 1820 and 1840, communities that had once been small western villages or trading posts became major cities: St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville. All of them benefited from strategic positions on the Mississippi River or one of its major tributaries. All of them became centers of the growing carrying trade that connected the farmers of the Midwest with New Orleans and, through it, the cities of the Northeast. After 1830, however, substantial shipping began from the Mississippi River to the Great Lakes, creating major new urban centers that gradually superseded the river ports. Among them were Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and-most important-Chicago. The enlarged urban population was in part a reflection of the growth of the national population as a whole, which rose by more than a third-from 23 million to over 31 million-in the decade of the 1850s alone. By 1860, the American population was larger than Britain's and quickly approaching that of France and Germany. Urban growth was also a result of the increasing flow of people into cities from the farms of the Northeast.

**ATLANTIC OCEAN** Gulf of Mexico **PACIFIC OCEAN** Persons Per Square Mile 190 and over 18-89 2-17 Fewer than 2

**AMERICAN POPULATION DENSITY, 1820** The population of the United States in 1820 was still overwhelmingly rural and agrarian and was still concentrated largely in the original thirteen states, although settlement was growing in the Ohio River valley to the west. Note how few areas of the country were populated really densely: a small area in northeastern Massachusetts, the area around New York City, and the area in Maryland adjoining Baltimore. • What accounts for the density in these areas?

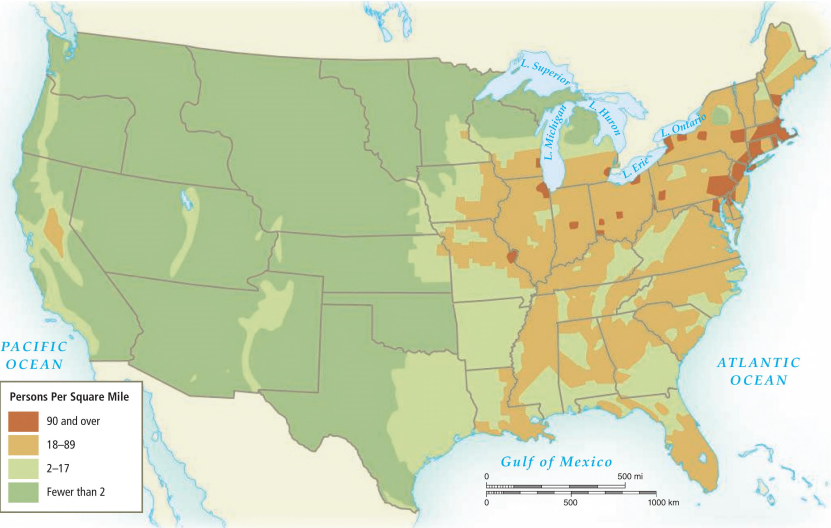


258 CHAPTER 10 BROADWAY IN 1836 This image of the area of New York City's Broadway in what is now lower Manhattan suggests the way in which New York was becoming an increasingly important center of trade and commerce— and a densely urban place— in the 1830s. (© The Granger Collection, New York)

AMERICAN POPULATION DENSITY, 1860 By 1860, the population of the United States had spread much more evenly across the entire country. Communities that had once been small trading posts emerged as major cities. Among them were St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville. In the meantime, the Erie Canal had opened up a large and prosperous market area for New York City. Note the larger and more numerous areas of dense population, including many in the Midwest. • What accounts for the growing population density in some areas of the South?

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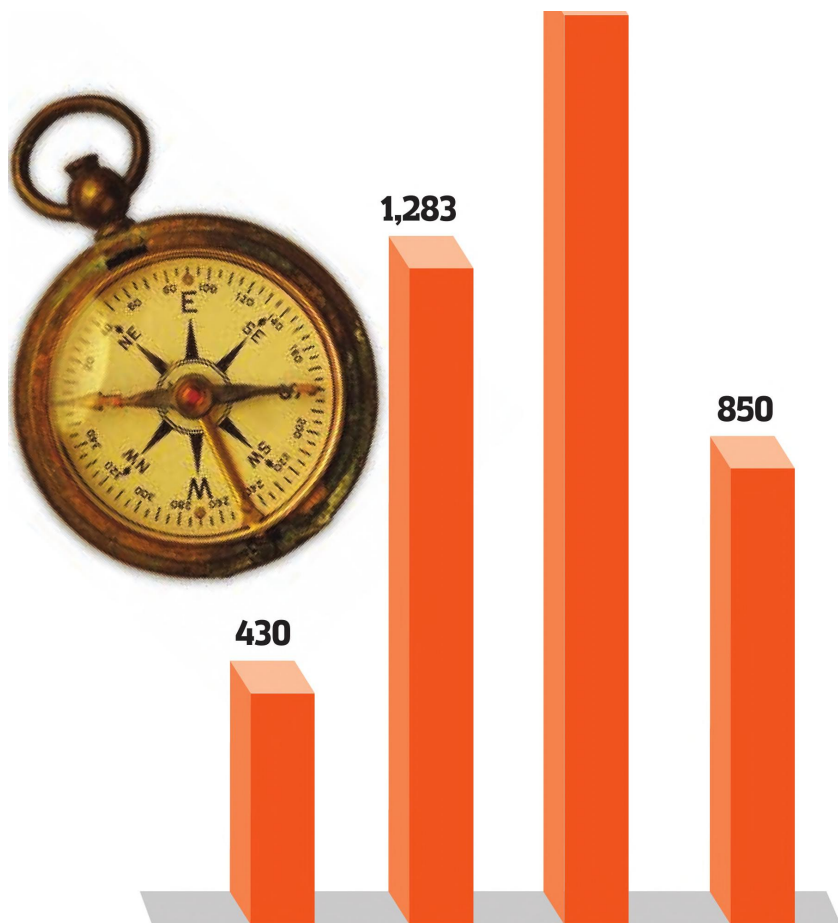
## AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 259 Immigration

from abroad continued to increase as well. Between 1840 and 1850, more than 1.5 million Europeans moved to Surging America, three times the number of arrivals Immigration in the 1830s. Still greater numbers arrived in the 1850s—over 2.5 million. Almost half the residents of New York City in the 1850s were recent immigrants. In St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee, the foreign-born outnumbered those of native birth. Few immigrants settled in the South. Only 500,000 lived in the slave states in 1860, and a third of these were concentrated in Missouri, mostly in St. Louis. The newcomers came from many different countries and regions: England, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Poland, and Holland. German and But the overwhelming majority came from Irish Ireland and Germany. In 1850, the Irish Immigrants constituted approximately 45 percent and the Germans over 20 percent of the foreign-born in America. By 1860, there were more than 1.5 million Irish-born and approximately 1 million German-born people in the United States. In Germany, the economic dislocations of the industrial revolution had caused widespread poverty, and the collapse of the liberal revolution there in 1848 also persuaded many Germans to emigrate. In Ireland, the oppressiveness and unpopularity of English rule drove many people out. But even more important was the greatest disaster in Ireland's history: a catastrophic failure of the potato crop (and other food crops) that caused the devastating "potato famine" of 1845-1849. Nearly a million people died of starvation and disease. Well over a million more emigrated to the United States. The great majority of Irish immigrants settled in the eastern cities, where they swelled the ranks of unskilled labor. Most German immigrants moved on to the Northwest, where they became farmers or went into business in the western towns. One reason for the difference was wealth: German immigrants generally arrived with at least some money; the Irish had practically none. Another important reason was gender. Most German immigrants were members of family groups or were single men, for whom movement to the agricultural frontier was both possible and attractive. Many Irish immigrants were young, single women, for whom movement west was much less plausible. They were more likely to stay in the eastern cities, where factory and domestic work was available. The Rise of Nativism Some native-born Americans welcomed the new



immigration, which provided a large supply of cheap labor that they believed would help keep wage rates low. Land speculators and others with investments in the sparsely populated West hoped that immigrants would move into the region and help expand the population, and thus the market for land and goods, there. Political leaders in western states and territories wanted the immigrants to swell their population, which would increase the political influence of the region. Wisconsin, for example, permitted foreign-born residents to become voters as soon as they had declared their intention of seeking citizenship and had resided in the state for a year; other western states soon followed its lead. In eastern cities, too, urban political organizations eagerly courted immigrant voters, hoping to enhance their own political strength. Other Americans, however, viewed the growing foreign-born population with alarm. Their fears led to the rise of what is known as "nativism," a defense of native-born people and a hostility to the foreign-born, usually combined with a desire to stop or slow immigration. The emerging nativism took many forms. Some of it was a result of simple racism. Many nativists (conveniently overlooking their own immigrant heritage) argued that the new immigrants were inherently inferior to older-stock Americans. Some viewed them with the same contempt and prejudice-and the same low estimate of their potential abilities-with which they viewed African Americans and Indians. Many nativists avoided racist arguments but argued nevertheless that the newcomers were socially unfit to live alongside people of older stock, that they did not bring with them sufficient standards of civilization. Evidence for that, they claimed, was the wretched urban and sometimes rural slums in which they lived. (Many nativists seemed to assume that such wretchedness was something immigrants chose, rather than the result of their extreme poverty.) Others-especially workers-complained that because foreigners were willing to work for low wages, they were stealing jobs from the native labor force. Protestants, observing the success of Irish Catholics in establishing footholds in urban politics, warned that the Catholic Church and the pope were gaining a foothold in Total immigration during 1,748 five-year periods (in millions) ^ 1841-1845 1846-1850 1851-1855 1856-1860 Year IMMIGRATION, 1841-1860 Immigration continued to increase in the forty years before the Civil War. This chart illustrates the much higher levels of growth than in the previous forty years. The low

point in this era was the first half of the 1840s, in which 430,000 new immigrants entered the United States. That was significantly higher than the largest number of the previous twenty years. In the early 1850s, the number of immigrants grew to nearly 2 million. (© Comstock Images/Alamy) • What events in Europe contributed to this increase in immigration?

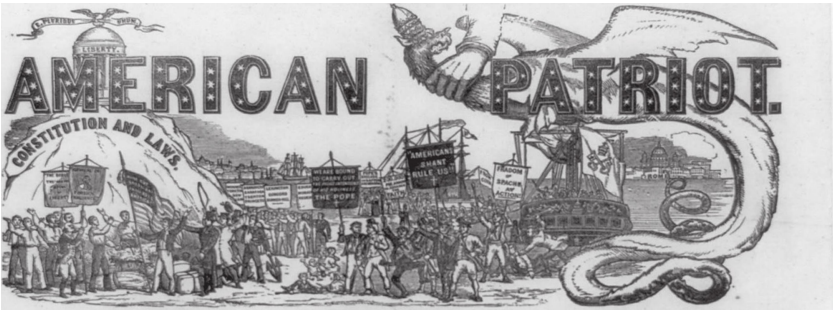


NATIVISM AND ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT AND NATIVISM HAVE LONG BEEN PRESENT IN THE NATION, as indicated by the first two items below: an 1852 broadside announcing publication of The American Patriot , a nativist newspaper, and a cartoon from 1850. The broadside issues a dire warning: "Already the enemies of our dearest institutions, like the foreign spies in the Trojan horse of old, are within our gates. They are disgorging themselves upon us, at the rate of Hundreds of Thousands Every Year! They aim at nothing short of conquest and supremacy over us." Fast-forward to April 2010 when Arizona Senate Bill 1070 was signed into law by Governor Jan Brewer. Provisions of the law include the right of law enforcement agents to ask for a person's immigration documents during routine stops and a mandate that any illegal immigrant convicted of a crime or misdemeanor be turned over to federal immigration agents. Critics claim that the law is a product of nativism and anti-immigration sentiment directed specifically at those of Hispanic origin, which will result in persecution of both legal and undocumented immigrants. Some of the most insightful critiques of the law have come from political cartoonists. See two examples on p. 261.

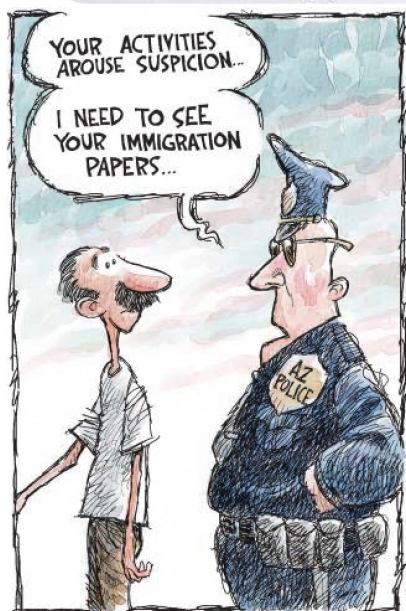
ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT-1850/1852

AMERICAN CITIZENS! Wo b|. | rnl lo you in all calwnroa. l» it not time to pant. t. Already ihw Thor »ru disgorging ib^msolrm upon ua. at the rain of lIvndiipI rmioa of our dcarwt mutilation., like (ha foreign apiea in tbo Trojan horao of old, are within our gal ' Tiinoa a wo. imr TB\*m ! They aim at nothing abort of conquest and supremacy o\*or ua. A PAPER ENTITLED THE We are burdened with enormous ' taxes by foreigners. Wre are corrupted in the morals of our youth. We are interfered with in our government. We are forced into collisions with other nations. We are tampered with in our religion\*. We are injured in our labor. We are assailed in our freedom of speech. •c. The PATRIOT is Published by J. B. P&rwell & Co., 32 Congress St., Boston, IN FAVOR OF The protection of American Mechanics against Foreign Pauper Labor. Foreigners having a residence in the country of 21 years before voting. Our present Free School System. Carrying out the laws of the . State, as regards sending back Foreign Paupers and Criminals. OPPOSED TO Papal Aggression & Roman Catholicism. Foreigners holding office. Raising Foreign Military Companies in the United States. Nunneries

and the Jesuits. To being taxed for the support of Foreign paupers millions of dollars yearly. To secret Foreign Orders in the U. S. And for Sale at the Periodical Depots in this place. Single copies A Cents. (Historicus, Inc.) 260 iiiiiiiiiiiimiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii







262 CHAPTER 10 American government. Whig politicians were outraged because so many of the newcomers voted Democratic. Others complained that the immigrants corrupted politics by selling their votes. Many older-stock Americans of both parties feared that immigrants would bring new, radical ideas into national life. Out of these tensions and prejudices emerged a number of new secret societies created to combat what nativists had come to call the "alien menace." Most of them originated in the Northeast. Some later spread to the West Native American and even to South. The first of these, the Party Native American Association, began agitating against immigration in 1837. In 1845, nativists held a convention in Philadelphia and formed the Native American Party (unaware that the term they used to describe themselves would one day become a common label for American Indians). Many of the nativist groups combined in 1850 to form the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. It endorsed a list of demands that included banning Catholics or the foreign-born from holding public office, more-restrictive naturalization laws, and literacy tests for voting. The order adopted a strict code of secrecy, which included the secret password, used in lodges across the country, "I know nothing." Ultimately, members of the movement became known as the "Know-Nothings." Gradually, the Know-Nothings turned their attention to party politics, and after the election of 1852 they created a new political organization that they called the American Party. In the East, the new organization scored an immediate and astonishing success in the elections of 1854: the Know-Nothings cast a large vote in Pennsylvania and New York and won control of the state government in Massachusetts. Elsewhere, the progress of the Know-

Nothings was modest. Western members of the party, because of the presence of many German voters in the area, found it expedient not to oppose naturalized Protestants. After 1854, the strength of the Know-Nothings declined. SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1840-1860 Although the extent of immigration increased dramatically in the two decades after 1840, the sources of it remained remarkably stable. Note how closely the distribution of immigrant groups portrayed in this pie chart parallels that in the similar chart for the 1820-1840 period on p. 257. • What were some of the differences between what German and Irish immigrants did once they arrived in America? TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND TECHNOLOGY I III III III MINIM III III III Mill III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III Mill III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III Mill MIN Just as the industrial revolution needed a growing population, it also required an efficient system of transportation and communications. Such a system was essential in creating regional.



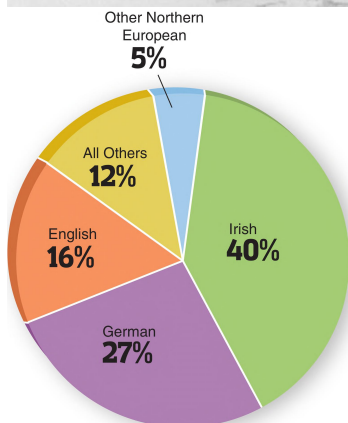
# THE LAMENT OF THE IRISH EMIGRANT. A Ballad Poetry by THE HON. M<sup>RS</sup> PRIDE BLACKWOOD.



— BOSTON —

Published by GEO. P. REED, 17 Tremont Row.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1847, by Mrs. Elizabeth Blackwood, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Massachusetts.

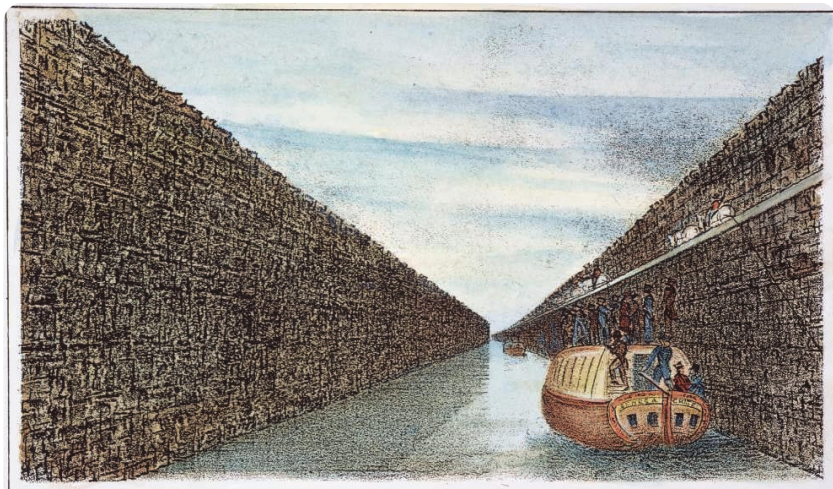


**THE LAMENT OF THE IRISH EMIGRANT** This poem, written by Blackwood and set to music by William R. Dempster captures the painful truth of the potato famine from the mid 1840s to the early 1850s. During this period 1 million people died of starvation and another million emigrated, many to America. The protagonist of the poem sings of his grief from having lost his wife and his home in the new land. ([The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-41030)])

large vote in Pennsylvania and New York and by the state government in Massachusetts. Elsewhere the Know-Nothings was modest. Western men, because of the presence of many German immigrants, found it expedient not to oppose naturalization. After 1854, the strength of the Know-Nothings

**TRANSPORTATION,**

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 263 national, and ultimately international markets. Progress in this area required not just significant investment, but also important advances in technological knowledge. The Canal Age From 1790 until the 1820s, the so-called turnpike era, Americans had relied largely on roads for internal transportation. But in a country as large as the United States was becoming, roads alone (and the mostly horse-drawn vehicles that used them) were not adequate for the nation's expanding needs. And so, in the 1820s and 1830s, Americans began to turn to other means of transportation as well. The larger rivers, especially the Mississippi and the Ohio, had been important transportation routes for years, but most of the traffic on them consisted of flat barges—little more than rafts that floated downstream laden with cargo and were broken up at the end of their journeys because they could not navigate back upstream. To return north, shippers had to send goods by land or by agonizingly slow upstream vessels that sometimes took up to four months to travel the length of the Mississippi. These rivers became vastly more important by the 1820s, Steamboats as steamboats grew in number and improved . . . in design. The new riverboats carried the corn and wheat of northwestern farmers and the cotton and tobacco of southwestern planters to New Orleans in a fraction of the time of the old barges. From New Orleans, oceangoing KNOW-NOTHING SOAP This illustrated advertising label for soap manufactured in Boston alludes to the Know Nothing or nativist movement. The Indians depicted in the foreground and the teepees and camp in the background symbolize the movement's prejudice against foreigners. (The Library of Congress [LC-USZCN4-182]) 3 > TJ3 TO IF r B Hi ® CD. TE.TF ® ISLTD'.i THE ERIE CANAL This lithograph suggests something of the enormous engineering challenges faced by the builders of the Erie Canal. This picture shows a deep cutting at Lockport, New York. The canal was completed in 1825 and connected New York to the Great Lakes via the Hudson River. (© The Granger Collection, New York)



264 CHAPTER 10 ships took the cargoes on to eastern ports. Steamboats also developed a significant passenger traffic, and companies built increasingly lavish vessels to compete for this lucrative trade. But neither the farmers of the West nor the merchants of the East were wholly satisfied with this pattern of trade. Farmers would pay less to transport their goods (and eastern consumers would pay less to consume them) if they could ship them directly eastward to market, rather than by the roundabout river-sea route; and northeastern merchants, too, could sell larger quantities of their manufactured goods if they could transport their merchandise more directly and economically to the West. New highways across the mountains provided a partial solution to the problem. But the costs of hauling goods overland, although lower than before, were still too high for anything except the most compact and valuable merchandise. The thoughts of some merchants and entrepreneurs began, therefore, to turn to an alternative: canals. A team of four horses could haul one and a half tons of goods eighteen miles a day on the turnpikes. But the same four horses, walking along the "towpaths" next to canals while yoked to barges, could draw a boatload of a hundred tons twenty-four miles a day. By the 1820s, the economic advantages of canals had generated a booming interest in expanding the water routes to the West. Canal building was too expensive for private enterprise, and the job of digging of canals fell largely to the states. The ambitious state governments of the Northeast took the lead in constructing them. New York was the first to act. It had the natural advantage of a good land route between the Hudson River and Lake Erie through the only real break in the Appalachian chain. But the engineering tasks were still imposing. The distance was more than 350 miles, several times the length of any of the existing canals in America. The route was interrupted by high ridges and a wilderness of woods. After a long public debate over whether the scheme was practical, canal advocates prevailed when De Witt Clinton, a late but ardent convert to the cause, became governor in 1817. Digging began on July 4, 1817. The building of the Erie Canal was the greatest construction project the United States had ever undertaken. The canal itself was simple: a ditch forty feet wide and four feet deep, with towpaths along the banks. But hundreds of difficult cuts and

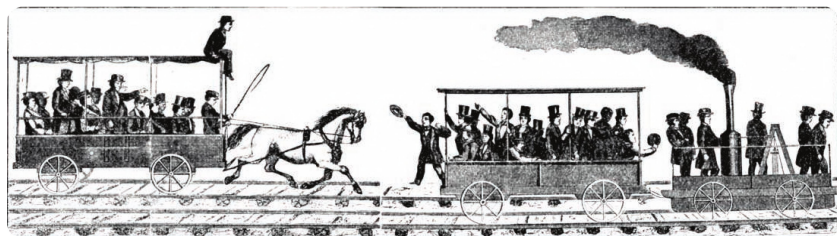
fills, some of them enormous, were required to enable the canal to pass through hills and over valleys; stone aqueducts were Oswego Canal i . 1828 \ Lake Ontario Champlain Canal tome 1823 Welland Canal 1833' MICHIGAN Rochester Syracuse^ Utica' Chenango Canak [ .Buffalo \_ ..anaiv. 1837 \ NEW YORK Genessee Valley Canal Binghamton Chicago! Toledo Wabash and Erie Canal 1856 PENNSYLVANIA Pennsylvania Canal 1840 ^Cleveland Miami and Erie Canal -1845 Delaware and Raritan Canal\* 18341 ILLINOIS .Harrisburg PittsburghJohn\*s^wnHollidaysburg OHIO INDIANA Wheelim Columbus, Columbii ^Philadelphia rNEW / JERSEY Cumberland Baltimore MD.\* Terre Haute Mariet iCincinnati ^Washington, D.C. DEL. PortSITK Chesapeake and' Ohio Canal 1850 Evansville Louisville VIRGINIA KENTUCKY — Canals Navigable rivers \*\*\*\*\* Rail link 1833 Date completed New York City \*New Brunswick Trenton ATLANTIC OCEAN CANALS IN THE NORTHEAST, 1823-1860 The great success of the Erie Canal, which opened in 1825, inspired decades of energetic canal building in many areas of the United States, as this map illustrates. But none of the new canals had anything like the impact of the original Erie Canal, and thus none of New York City's competitors— among them Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston— were able to displace it as the nation's leading commercial center. What form of transportation ultimately displaced the canals?



AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 265 necessary to carry it across streams; and eighty-eight locks, of heavy masonry with great wooden gates, were needed to permit ascents and descents. The Erie Canal was not just an engineering triumph, but an immediate financial success as well. It opened in October 1825, amid elaborate ceremonies and celebrations, and traffic was soon so heavy that within about seven years tolls had repaid the entire cost of construction. By providing a route to the Great Lakes, the canal gave New York City direct access to Chicago and the growing markets of the West. New York City could now compete with (and increasingly replace) New Orleans as a destination for agricultural goods (particularly wheat) and other products of the West, and as a source for manufactured goods to be sold in the region. The system of water transportation- and the primacy of New York City- extended farther when the states of Ohio and Indiana, inspired by the success of the Erie Canal, provided water connections between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. These canals helped connect them by an inland water route all the way to New York, although it was still necessary to transfer cargoes several times between canal, lake, and river craft. One of the immediate results of these new transportation routes was increased white settlement in the Northwest, because canals made it easier for migrants to make the westward journey and to ship their goods back to eastern markets. Rival cities along the Atlantic seaboard took alarm at the prospect of New York's acquiring so vast a hinterland. But they had limited success in catching up. Boston, its way to the Hudson River blocked by the Berkshire Mountains, did not even try to connect itself to the West by canal; its hinterland would remain confined largely to New England. Philadelphia and Baltimore had the still more formidable Allegheny Mountains to contend with. They made a serious effort at canal building, nevertheless, but with discouraging results. Pennsylvania's effort ended in an expensive failure. Maryland constructed part of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal beginning in 1828, but completed only the stretch between Washington, D.C., and Cumberland, Maryland, and thus never crossed the mountains. In the South, Richmond and Charleston also aspired to build water routes to the Ohio Valley, but never completed them. In the end, canals did not provide a satisfactory route to the West for any of New York's rivals. Some cities, however, saw their opportunity in a

different and newer means of transportation. Even before the canal age had reached its height, the era of the railroad was already beginning. The Early Railroads Eventually, railroads became the primary transportation system for the United States, and they remained so until the construction of the interstate highway system in the midtwentieth century. Railroads emerged from a combination of technological and entrepreneurial innovations. The technological breakthroughs included the invention of tracks, the technological basis of the creation of steam-powered locomotives, and the development of railroad cars that could serve as public carriers of passengers and freight. By 1804, both English and American inventors had experimented with steam engines for propelling land vehicles. In 1820, John Stevens ran a locomotive and cars around a circular track on his New Jersey estate. And in 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railroad in England opened a short length of track and became the first line to carry general traffic. American entrepreneurs, especially in those northeastern cities that sought better communication with the West, quickly grew interested in the English experiment. The first company to begin actual operations was the Baltimore and Ohio, which opened a thirteen-mile stretch of track in 1830. In New York, the Mohawk and Hudson began running trains along the sixteen miles between Schenectady and Albany in 1831. By 1836, more than a thousand miles of track had been laid in eleven states. But there was not yet a true railroad system. Even the longest of the lines was comparatively short in the 1830s, and most of them served simply to connect water routes, not to link one railroad to another. Even when two lines did connect, the tracks often differed in gauge (width), so that cars from one line often could not fit onto the tracks of another.

**RACING ON THE RAILROAD** Peter Cooper, who in later years was best known as a philanthropist and as the founder of the Cooper Union in New York City, was also a successful iron manufacturer. Cooper designed and built the first steam-powered locomotive in America in 1830 for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. On August 28 of that year, he raced his locomotive (the Tom Thumb) against a horse-drawn railroad car. This sketch depicts the moment when Cooper's engine overtook the horsecar. (© Universal Images Group/Getty Images)





266 CHAPTER 10 Schedules were erratic, and wrecks were frequent. But railroads made some important advances in the 1830s and 1840s. The introduction of heavier iron rails improved the roadbeds. Steam locomotives became more flexible and powerful. Redesigned passenger cars became stabler, more comfortable, and larger. Railroads and canals were soon competing bitterly. For a time, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company blocked the advance of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad through the narrow gorge of the upper Potomac, which it controlled; and the state of New York prohibited railroads from hauling freight in competition with the Erie Canal and its branches. But railroads had so many advantages that when they were able to compete freely with other forms of transportation they almost always prevailed. Competition between Railroads and Canals

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii The Triumph of the Rails After 1840, railroads gradually supplanted canals and all other modes of transport. In 1840, there were 2,818 miles of railroad tracks in the United States; by 1850, there were 9,021. An unparalleled burst of railroad construction followed in the 1850s, tripling the amount of trackage in just ten years. The most comprehensive and efficient system was in the Northeast, which had twice as much trackage per square mile as the Northwest and four times as much as the South. But the expansion of the rails left no region untouched. Railroads were even reaching west of the Mississippi, which was spanned at several points by great iron bridges. One line ran from Hannibal to St. Joseph on the Missouri River, and another was under construction between St. Louis and Kansas City. An important change in railroad development was the trend toward the consolidation of short lines into longer lines (known \_ as "trunk lines"). By 1853, four major railroad Consolidation . . . ' , , / , u. Mountains to connect the Northeast with the Northwest. The New York Central and the New York and Erie gave New York City access to the Lake Erie ports. The Pennsylvania railroad linked Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and the Baltimore and Ohio connected Baltimore with the Ohio River at Wheeling. From the terminals of these lines, other railroads into the interior touched the Mississippi River at eight points. Chicago became the rail center of the West, served by fifteen lines and more than a hundred daily trains. The appearance of the great trunk lines tended to divert

traffic from the main water routes-the Erie Canal and the Mississippi River. By lessening the dependence of the West on the Mississippi, the railroads helped weaken further the connection between the Northwest and the South. Capital to finance the railroad boom came from many sources. Private American investors provided part of the necessary funding, and railroad companies borrowed large sums from abroad. But local governments-states, counties, cities, towns-also often contributed capital, because they were eager to have railroads serve them. The railroads obtained substantial additional assistance from the federal government in the form of public land grants. In 1850, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and other railroad-minded politicians persuaded Congress to grant federal lands to aid the Illinois Central, which was building from Chicago toward the Gulf of Mexico. Other states and their railroad promoters demanded the same privileges, and by 1860, Congress had allotted over 30 million acres to eleven states to assist railroad construction. Innovations in Communications and Journalism Critical to the railroads was an important innovation in communications: the magnetic telegraph. Telegraph lines extended along the tracks, connecting one station with another and aiding the scheduling and routing of trains. But the telegraph also permitted instant communication between distant cities, tying the nation together as never before. At the same time, it helped reinforce the schism between the North and the South. Like railroads, telegraph lines were far more extensive in the North than in the South, and they helped similarly to link the North to the Northwest (and thus to separate the Northwest further from the South). yHE The telegraph burst into American life Telegraph in 1844, when Samuel F. B. Morse, after several years of experimentation, succeeded in transmitting from Baltimore to Washington, D.C., the news of James K. Polk's nomination for the presidency. The relatively low cost of constructing wire systems made the Morse telegraph system seem the ideal answer to the problems of long-distance communication. By 1860, more than 50,000 miles of wire connected most parts of the country; and a year later, the Pacific telegraph, with 3,595 miles of wire, opened between New York City and San Francisco. By then, nearly all the independent lines had joined in one organization, the Western Union Telegraph Company. New forms of journalism also drew communities into a common communications system. In 1846, Richard Hoe invented the steam cylinder rotary

press, making it possible to print newspapers rapidly and cheaply. The development of the telegraph, together with the introduction of the rotary press, made possible much speedier collection and distribution of news than ever before. In 1846, newspaper publishers from around the nation formed the Associated Press to promote cooperative news gathering by wire; no longer did they have to depend on the cumbersome exchange of newspapers for out-of-town reports. Major metropolitan newspapers began to appear in the larger cities of the Northeast. In New York alone, there were Horace Greeley's Tribune, James Gordon Bennett's Herald, Henry J. Raymond's Times, and others. All gave serious attention to national and even international events and had substantial circulations beyond the city. In the long run, journalism would become an important unifying factor in American life. In the 1840s and 1850s, however, the rise of the new journalism helped to feed sectional discord. Most of the major magazines and newspapers were in

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 267 BRITISH  
 CANADA MINNESOTA NEW YORK WISCONSIN Qtttfl'i'o Soston  
 'Buffalo MASS. XR.I. CONN. Detroil IOWA .Chica < PENNSYLV  
 'eland \ New York iladelphia :incinnati; ATLANTIC OCEAN  
 MISSOURI ;entucky Memphis ARKANSAS ALABAMA .Charleston  
 MISSISSIPPI GEORGIA Jackson LOUISIANA x^-^^New Orleans  
 FLORIDA Northern states Gulf of Mexico Southern states RAILROAD  
 GAUGES - 4', 8.5" (Standard) - 4', 10" ATLANTIC OCEAN Gulf of  
 Mexico RAILROAD GROWTH, 1850-1860 These two maps illustrate  
 the dramatic growth in the extent of American railroads in the  
 1850s. Note the particularly extensive increase in mileage in the  
 upper Midwest (known at the time as the Northwest). Note too the  
 relatively smaller increase in railroad mileage in the South.  
 Railroads forged a close economic relationship between the upper  
 Midwest and the Northeast, and weakened the Midwest's  
 relationship to the South. • How did the growth of railroads in the  
 North contribute to the South's growing sense of insecurity within  
 the Union?



## 268 CHAPTER 10 THE TELEGRAPH

The telegraph provided rapid communication across the country—and eventually across oceans—for the first time. Samuel F. B. Morse was one of a number of nineteenth-century inventors who helped create the telegraph, but Morse was the most commercially successful of the rivals, hence his greater reputation than others who helped create it. (The Library of Congress [LCUSZC4-5040]) the North, reinforcing the South's sense of subjugation. Southern newspapers tended to have smaller budgets and reported largely local news. Few had any impact outside their immediate communities. The combined circulation of the Tribune and the Herald exceeded that of all the daily newspapers published in the South put together. Fueling Sectional Discord

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY By the middle years of the nineteenth century, the United States had developed the beginnings of a modern capitalist economy and an advanced industrial capacity. Impact of the new market economy created enormous wealth and changed the face of all areas of the nation. But it did not, of course, affect everyone equally. Some classes and regions benefited from the economic development far more than others. The Expansion of Business, 1820-1840 American business grew rapidly in the 1820s and 1830s, partly because of population growth and the transportation revolution, but also because of the daring, imagination, and ruthlessness of a new generation of entrepreneurs whose enormous wealth allowed for lifestyles of "conspicuous consumption." One important change came in the retail distribution of goods. In the larger cities, stores specializing in groceries, dry goods, hardware, and other lines appeared, although residents of smaller towns and villages still depended on general stores (stores that did not specialize). In these less populous areas, many people did much of their business by barter. The organization of business was also changing. Individuals or limited partnerships continued to operate most businesses, and the dominating figures were still the great merchant capitalists, who generally had sole ownership of their enterprises. In some larger businesses, however, the individual merchant capitalist was giving way to the corporation. . Corporations began to develop particular advantages of . . . of THE early rapidly in the 1830s, when some Corporation legal obstacles to

their formation were removed. Previously, a corporation could obtain a charter only by a special act of the state legislature-a cumbersome process that stifled corporate growth. By the 1830s, however, states were beginning to pass general incorporation laws, under which a group could secure a charter merely by paying a fee. The new laws also permitted a system of limited liability, which meant that individual stockholders risked losing only the value of their own investment if a corporation should fail, and that they were not liable (as they had been in the past) for the corporation's larger losses. The rise of these new corporations made possible the accumulation of much greater amounts of capital and hence made possible much larger manufacturing and business enterprises. Investment alone, however, still provided too little capital to meet the demands of the most ambitious businesses. Such Inadequate businesses relied heavily on credit, and Credit their borrowing often created dangerous instability. Credit mechanisms remained very crude in the early nineteenth century. The government alone could issue official currency, but the official currency consisted only of gold and silver (or paper certificates backed literally by gold and silver), and there was thus too little of it to support the growing demand for credit. Under pressure from corporate promoters, many banks issued large quantities of bank notes-unofficial currency that circulated in much the same way that government currency did but was of much less stable value. But the notes had value only to the degree that the bank could sustain public confidence in their value; and some banks issued so many notes that their own reserves could not cover them. As a result, bank failures were frequent, and bank deposits were often insecure. The difficulty of obtaining credit for business investment remained, therefore, an impediment to economic growth.

TO CYRUS W. FIELD, ESQ.  
ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH POLKA.



THE THAMES & BROMSWICH COMMUNICATING TO LAY THE CABLE

COMPOSED BY A. TALEDY.



FULL SIZE AND APPEARANCE OF CABLE



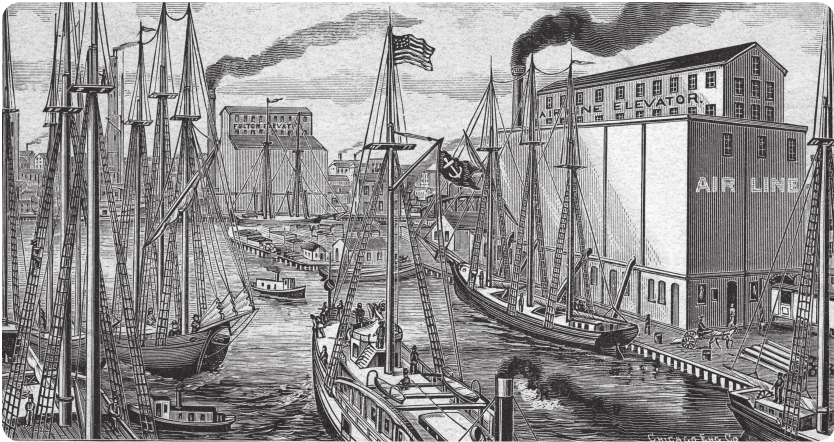
Map of the Atlantic Ocean between America & Europe  
PUBLISHED BY OLIVER DIESON & CO. 111 N. 3rd St. Phila.  
C. C. CLAPP & CO. Boston  
J. H. GORDON New York  
J. A. LANTON Phila.  
J. A. HARRIS & CO. New York

Not printed to order of Congress in the year 1858 in accordance with the order of the Senate in 1858.



of the Factory The most profound economic development in mid-nineteenth-century America was the rise of the factory. Before the War of 1812, most of what manufacturing there was in the United States took place within private households or in small, individually operated workshops. Men and women built or made products by hand, or with simple machines such as hand-operated looms. Gradually, however, improved technology and increasing demand produced a fundamental change. It came first in the New England textile industry. There, entrepreneurs were beginning to make use of new and larger machines driven by water power that allowed them to bring textile operations together under a single roof. This factory system, as it came to be known, spread rapidly in the 1820s and began to make serious inroads into the old home-based system of spinning thread and weaving cloth. Factories also penetrated the shoe industry, concentrated in eastern Massachusetts. Shoes were still largely handmade, „ but manufacturers were beginning to of the Shoe employ workers who specialized in one Industry or another of the various tasks involved in production. Some factories began producing large numbers of identical shoes in ungraded sizes and without distinction as to rights and lefts. By the 1830s, factory production was spreading from textiles and shoes into other industries and from New England to other areas of the Northeast. Between 1840 and 1860, American industry experienced even more dramatic growth as the factory system spread rapidly. In 1840, the total value of manufactured goods produced in the United States stood at \$483 million; ten years later the figure had climbed to over \$1 billion; and in 1860 it reached close to \$2 billion. For the first time, the value of manufactured goods was approximately equal to that of agricultural products. Of the approximately 140,000 manufacturing establishments in the country in 1860, 74,000 were located in the Northeast. The Northeast plants were so Industrial large that the region produced more than Northeast two-thirds of the nation's manufactured goods. Of the 1,311,000 workers in manufacturing in the United States, about 938,000 were employed in the mills and factories of New England and the mid-Atlantic states. Advances in Technology Even the most highly developed industries were still immature by later standards. American cotton manufacturers, for example, produced goods of coarse grade; fine

items continued to come from England. But machine technology advanced more rapidly in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century than in any other country in the world. The American economy was growing so rapidly that the rewards of technological innovation were very great. Change was so rapid, in fact, that some manufacturers built their new machinery out of wood; by the time the wood wore out, they reasoned, improved CARGO IN CHICAGO This engraving of cargo ships docked in the Chicago River illustrates the rapid growth of the city in the 1850s as it was becoming the great trading center of the central part of the United States. (© Archive Photos/Getty Image)



270 CHAPTER 10 technology would have made the machine obsolete. By the beginning of the 1830s, American technology had become so advanced-particularly in textile manufacturing-that industrialists in Britain and Europe were beginning to travel to the United States to learn new techniques, instead of the other way around. The manufacturing of machine tools-the tools used to make machinery parts-was an important contribution to manufacturing. The government supported much of the research and development of machine tools, often in connection with supplying the military. For example, a government armory in Springfield, Massachusetts, developed two important tools: the turret lathe (used for cutting screws and other metal parts) and the universal milling machine (which replaced the hand chiseling of complicated parts and dies)-early in the nineteenth century. The precision grinding machine (which became critical to, among other things, the construction of sewing machines) was designed in the 1850s to help the United States Army produce standardized rifle parts. The federal armories such as those at Springfield and Harpers Ferry, Virginia, became the breeding ground for many technological discoveries, and a magnet for craftsmen and factory owners looking for ideas that could be useful to them. By the 1840s, the machine tools used in the factories of the Northeast were already better than those in most European factories. Interchangeable parts, which Eli Whitney and Simeon North had tried to introduce into gun factories, now found their way into many industries. Even interchangeable parts, interchangeability would revolutionize watch and clock making, the manufacturing of locomotives and steam engines, and the making of many farm tools. It would also help make possible such newer devices as bicycles, sewing machines, typewriters, cash registers, and eventually the automobile. Industrialization was also profiting from the introduction of new sources of energy. Coal was replacing wood and water power as fuel for many factories. The production of coal, most of it mined around Pittsburgh in western Pennsylvania, leaped from 50,000 tons in 1820 to 14 million tons in 1860. The new power source made it possible to locate mills away from running streams and thus permitted industry to expand still more widely. The great technological advances in American industry owed much to American inventors, as the patent records of the time

make clear. In 1830, the number of technological innovations patented was 544; by 1850, the figure had risen to 993; and in 1860, it stood at 4,778. In 1839, Charles Goodyear, a New England hardware merchant, discovered a method of vulcanizing rubber (treating it to give it greater strength and elasticity); by 1860, his process had found over 500 uses and had helped create a major American rubber industry. In 1846, Elias Howe of Massachusetts constructed a sewing machine; Isaac Singer made improvements on it, and the Howe-Singer machine was soon being used in the manufacture of ready-to-wear clothing. For all the technological innovations that characterized the early factory system, most American industry remained dependent on the most traditional source of power: water. In the 1820s and 1830s, water power remained the most important source of power for manufacturing. The first important factory towns in New England—Lawrence, Lowell, and others—emerged where they did because of the natural waterfalls that could be channeled to provide power for the mills built along their banks. This sometimes required factories to close for periods in the winter when rivers were frozen. That was one reason factory owners began to look for alternative forms of energy that could be used throughout the year, which led them by the late 1830s to rely more and more on steam and other transportable forms of energy that could be fueled by wood, coal, or (later) petroleum.

#### MEN AND WOMEN AT WORK

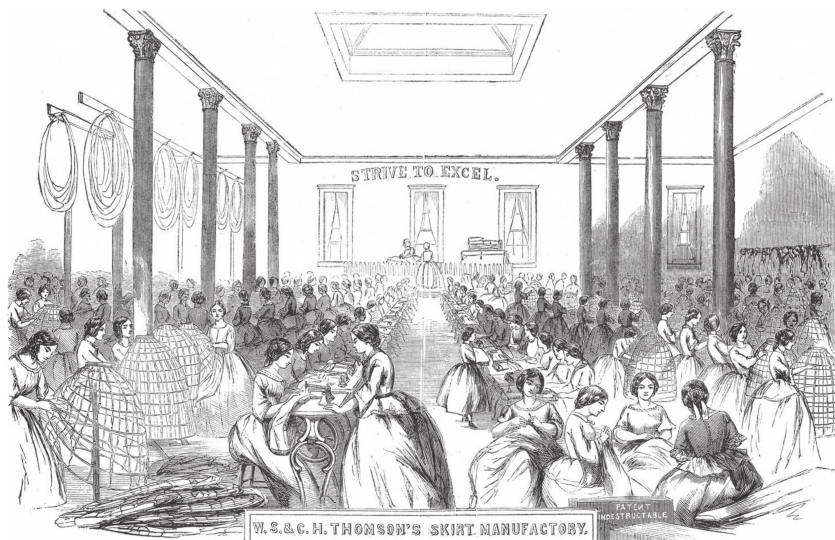
However sophisticated industrial firms became technologically and administratively, manufacturers still relied above all on a supply of labor. In the 1820s and 1830s, factory labor came primarily from the native-born population. After 1840, the growing immigrant population became the most important new source of workers. Recruiting a Native Workforce Recruiting a labor force was not an easy task in the early years of the factory system. Ninety percent of Americans in the 1820s still lived and worked on farms, and many urban residents were skilled artisans-independent crafts workers who owned and managed their own shops as small businessmen; they were not likely to flock to factory jobs. The available unskilled workers were not numerous enough to form a reservoir from which the new industries could draw. The beginnings of an industrial labor supply came instead from the transformation of American agriculture in the nineteenth century. The opening of vast, fertile

new farmlands in the Midwest, the improvement of transportation systems, the development of Agriculture new farm machinery-all combined to increase food production dramatically. New farming methods were also less labor-intensive than the old ones; the number of workers required to produce large crops in the West was much smaller than the number required to produce smaller crops in the less fertile Northeast. No longer did each region have to feed itself entirely from its own farms; it could import food from other regions. As a result, farmers and their families began to abandon some of the relatively unprofitable farming areas of the East. In the Northeast, especially in New England, where poor land had always placed harsh limits on farm productivity, rural people began leaving the land to work in the factories. Two systems of recruitment emerged to bring this new labor supply to the expanding textile mills. One, common in the

## AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 271 WOMEN AT

WORK This wood engraving from an American newspaper of 1859 shows women working in a skirt factory. Aside from the crowdedness of the factory, none of the usual primitive and unsafe conditions characteristic of many work environments of the time are shown. (© The Granger Collection, New York) mid- Atlantic states (especially in such major manufacturing centers as New York City and Philadelphia), brought whole families from the farm to the mill. Parents tended looms alongside their children, some of whom were no more than four or five years old. The second system, common in Massachusetts, enlisted young women, mostly farmers' daughters in their late teens and early twenties. It was known as the Lowell or Waltham System, after the factory towns in which it first emerged. Many of these women worked for several years in the factories, saved their wages, and returned home to marry and raise children. Others married men they met in the factories or in town and remained part of the industrial world, but often stopped working in the mills to take up domestic roles instead. Labor conditions in these early years of the factory system were significantly better than those in English industry, better too than they would ultimately become in much of the United States. The employment of young children created undeniable hardships. But the misery was not as great as in European factories, since working children in America usually remained under the supervision of their parents. In England, by contrast, asylum authorities often hired out orphans to factory owners who showed little concern for their welfare and kept them in something close to slavery. Even more different from the European labor pattern was the "Lowell System," which relied heavily, indeed almost exclusively, on young unmarried women. System In England and other areas of industrial . Europe, the conditions of work for women were often horrifyingly bad. A British parliamentary investigation revealed, for example, that women workers in the coal mines endured unimaginably wretched conditions. Some had to crawl on their hands and knees, naked and filthy. through cramped, narrow tunnels, pulling heavy coal carts behind them. It was little wonder that English visitors to America considered the Lowell mills a female paradise by contrast. The Lowell workers lived in clean boardinghouses and dormitories, which the factory owners

maintained for them. They were well fed and carefully supervised. Because many New Englanders considered the employment of women to be vaguely immoral, the factory owners placed great emphasis on maintaining a proper environment for their employees, enforcing strict curfews and requiring regular church attendance. Employers quickly dismissed women suspected of immoral conduct. Wages for the Lowell workers were generous by the standards of the time. The women even found time to write and publish a monthly magazine, the Lowell Offering. Yet even these relatively well-treated workers often found the transition from farm life to factory work difficult, even traumatic. Uprooted from everything familiar, forced to live among strangers in a regimented environment, many women suffered from severe loneliness and disorientation. Still more had difficulty adjusting to the nature of factory work-the repetition of fixed tasks hour after hour, day after day. That the women had to labor from sunrise to sunset was not in itself a new experience; many of them had worked similarly long days on the farm. But that they now had to spend those days performing tedious, unvarying chores, and that their schedules did not change from week to week or season to season, made the adjustment to factory work especially painful. But however uncomfortable women may have found factory work, they had few other options. They were barred from such manual labor as construction or from work as sailors or on the docks. Most of society considered it unthinkable



W. S. & C. H. THOMSON'S SKIRT MANUFACTORY.



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STRICT RULES GOVERNED THE WORKING LIFE OF THE YOUNG WOMEN who worked in the textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Equally strict rules regulated their time away from work (what little leisure time they enjoyed) in the company-supervised boardinghouses in which they lived. The excerpts from the Handbook to Lowell from 1848 that follow suggest the tight supervision under which the Lowell mill girls worked and lived. Many companies today publish employee handbooks that provide information about employee responsibilities, including working hours and days, and expectations of employee performance. They may also outline employee benefits, such as compensation, vacation policies, and medical benefits. Some companies issue formal rules of conduct and ethics by which their employees must abide. The example from the Simpson Manufacturing Company, which makes building products, provides an interesting comparison to the Lowell guidelines.

HANDBOOK TO LOWELL- 1848 Handbook to Lowell \ Factory Rules REGULATIONS TO BE OBSERVED by all persons employed in the factories of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company. The overseers are to be always in their rooms at the starting of the mill, and not absent unnecessarily during working hours. They are to see that all those employed in their rooms are in their places in due season, and keep a correct account of their time and work. They may grant leave of absence to those employed under them, when they have spare hands to supply their places and not otherwise, except in cases of absolute necessity. All persons in the employ of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company are to observe the regulations of the room where they are employed. They are not to be absent from their work without the consent of the overseer, except in cases of sickness, and then they are to send him word of the cause of their absence. They are to board in one of the houses of the company and give information at the counting room, where they board, when they begin, or, whenever they change their boarding place; and are to observe the regulations of their boarding-house. Those intending to leave the employment of the company are to give at least two weeks' notice thereof to their overseer. All persons entering into the employment of the company are considered as engaged for twelve

months, and those who leave sooner, or do not comply with all these regulations, will not be entitled to a regular discharge. The company will not employ anyone who is habitually absent from public worship on the Sabbath, or known to be guilty of immorality. A physician will attend once in every month at the counting-room, to vaccinate all who may need it, free of expense. Anyone who shall take from the mills or the yard, any yarn, cloth or other article belonging to the company will be considered guilty of stealing and be liable to prosecution. Payment will be made monthly, including board and wages. The accounts will be made up to the last Saturday but one in every month, and paid in the course of the following week. These regulations are considered part of the contract, with which all persons entering into the employment of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, engage to comply. v. \_ \_ \_ J 272 iimiiiiiiiiimiiiiim



customers, and our suppliers with goodwill, trust, and respect. As a Company, we value honesty, high ethical standards and compliance with laws, rules and regulations. The following provides guidance on the application of these principles: Compliance with laws, rules and regulations

**Accounting Requirements:** Follow the accepted rules and controls required by the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB), and New York Stock Exchange (NYSE). For additional information on these rules and controls, contact the Company's Chief Financial Officer.

**Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and Discrimination Laws:** It continues to be the practice of the Company to employ positive business and personnel practices designed to ensure the full realization of equal employment opportunity. Further, we expect all employees to accomplish their work in a businesslike manner with a concern for the well-being of their co-workers. Harassment of any employee by any other employee is prohibited, regardless of their working relationship. Any employee who experiences harassment should bring it to the attention of his/her supervisor or branch manager. If the employee is not satisfied that the matter has been appropriately addressed, the employee should feel free to contact the President of Simpson Strong-Tie or the President of Simpson Manufacturing.

**Securities Laws:** All employees of the Company are prohibited from transacting in the Company's securities, for themselves, family members, friends or any other person, while in the possession of material, nonpublic (inside) information concerning the Company. In addition employees must not give inside information to anyone. Inside information is information that the Company has not made public about any Company activities, such as earnings estimates, the commencement or outcome of litigation, mergers and acquisitions, or any other information that could affect the Company's fortunes and therefore the price of the stock. For more detailed information, please refer to Insider Trading Policies and Procedures, available from the Company's Chief Financial Officer.

**Antitrust Laws:** We do not discuss our prices with our competitors. We do not enter into illegal agreements or engage in illegal practices in restraint of trade. For additional information on antitrust laws, contact the President of Simpson Strong-Tie or the President of Simpson Manufacturing.

**Anti Corruption Laws:** Our officers, directors, employees and agents are expected to comply with all U.S. and foreign laws while conducting business outside the United States, including, but not limited to, the United States Foreign Corrupt Practices Act ("FCPA").

**Health and safety** The Company seeks to provide a clean, safe and healthy place to work.

All employees are expected to observe all safety rules and practices and to follow instructions concerning safe work practices. Record keeping and reporting of information All records and reported information must be accurate, complete, honest and timely.

Conflicts of interest Every employee, officer and director, is expected to make decisions in the best interest of the Company and not for personal gain. A conflict of interest can arise when an employee, officer or director takes action or has a personal interest that may make it difficult to perform his or her work for the Company objectively and effectively. This may include outside business interests, outside employment, outside investments and business relationships with friends or relatives that could cause a conflict of interest. Employees, officers and directors should report potential conflicts of interest and are prohibited from taking for themselves personally opportunities that are discovered or may be available through the use of the Company's property, information or position. Employees are prohibited from accepting meals, entertainment, travel, gratuities, merchandise or promotional material that could influence objectivity in making business decisions. Employees are generally prohibited from accepting any such item worth more than \$50. Certain business events may require an employee's participation in excess of this amount. These must be approved by their supervisor.

Fair dealing Employees, officers and directors should endeavor to deal fairly with the Company's customers and suppliers and each other. No one should take unfair advantage of anyone else through manipulation or misrepresentation of material facts. Quality Products that meet our quality standards are essential to our success. Everyone in the Company is responsible for product quality and must be committed to ensuring the effectiveness of the Quality Management System. For more information on the Company's Quality Principles, please see your supervisor.

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\ Protection and proper use of Company assets All employees, officers and directors should protect the Company's assets and ensure their efficient use. Confidentiality Employees, officers and directors should maintain the confidentiality of information entrusted to them by the Company, its customers, and its vendors and suppliers, except when disclosure is authorized or legally mandated. Confidential information includes all non-public information. Encouraging the reporting of any illegal or unethical behavior Many areas of the law, such as securities and antitrust, are very complicated. The Company encourages employees to talk to supervisors, managers or other appropriate personnel when in doubt about the best course of action in a particular situation. Additionally, employees should report violations of laws, rules, regulations or the Code of Business Conduct and Ethics to the President of the Company or the subsidiary or an ombudsman appointed for this purpose. There will be no retaliation against anyone who presents this type of information in good faith. Waiver of the Code of Business Conduct and Ethics There will be no waivers to the Code of Business Conduct and Ethics. Copyright ©2011 Simpson Manufacturing Co., Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission. N \_ > MAKE CONNECTIONS

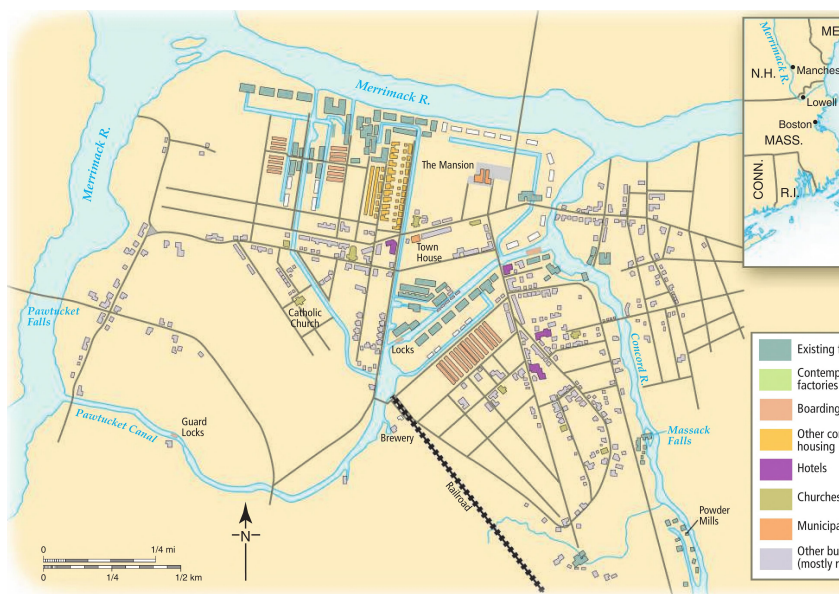
1. What attitude toward its employees is reflected in Simpson Manufacturing's Code of Business Conduct and Ethics? Is the attitude noticeably different from that evident in the Handbook to Lowell ? 2. What image of its own status does the Simpson Manufacturing Code present? 3. What might account for the change in employee-employer relations evident in these two documents?

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Powder Mills Massack Falls Existing factories Contemplated  
 factories Boardinghouses Other company ! housing I Hotels I  
 Churches Municipal buildings Other buildings (mostly residences)  
 LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS, 1832 Lowell was one of the leading  
 manufacturing centers of New England in the 1830s, and one of the  
 largest textile centers in America. Lowell relied heavily on women  
 workers. Company owners— in deference to popular uneasiness  
 about women working outside the home— created a paternalistic  
 system of boardinghouses for them, where they could be carefully  
 supervised. This map shows the clusters of boardinghouses adjacent  
 to groups of factories. Note how concentrated the manufacturing  
 center of the town was, and how the transportation system (rail and  
 water) served the factories. Note also the many churches, which  
 women workers were usually required to attend. • What happened  
 to this labor system in the 1840s and 1850s? for women to travel  
 the country alone, as many men did, in search of opportunities.  
 Work in the mills was in many cases the only alternative to  
 returning to farms that could no longer support them. The  
 paternalistic factory system of Lowell did not, in any case, survive  
 for long. In the competitive textile market as it developed in the  
 1830s and 1840s—a market prey to the booms \_ and busts that  
 afflicted the American econDECLINE OF , , r r 1 • i r THE Lowell  
 omY as a wh'le\_manufacturers found it difSystem ficult to maintain  
 the high living standards . and the attractive working conditions  
 with which they had begun. Wages declined; the hours of work  
 lengthened; the conditions of the boardinghouses deteriorated as  
 the buildings decayed and overcrowding increased. In 1834, mill  
 workers in Lowell organized a union—the Factory Girls Association—  
 which staged a strike to protest a 25 percent wage cut. Two years  
 later, the association struck again—against a rent increase in the  
 boardinghouses. Both strikes failed, and a recession in 1837  
 virtually destroyed the organization. Eight years later the Lowell  
 women, led by the militant Sarah Bagley, created the Female Labor  
 Reform Association and began demanding a ten-hour day (some  
 women worked twelve-hour shifts) and for improvements in  
 conditions in the mills. The new association not only made demands  
 of management; it also turned to state government and asked for  
 legislative investigation of conditions in the mills. By then,



however, the character of the factory workforce was changing again. The young women who had worked in the mills were gradually moving into other occupations-teaching or domestic service-or they got married. And textile manufacturers were turning to a less contentious labor supply: immigrants. The Immigrant Workforce The rapidly increasing supply of immigrant workers after 1840 was a boon to manufacturers and other entrepreneurs. At last they had access to a source of labor that was both large and inexpensive. These new workers, because of their vast numbers and unfamiliarity with their new country, had less leverage than the women they at times displaced. As a result, they often encountered far worse working conditions. Construction



## AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 277 FOUR WOMEN

**WEAVERS** This tintype shows four young women employed in the textile factories of Lowell, Massachusetts. Neatly dressed in matching uniforms, they conveyed the image the factory managers wanted the public to absorb: that women could work in the mills and still be protected from the rough-and-tumble world of industrialization. (© American Textile History Museum, Lowell, MA.)

gang, made up increasingly of Irish immigrants, performed the heavy, unskilled work on turnpikes, canals, and railroads under often intolerable conditions. Because most of these workers had no marketable skills and because of native prejudice against them, they received wages so low (and so intermittently, since the work was seasonal and uncertain) that they generally did not earn enough to support their families in even minimal comfort. Many of them lived in flimsy shanties, in grim conditions that endangered the health of their families (and reinforced native prejudices toward the "shanty Irish"). The arrival of Irish workers accelerated the deterioration of working conditions in New England. There was far less social pressure on owners to provide a decent environment for Irish workers than there had been for native women. Employers began paying piece rates (wages tied to how much a worker produced) rather than a daily wage and employed other devices to speed up production and use the labor force more. It was not only the mill workers who suffered from the transition to the modern factory system. It was also the skilled artisans whose trades the factories were displacing. The artisan tradition was as much a part of the older, republican vision of America as the tradition of sturdy, independent, yeoman farmers. Independent craftsmen considered themselves embodiments of the American ideal; they clung to a vision of economic life that was in some ways very different from what the new capitalist class was promoting. Skilled artisans valued their independence; they also valued the stability and relative equality within their economic world. The factory system threatened that world with obsolescence. Some artisans made successful transitions into small-scale industry. But others found themselves unable to compete with the new factory-made goods that sold for a fraction of the artisans' prices. In the face of

this competition from industrial capitalists, craftsmen began early in the nineteenth century to form organizations- workingmen's political parties and the first American labor unions-to protect their endangered positions and to resist the new economic order. As early as the 1790s, printers and cordwainers (makers of high-quality boots and shoes) took the lead. Members of other skilled trades- carpenters. Joiners, masons, plasterers, hatters, and shipbuilders- felt similarly vulnerable. In such cities as Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and New York, the skilled workers of each craft formed societies for National mutual aid. During the 1820s and 1830s, the Trade Unions cra^ societies began to combine on a city. wide basis and set up central organizations known as trade unions. With the widening of markets, the profitably and efficiently. By the mid-1840s, the town of Lowell- once a model for foreign visitors of enlightened industrial development- had become a squalid slum. Similarly miserable working-class neighborhoods were emerging in other northeastern cities. Conditions were still not as bad as in most factory towns in England and Europe, but in almost all industrial areas, factories themselves were becoming large, noisy, unsanitary, and often dangerous places to work. Harsh Work , , Conditions The average workday was ex" i mu in h i i i i i tending to twelve often fourteen hours. Wages were declining, so that even skilled male workers could hope to earn only from \$4 to \$10 per week, while unskilled laborers were likely to earn only about \$1 to \$6 per week. Women and children, whatever their skills, also earned less than most men. The Factory System and the Artisan Tradition



178 CHAPTER 10 economies of cities were interconnected, so workers soon realized there were advantages in joining forces. They established national unions or federations of local ones. In 1834, delegates from six cities founded the National Trades' Union; and in 1836, the printers and the cordwainers set up their own national craft unions. This early craft union movement fared poorly. Labor leaders struggled against the handicap of hostile laws and hostile courts. The common law, as interpreted by the courts in the industrial states, viewed a combination among workers as an illegal conspiracy. The Panic of 1837, a dramatic financial collapse that produced a severe recession, weakened the movement further. Fighting for Control Workers at all levels of the emerging industrial economy attempted to improve their lots. They tried, with little success, to persuade state legislatures to pass laws setting a maximum workday. Two states-New Hampshire in 1847 and Pennsylvania in 1848-passed ten-hour laws, limiting the workday unless the workers agreed to an "express contract" calling for more time on the job. Such measures were virtually without impact, however, because employers could simply require prospective employees to sign the "express contract" as a condition of hiring. Three states-Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania-passed laws regulating child labor. But again, the results were minimal. The laws simply limited the workday to ten hours for children unless their parents agreed to something longer; employers had little difficulty persuading parents to consent to additional hours. Perhaps the greatest legal victory of industrial workers came in Massachusetts in 1842, when the supreme court of the state, in *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, declared that unions were lawful organizations and that the strike was a lawful weapon. Other state courts gradually accepted the principles of the Massachusetts decision. On the whole, however, the union movement of the 1840s and 1850s remained generally ineffective. Some workers were reluctant to think of themselves as members of a permanent laboring force and resisted joining unions. But even those unions that did manage to recruit significant numbers of industrial workers were usually not large enough or strong enough to stage strikes, and even less frequently strong enough to win them. Artisans and skilled workers, despite their setbacks in the

1830s, had somewhat greater success than did factory workers. But their unions often had more in common with preindustrial guilds than with modern labor organizations. In most cases, their primary purpose was to protect the favored position of their members in the labor force by restricting admission to the skilled trades. The organizing effort that had floundered in the 1830s revived impressively in the 1850s. Among the new organizations skilled workers created were the National Typographical Union, founded in 1852, the Stone Cutters in 1853, the Hat Finishers in 1854, and the Molders and the Machinists, both in 1859. Virtually all the early craft unions excluded women, even though female workers were numerous in almost every industry. As a result, women began establishing their own protective unions in the 1850s, often with the support of middle-class female reformers. Like the male craft unions, the female protective unions had little power in dealing with employers. They did, however, serve an important role as mutual-aid societies for women workers. Despite these persistent efforts at organization and protest, the American working class in the 1840s and 1850s was notable for its relatively modest power. In England, workers were becoming a powerful, united, and often violent economic and political force. They were creating widespread social turmoil and helping to transform the nation's political structure. In America, nothing of the sort happened. Many factors combined to inhibit the growth of effective labor resistance. Among the most important was the flood of immigrant laborers into the country. The newcomers were usually willing to work for lower wages than native workers. Because they were so numerous, manufacturers had little difficulty replacing disgruntled or striking workers with eager immigrants. Ethnic divisions and tensions—both between natives and immigrants and among the various immigrant groups themselves—often led workers to channel their resentments into internal bickering rather than into their shared grievances against employers. There was, too, the sheer strength of the industrial capitalists, who had not only economic but also political and social power and could usually triumph over even the most militant challenges. America's Divided Working Class "Free Labor" Despite the many obstacles and challenges that faced northern workers in the first half of the nineteenth century, nothing was more important than the idea of personal freedom. Most workers had hard lives, but they were

proud of their personal freedoms and considered themselves what some people called the "sovereign individual"-people who could, at least in theory, make choices and change their lives. Modern notions of freedom are much more robust than those of the early nineteenth century, when only a few men (and no women) were able to vote; when workers were sometimes bound to their employers for years; when husbands subjugated their wives and when, of course, millions of African Americans were living with almost no freedom. But even in the early years of American history, the belief in the freedom of the individual was strong. In the North in particular, personal liberty was growing exponentially for more and more Americans. By the mid-nineteenth century, most white Americans identified themselves as free individuals, no matter what their occupations or means.

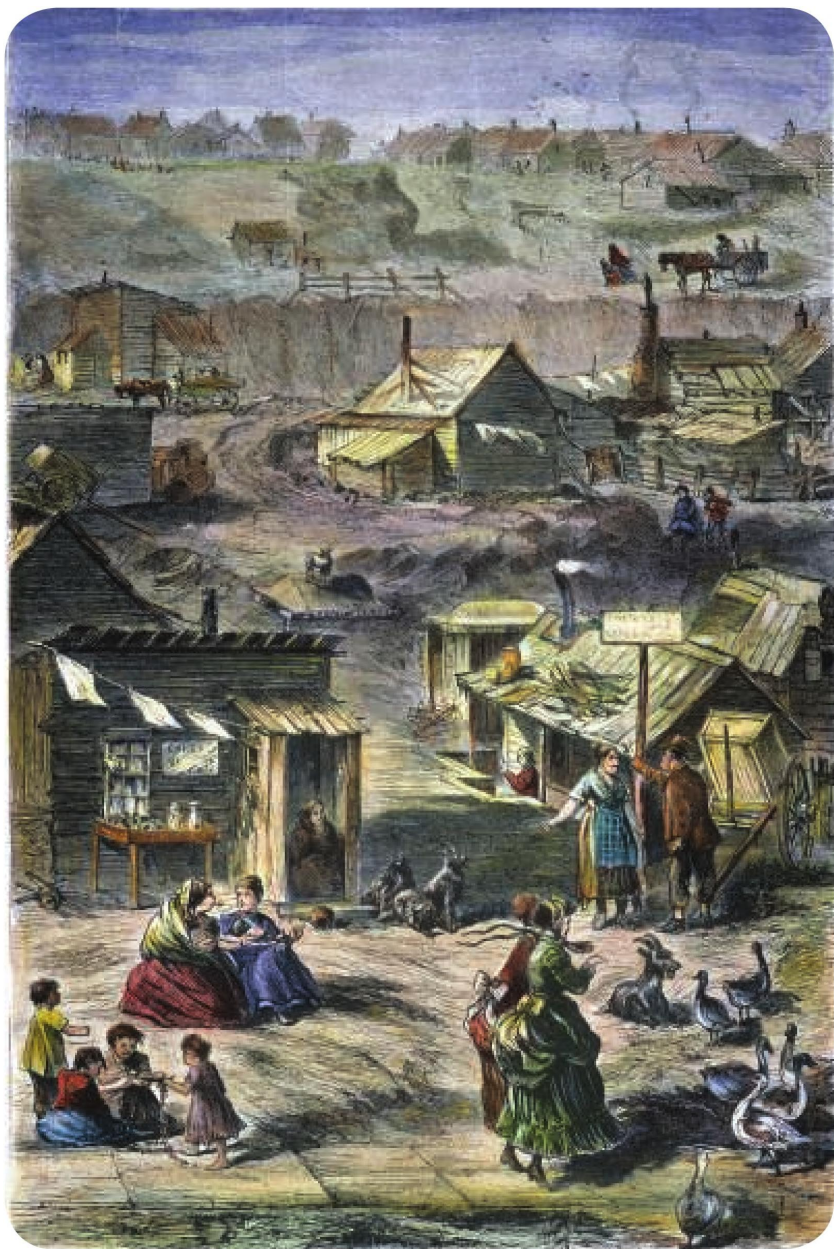
Some of the great philosophers of nineteenth-century America argued that the "independency of the individual" required free people to escape from the market economy and find freedom in solitude and the wonders of nature-as Henry David Thoreau tried to do in his famous retreat to live alone in a cabin on Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts (see p. 318). But for most Americans, the opportunities for solitude and communion with nature were slim. For most northern workers, freedom meant the absence of slavery. It meant that they could leave jobs they did not want, move to new areas of the country, and seek opportunities to change their lives. Their material circumstances were sometimes far worse than those of many slaves in the South. Still, they believed that their lives were better than those who lacked freedom. And when the great debate over slavery began in the 1840s and 1850s, northern laborers-however bad their own lots-abhorred slavery, both because it was the antithesis of freedom and because they feared that slavery threatened the jobs of free laborers. Not only slaves were denied the freedom that most Americans valued. The more than 200,000 free black men and women living in the North (and a few in the South) remained ineligible to vote and were not considered legal citizens. Many of the free blacks in the North were people who had been skilled crafts workers as slaves and who bought or were given their freedom. But their lots were in many ways worse than when they were working in the South. In the northern cities to which many free blacks moved, there were many white craftsmen already who saw black workers as rivals. Most free blacks worked in menial jobs and as domestic servants.

#### PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

The industrial revolution made the United States-and particularly its more economically developed regions-dramatically wealthier almost every year. It was also making society more unequal, and it transformed social relationships and everyday life at almost every level-from the workplace to the family. The Rich and the Poor The commercial and industrial growth of the United States greatly elevated the average income of the American people. But this increasing wealth was being distributed highly unequally. Substantial groups of the population shared hardly at all in the economic Wealth growth: slaves, Indians, landless



farmers, . and many of the unskilled workers on the fringes of the manufacturing system. But even among the rest of the population, disparities of income were marked. Wealth had always been unequally distributed in the United States, to be sure. Even in the era of the Revolution, according to some estimates, 45 percent of the wealth was concentrated in the hands of about 10 percent of the population. But by the mid-nineteenth century, that concentration had become far more pronounced. In Boston in 1845, for example, 4 percent of the citizens are estimated to have owned more than 65 percent of the wealth; in Philadelphia in 1860, 1 percent of the population possessed more than half the wealth. Among the American people overall in 1860, according to scholarly estimates, 5 percent of the families possessed more than 50 percent of the wealth. There had been wealthy classes in America almost from the beginning of European settlement. But the extent and character of wealth were changing in response to the commercial revolution of the mid-nineteenth century. Merchants and industrialists were accumulating enormous fortunes; and because there was now a significant number of rich people living in cities, a distinctive culture of wealth began to emerge. In large cities, people of great wealth gathered together in neighborhoods of great opulence. They founded clubs and developed elaborate social rituals. They looked increasingly for ways to display their wealth-in the great mansions they built, the showy carriages in which they rode, the lavish household goods they accumulated, the clothes they wore, the elegant social establishments they patronized. New York City, which had more wealthy families than anywhere else, developed a particularly elaborate high society. POVERTY IN NEW YORK CITY This wood engraving from 1869 shows "squatters" and their dilapidated shanties. This group of extremely poor people lived on hilly land near New York City's new Central Park, an urban retreat designed for the city's wealthier classes. Compare the circumstances of these homeless people with those of the aristocrats shown in the picture on page 280. (© The Granger Collection, New York)



280 CHAPTER 10 CENTRAL PARK To affluent New Yorkers, the construction of the city's great Central Park was important because it provided them with an elegant setting for their daily carriage rides—an activity ostensibly designed to expose the riders to fresh air but that was really an occasion for them to display their finery to their neighbors. (© Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library) New Yorkers in 1857 were trying to make the city as important as London and Paris. To achieve this goal, they decided to build a great park that would impart elegance to the city and draw New Yorkers to the upper part of the city where new real estate was available. Two great landscape architects—Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux—developed a vast part of Manhattan, displacing people from their houses in the process. The result was one of the largest parks ^, in America. Olmsted called Central Park a Central Park . place of "great importance as the first real park in this country." Designed with hills, lakes, paths, bridges, and elegant buildings, it began as a place for wealthy New Yorkers, but very soon became important to almost everyone in the city. There was also a significant population of genuinely destiThe Urban tute PeoPle emerging in the growing urban Poor centers of the nation. These were people who were not merely poor, in the sense of having to struggle to sustain themselves—most Americans were poor in that sense. They were almost entirely without resources, often homeless, dependent on charity or crime or both for survival. Some of these "paupers," as contemporaries called them, were recent immigrants who had failed to find work or to adjust to life in the New World. Some were widows and orphans, stripped of the family structures that allowed most working-class Americans to survive. Some were people suffering from alcoholism or mental illness, unable to work. Others were victims of native prejudice—barred from all but the most menial employment because of race or ethnicity. The Irish were particular victims of such prejudice. Among the worst off were free blacks. African American communities in antebellum northern cities were small by later standards, but most major urban areas had significant African black populations. Some of these African American Americans were descendants of families Poverty that had lived in the North for generations. Others were former slaves who had escaped from the South or been released by their masters or had bought their

freedom; some former slaves, once free, then worked to buy the freedom of relatives left behind. In material terms, at least, life was not always much better for them in the North than it had been in slavery. Most had access only to very menial jobs, which usually paid too little to allow workers to support their families or educate their children; in bad times, many had access to no jobs at all. In most parts of the North, blacks could not vote, could not attend public schools, indeed could not use any of the public services available to white



## AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION • 281 residents.

Still, most blacks preferred life in the North, however arduous, to life in the South because it permitted them at least some level of freedom. working people, access to the ballot seemed to offer a way to help guide their society and to feel like a significant part of their communities. Social Mobility Middle-Class Life One might expect the contrasts between conspicuous wealth and conspicuous poverty in antebellum America to have encouraged more class conflict than actually occurred. But a number of factors operated to limit resentments. For one thing, however much the relative economic position of American workers may have been declining, the absolute living standard of most laborers was improving. Life, in material terms at least, was usually better for factory workers than it had been on the farms or in the European societies from which they had migrated. They ate better, they were often better clothed and housed, and they had greater access to consumer goods. There was also a significant amount of mobility within the working class, which helped to limit discontent. OpporSocial tunities for social mobility, for working Mobility one's way up the economic ladder, were relatively modest. A few workers did manage to move from poverty to riches by dint of work, ingenuity, and luck-a very small number, but enough to support the dreams of those who watched them. And a much larger number of workers managed to move at least one notch up the ladder-for example, becoming in the course of a lifetime a skilled, rather than an unskilled, laborer. Such people could envision their children and grandchildren moving up even further. More common than social mobility was geographic mobility, which was even more extensive in the United States than in Europe, where it was considerable. America had a huge expanse of uncultivated land in the West, much of it open for settlement for the first time in the 1840s and 1850s. Some workers saved money, bought land, and moved west to farm it. The historian Frederick Jackson Turner later referred to the availability of western lands as a "safety valve" for discontent, a basic explanation for the relative lack of social conflict in the antebellum United States. But few urban workers, and even fewer poor ones, could afford to make such a move or had the expertise to know how to work land even if they could. Much more common was the movement of laborers from one industrial town to another. Restless, questing, sometimes

hopeful, sometimes despairing, these frequently moving people were often the victims of layoffs, looking for better opportunities elsewhere. Their searches may seldom have led to a marked improvement in their circumstances, but the rootlessness of this large segment of the workforce—one of the most distressed segments—made effective organization and protest difficult. There was, finally, another "safety valve" for working-class discontent: politics. Economic opportunity may not have greatly expanded in the nineteenth century, but opportunities to participate in politics did. And to many white, male For all the visibility of the very rich and the very poor in antebellum society, the fastest-growing group in America was the middle class. The expansion of the middle class was in part a result of the growth of the industrial economy and the increasing commercial life that accompanied it. Economic development opened many more opportunities for people to Rapidly own or wor businesses, to own shops. Expanding t0 en8a8e in trade, to enter professions. Middle Class and to administer organizations. In earlier times, when ownership of land had been the only real basis of wealth, society had been divided between people with little or no land (people Europeans generally called peasants) and a landed gentry (which in Europe usually meant an inherited aristocracy). Once commerce and industry became a source of wealth, these rigid distinctions broke down, and many people who did not own land could become prosperous by providing valuable services to the new economy or by owning capital other than land. Middle-class life in the years before the Civil War rapidly established itself as the most influential cultural form of urban America. Middle-class families lived in solid and often substantial homes, which, like the wealthy, they tended to own. Workers and artisans were increasingly becoming renters—a relatively new phenomenon in American cities that spread widely in the early nineteenth century. Middle-class women tended to remain in the home and care for the children and the household, although increasingly they were also able to hire servants—usually young, unmarried immigrant women who put in long hours of arduous work for very little money. One of the aspirations of middle-class women in an age when doing the family's laundry could take an entire day was to escape from some of the drudgery of housework. New household inventions altered, and greatly improved, the character of life in middle-class homes. Perhaps the most important

was the invention of the castHousehold iron stove> which began to replace fireInventions places as the principal vehicle for cooking and also as an important source of heat. These wood- or coal-burning devices were hot, clumsy, and dirty by the standards of the twenty-first century; but compared to the inconvenience and danger of cooking on an open hearth, they seemed a great luxury. Stoves gave cooks more control over the preparation of food and allowed them to cook several things at once. Middle-class diets were changing rapidly in the antebellum years, and not Just because of the wider range of cooking the stove made possible. The expansion and diversification of American agriculture, and the ability of farmers to ship goods to urban markets by rail from distant regions, greatly

282 CHAPTER 10 increased the variety of food available in cities. Fruits and vegetables were difficult to ship over long distances in an age with little refrigeration, but families had access to a greater variety of meats, grains, and dairy products than they had had in the past. A few households acquired iceboxes in the years before the Civil War, and the sight of wagons delivering large chunks of ice to wealthy and middle-class homes began to become a familiar part of urban life. Iceboxes allowed their owners to keep fresh meat and dairy products for as long as several days without spoilage. Most families, however, did not yet have any kind of refrigeration. Preserving food for them meant curing meat with salt and preserving fruits in sugar. Diets were generally much heavier and starchier than they are today, and middle-class people tended to be considerably stouter than would be fashionable in the twenty-first century. Middle-class homes came to differentiate themselves from those of workers and artisans in other ways as well. They were more elaborately decorated and furnished, with household goods made available for the first time through factory production. Houses that had once had bare walls and floors now had carpeting, wallpaper, and curtains. The spare, simple styles of eighteenth-century homes gave way to the much more elaborate, even baroque household styles of the early Victorian era—styles increasingly characterized by crowded, even cluttered rooms, dark colors, lush fabrics, and heavy furniture and draperies. Middle-class homes also became larger. It became less common for children to share beds and less common for all family members to sleep in the same room. Parlors and dining rooms separate from the kitchen—once a luxury reserved largely for the wealthy—became the norm for the middle class as well. Some urban middle-class homes had indoor plumbing and indoor toilets by the 1850s—a significant advance over the outdoor wells and privies that had been virtually universal only a few years earlier (and that remained common among working-class people). The Changing Family The new industrializing society of the northern regions of the United States produced profound changes in the nature and function of the family. At the heart of the transformation was the movement of families from farms to urban areas, where jobs, not land, were the most valued commodities. The patriarchal system of the countryside, whereby fathers controlled their children's futures



by controlling the distribution of land to them, could not survive the move to a city or town. Sons and daughters were much more likely to leave the family in search of work than they had been in the rural world. Another important change was the shift of income-earning work out of the home and into the shop, mill, or factory. In the early decades of the nineteenth century (and for many years before that), the family had been the principal unit of Declining Economic Role of the Family I III 1 1 III 1 1 II I II II Mill II III II III 1 1 HIM II III II Mill 1 1 III 1 1 Mill II economic activity. Family farms, family shops, and family industries were the norm throughout most of the United States. Men, women, and children worked together, sharing tasks and jointly earning the income that sustained the family. But as farming spread to the fertile lands of the Northwest and as the size and profitability of farms expanded, agricultural work became more commercialized. Farm owners in need of labor began to rely less on their families (which often were not large enough to satisfy the demand) and more on hired male workers. These farmhands performed many of the tasks that on smaller farms had once been the jobs of the women and children of the family. As a result, farm women tended to work increasingly at domestic tasks-cooking, sewing, gardening, and dairying-a development that spared them from some heavy labor but that also removed them from the principal income-producing activities of the farm. (See Chapter 1 1 for a discussion of family relations in the agrarian South.) In the industrial economy of the rapidly growing cities, there was an even more significant decline in the traditional economic function of the family. The urban household became less important as a center of production. Instead, most income earners left home each day to work elsewhere. A sharp distinction began to emerge between the public world of the workplace-the world of commerce and industry-and the private world of the family. The world of the family was now more often dominated not by production, but by housekeeping, child rearing, and other primarily domestic concerns. It was also a world dominated by women. Accompanying (and perhaps in part caused by) the changing economic function of the family was Falling Birth , , T i Rates a decline in birth rate. In 1800, the . average American woman could be expected to give birth to approximately seven children during her childbearing years. By 1860, the average woman bore five children. The birth rate fell most quickly in urban areas and among

middle-class women. Mid-nineteenth-century Americans had access to some birth-control devices, which undoubtedly contributed in part to the change. There was also a significant rise in abortions, which remained legal in some states until after the Civil War and which, according to some estimates, may have terminated as many as 20 percent of all pregnancies in the 1850s. But the most important cause of the declining birth rate was changes in sexual behavior-including increased abstinence. Women and the "Cult of Domesticity" The emerging distinction between the public and private worlds, between the workplace and the home, led to increasingly sharp distinctions between the social roles of men and women. Those distinctions affected not only factory workers and farmers, but members of the growing middle class as well. There had, of course, always been important differences between

## AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 283 PASTORAL

AMERICA, 1848 This painting by the American artist Edward Hicks suggests the degree to which Americans continued to admire the "Peaceable Kingdom" (the name of another, more famous Hicks work) of the agrarian world. Hicks titled this work *An Indian Summer View of the Farm w. Stock of James C. Cornell of Northampton Bucks County Pennsylvania. That Took the Premium in the Agricultural Society, October the 12, 1848*. It portrays the diversified farming of a prosperous Pennsylvania family, shown here in the foreground with their cattle, sheep, and workhorses. In the background stretches a field ready for plowing and another ready for harvesting. (Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington) the male and female spheres in American society. Women had long been denied many legal and political rights enjoyed by men; within the family, the husband and father had traditionally ruled, and the wife and mother had generally bowed to his demands and desires. It had long been practically impossible for most women to obtain divorces, although divorces initiated by men were often easier to arrange. (Men were also far more likely than women to win custody of children in case of a divorce.) In most states, husbands retained almost absolute authority over both the property and persons of their wives. Wife beating was illegal in only a few areas, and the law did not acknowledge that rape could occur within marriage. Women traditionally had very little access to the worlds of business or politics. Indeed, in most communities custom dictated that women never speak in public before audiences that included men. Most women also had much less access to education than men, a situation that survived into the mid-nineteenth century. Although they were encouraged to attend school at the elementary level, they were strongly discouraged-and in most cases effectively barred-from pursuing higher education. Oberlin in Ohio became the first college in America to accept female students; it permitted four to enroll in 1837, despite criticism that coeducation was a rash experiment approximating free love. Oberlin authorities were confident that "the mutual influence of the sexes upon each other is decidedly happy in the cultivation of both mind & manners." But few other institutions shared their views. Coeducation remained extraordinarily rare until long after the Civil War; and only a very

few women's colleges-such as Mount Holyoke, founded in Massachusetts by Mary Lyon in 1837-emerged. No longer income producers, middle-class women became guardians of the "domestic virtues." Their role as mothers, entrusted with the nurturing of the young. New Roles for , , , c . Women seemed more central to the family than it . had in the past. And their role as wives— as companions and helpers to their husbands-grew more important as well. Middle-class women also became more important as consumers. They learned to place a high value on keeping a clean, comfortable, and well-appointed home, on entertaining, and on dressing elegantly and stylishly.



CONSIDER THE SOURCE . .,J FAMILY TIME HOW A FAMILY SPENDS TIME TOGETHER has been a favorite subject of artists for centuries. Studying where families gather, how they celebrate, and how they interact and communicate when relaxing or playing is a powerful way to gather information about conventional roles of mothers, fathers, extended family members, children, and sometimes servants. The two images following are separated by 172 years yet strive to tell a similar story about family life. The first image, of a parlor in antebellum Philadelphia, appeared in Godey's Lady's Book in May 1842. Focused on the lives of better-off white women, Godey's Lady's Book featured advice columns on fashion, manners, home decoration, and child rearing. The second, by photographer Eric Audras, is set in present-day America. Audras, who chronicles the joys and struggles of modern families, has a keen eye for catching what fascinates parents and children today. Much is communicated in the small details of each composition: the style of dress, the type of activities being pursued, and the spatial organization of family members. When such details are collectively analyzed, they tell us about the evolution of family life in America.

FAMILY TIME-1842 UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE I  
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 III MINIM III III MINIM III III Mill III III MINIM Millie 1. What does  
 this picture tell us about the organization of family life? What does  
 it suggest about the social roles of different family members? 2.  
 How does the artist communicate the high importance given to  
 reading by families of this era? FAMILY DEVOTION-MORNING  
 (©Archive Photos/Getty Images) 284 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 ii 1 1 1 1 1  
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## 286 CHAPTER 10 NATHAN HAWLEY AND FAMILY

Nathan Hawley, seated at center in this 1801 painting, was typical of many early-nineteenth-century fathers in having a very large family. Nine members are visible here. Hawley at the time was the warden of the Albany County jail in New York, and the painting was by William Wilkie, one of the inmates there. The painting suggests that Hawley was a man of modest but not great means. His family is fashionably dressed, and there are paintings on the walls—signs of style and affluence. But the house is very simply furnished, without drapes for the windows, with a simple painted floor cloth in the front room, and a bare floor in the back. (Nathan Hawley and Family, William Wilkie ca.1801. Albany, New York. Watercolor on paper; 15 3/4 " X 20" Signed lower right: William Wilkie fecit, inscribed in lower margin: NATHAN HAWLEY and FAMILY, Novr. 3d. 1801. © Albany Institute of History and Art Purchase 1951.58)

Occupying their own "separate sphere/" some women began to develop a distinctive female culture. Friendships among women became increasingly intense; women began to form their own social networks (and, ultimately, to form female clubs and associations that were of great importance to the advancement of various reforms). A distinctive feminine literature began to emerge to meet the demands of middle-class women. There were women's magazines, of which the most prominent was Godey's Lady's Book, edited after 1837 by Sarah Hale. The magazine scrupulously avoided dealing with public controversies or political issues and focused instead on fashions, shopping and homemaking advice, and other purely domestic concerns. Politics and religion were inappropriate for the magazine. Hale explained in 1841, because "other subjects are more important for our sex and more proper for our sphere." By the standards of a later era, the increasing isolation of women from the public world seems to be a form of oppression and discrimination. And it is true that few men considered women fit for business, politics, or the professions. On the other hand, most middle-class men—and many middle-class women as well—considered the new female sphere a vehicle for expressing special qualities that made women in some ways superior to men. Women were to be the custodians of „ morality and benevolence, just as the kniffts and Costs home-shaped by the influence of women. was to be a refuge from the harsh, competitive

world of the marketplace. It was women's responsibility to provide religious and moral instruction to their children and to counterbalance the acquisitive, secular impulses of their husbands. Thus the "cult of domesticity," as some scholars have called it, brought both benefits and costs to middle-class women. It allowed them to live lives of greater material comfort than in the past, and it placed a higher value on their "female virtues" and on their roles as wife and mother. At the same time, it left women increasingly detached from the public world, with few outlets for their other interests and energies. The costs of that detachment were particularly clear among unmarried women of the middle class. By the 1840s, the ideology of domesticity had grown so powerful that few genteel women would any longer consider working (as many had in the past) in shops or mills, and few employers would consider hiring them. But unmarried women nevertheless required some income-producing activity. They had few





AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION • 287 choices. Some could become teachers or nurses, professions that seemed to call for the same female qualities that made women important within the home; and both of those professions began in the 1840s and 1850s to attract significant numbers of women, although not until the Civil War did females begin to dominate them. Otherwise, unmarried females were largely dependent on the generosity of relatives or hired as governesses for children or companions for widows and other women. Middle-class people gradually came to consider work by women outside the household to be unseemly, something Working- characteristic of the lower classes-as Class Women indeed it was. But working-class women iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii could not afford to stay home and cultivate the "domestic virtues." They had to produce income for their families. They continued to work in factories and mills, but under conditions far worse than those that the original, more "respectable" women workers had once enjoyed. They also frequently found employment in middle-class homes. Domestic service became one of the most frequent sources of female employment. In other words, now that production had moved outside the household, women who needed to earn money had to move outside their own households to do so. Leisure Activities Leisure time was scarce for all but the wealthiest Americans in the mid-nineteenth century. Most people worked long hours. Saturday was a normal working day. Vacations-paid or unpaid-were rare. For most people, Sunday was the only respite from work and was generally reserved for religion and rest. Almost no commercial establishments did any business on Sunday, and even within the home many families frowned upon playing games or engaging in other kinds of entertainment on the Sabbath. For working-class and middle-class people, therefore, holidays took on a special importance. That was one reason for the strikingly elaborate Fourth of July celebrations throughout the country. The celebrations were not just expressions of patriotism. They were also a way of enjoying one of the few holidays from work available to virtually all Americans. In rural America, where most people still lived, the erratic pattern of farmwork gave many people some relief from the relentless work schedules of city residents. For urban people, however, leisure was something to be seized in what few free

moments they had. Men gravitated to taverns for drinking, talking, and game-playing. Women gathered in one another's homes for conversation or card games or to share work on such household tasks as sewing. For educated people, whose numbers were rapidly expanding, reading became one of the principal leisure activities. Newspapers and magazines proliferated rapidly, and books—novels, histories, autobiographies, biographies, travelogues, and others—became staples of affluent homes. Women were particularly avid readers, and women writers created a new genre of fiction specifically for females—the "sentimental novel," which often offered idealized visions of women's lives and romances (see p. 336). There was also a vigorous culture of public leisure, even if many families had to struggle to find time or means to participate in it. In larger cities, theaters were becoming increasingly popular; and while some of them catered to particular Minstrel social groups, others attracted audiences. Shows that crossed class lines. Wealthy people, middle-class people, workers and their families: all could sometimes be found watching a performance of Shakespeare or a melodrama based on a popular novel or an American myth. Minstrel shows—in which white actors mimicked (and ridiculed) African American culture—became increasingly popular (see p. 420). Public sporting events—boxing, horse racing, cockfighting (already becoming controversial), and others—often attracted considerable crowds. Baseball—not yet organized into professional leagues—was beginning to attract large crowds when played in city parks or fields on the edges of towns (see p. 384). A particularly exciting event in many communities was the arrival of the circus—a traveling entertainment with roots in the Middle Ages that continued to entertain, delight, and bamboozle children and adults alike. Popular tastes in public spectacle tended toward the bizarre and the fantastic. Most men and women lived in a constricted world of familiar things. Relatively few people traveled; and in the absence of film, radio, television, or even much photography, they hungered for visions of unusual phenomena that contrasted with their normal experiences. People going to the theater or the circus or the museum wanted to see things that amazed and even frightened them. Perhaps the most celebrated provider of such experiences P. T. Barnum was famous and unscrupulous showman. P. T. Barnum, who opened the American Museum in New York City in 1842—not a showcase for art or nature, but a great freak show populated by midgets (the most

famous named Tom Thumb), Siamese twins, magicians, and ventriloquists. Barnum was a genius in publicizing his ventures with garish posters and elaborate newspaper announcements. Only later, in the 1870s, did he launch the famous circus for which he is still best remembered. But he was always a pioneer in exploiting public tastes for the wild and exotic. One of the ways Barnum tried to draw visitors to his museum was by engaging lecturers. He did so because he understood that the lecture was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in nineteenth-century America. Men and women flocked in enormous numbers to lyceums, churches, schools, and auditoriums to hear lecturers explain the latest advances in science, to describe their visits to exotic places, to provide vivid historical narratives, or to rail against the evils of alcohol or slavery. Messages of social uplift and reform attracted rapt audiences, particularly among women eager for guidance as they adjusted to the often jarring changes in the character of family life in the industrializing world.

Barnum, circus producer, next to a table on which stands Charles Stratton, a little person who came to be known as General Tom Thumb. Hoping to capitalize on the popular fascination with the bizarre and the fantastic, Barnum hired Stratton at the age of five to tour the country with his circus. Stratton sang, danced, and impersonated famous people such as Napoleon Bonaparte. (© Corbis) THE AGRICULTURAL NORTH Even in the rapidly urbanizing and industrializing Northeast, and more so in what nineteenth-century Americans called the Northwest (and what Americans today call the Midwest), most people remained tied to the agricultural world. But agriculture. Rise of like industry and commerce, was becoming Commercial increasingly a part of the new capitalist Agriculture economy, linked to the national and international market. Where agriculture could not compete in this new commercial world, it declined. Where it could compete, it simultaneously flourished and changed. Northeastern Agriculture The story of agriculture in the Northeast after 1840 is one of decline and transformation. The reason for the decline was simple: the farmers of the section could no longer compete with the new and richer soil of the Northwest. Centers of production were gradually shifting westward for many of the farm goods that had in the past been most important to northeastern agriculture: wheat, corn, grapes, cattle, sheep, and hogs. Some eastern farmers responded to these changes by moving west themselves and establishing new farms. Still others moved to mill towns and became laborers. Some farmers, however, remained on the land and managed to in the hold their own. As the eastern urban cenNortheast ters increased in population, many farmers turned to the task of supplying food to nearby cities; they raised vegetables (truck farming) or fruit and sold it in local towns. New York, for example, led all other states in apple production. The rise of cities also stimulated the rise of profitable dairy farming. Approximately half the dairy products of the country were produced in the East; most of the rest came from the West, where Ohio was the leading dairy state. Partly because of the expansion of the dairy industry, the Northeast led other sections in the production of hay. New York was the leading hay state in the nation; Pennsylvania and New England grew large crops as well. The Northeast also exceeded other areas in producing potatoes. But

while agriculture in the region remained an important part of the economy, it was steadily becoming less important than the industrial growth of the Northeast itself. As a result, the rural population in many parts of the Northeast continued to decline. The Old Northwest There was some industry in the states of the Northwest, more than in the South; and in the two decades before the Civil War, the region experienced steady industrial growth. By 1860, it had 36,785 manufacturing establishments employing 209,909 workers. There was a flourishing industrial and commercial area along the shore of Lake Erie, with Cleveland at its center. Another manufacturing region was in the Ohio River T valley; the meatpacking city of Industrialization 7 , in the Old Cincinnati was its nucleus. Farther Northwest west, the rising city of Chicago, destined to become the great metropolis of the region, was emerging as the national center of the agricultural machinery and meatpacking industries. Most of the major industrial activities of the West either served agriculture (as in the case of farm machinery) or relied on agricultural products (as in flour milling, meatpacking, whiskey distilling, and the making of leather goods). As this suggests, industry was much less important in the Northwest than farming.



Some areas of the Northwest were not yet dominated by whites. Indians remained the most numerous inhabitants of much of the upper third of the Great Lakes states until after the Civil War. In those areas, hunting and fishing, along with some sedentary agriculture, remained the principal economic activities of both whites and Native Americans. But the tribes did not become integrated into the new commercialized economy that was emerging elsewhere in the Northwest. For the white (and occasionally black) settlers who populated the lands farther south, the Northwest was primarily an agricultural region. Its rich and plentiful lands made farming a lucrative and expanding activity there, in contrast to the declining agrarian Northeast. Thus the typical citizen of the Northwest was not an industrial worker or poor, marginal farmer, but the owner of a reasonably prosperous family farm. The average size of western farms was 200 acres, the majority owned by the people who worked them. Rising farm prices around the world provided a strong incentive for these western farmers to engage in commercial agriculture. That usually meant concentrating on a single crop for market (corn, wheat, cattle, sheep, hogs, and others). In the early years of white settlement in the Northwest, farm prices rose because of the debilitation of European agriculture in the . aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and the Agricultural . , . Specialization 8rowin8 urban population (and hence the . growing demand for food) of industrializing areas of Europe. The Northwest, with good water routes on the Mississippi for getting its crops to oceangoing vessels, profited from this international trade. But industrialization, in both the United States and Europe, provided the greatest boost to agriculture. With the growth of factories and cities in the Northeast, the domestic market for farm goods increased dramatically. The growing national and worldwide demand for farm products resulted in steadily rising farm prices. For most farmers, the 1840s and early 1850s were years of increasing prosperity. To meet the increasing demand for its farm products, residents of the Northwest worked strenuously, and often frantically, to increase their productive capacities. Many tried to take advantage of the large areas of still-uncultivated land and to enlarge the area of white settlement during the 1840s. By 1850, the growing western population was moving into the prairie regions both east and west of the

Mississippi: into areas of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. Residents cleared forest lands or made use of fields the Indians had cleared many years earlier. And they began to develop a timber industry to make use of the forests that remained. Wheat was the staple crop of the region, but other crops—corn, potatoes, and oats—and livestock were also important. The Northwest increased production not only by expanding the area of settlement, but also by adopting new agricultural technologies that greatly reduced the labor necessary for producing a crop and slowed the exhaustion of New the region's rich soil. Farmers began to cultivate new varieties of seed, notably . . . the tall Mediterranean wheat, which was hardier.

CYRUS MCCORMICK'S AUTOMATIC REAPER

Cyrus McCormick invented an automatic reaper in 1831 and had it patented in 1834. The machine, drawn by a horse, cut wheat, corn, or other crops and left it lying in swaths in the field where farmworkers would gather it up and store it in stacks. The reaper allowed one worker to harvest as much wheat in a day as five could harvest using earlier methods. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images) than the native type; and they imported better breeds of animals, such as hogs and sheep from England and Spain, to take the place of native stock. Most important were improved tools and farm machines, which American inventors and manufacturers produced in rapidly increasing numbers. During the 1840s, more-efficient grain drills, harrows, mowers, and hay rakes came into wide use. The cast-iron plow, an earlier innovation, remained popular because its parts could be replaced when broken. An even better tool appeared in 1847, when John Deere established at Moline, Illinois, a factory to manufacture steel plows, which were more durable than those made of iron. Two new machines heralded a coming revolution in grain production. The most important was the automatic reaper, McCormick's invention of Cyrus H. McCormick of Reaper Virginia. The reaper enabled one worker to . . . harvest as much wheat (or any other small grain) in a day as five could harvest using older methods. McCormick, who had patented his device in 1834, established a factory at Chicago, in the heart of the grain belt, in 1847. By 1860, more than 100,000 reapers were in use on western farms. Almost as important to the grain grower was the thresher—a machine that separated the grain from the wheat stalks. threshers appeared in large numbers after 1840. Before that, farmers generally flailed grain by hand (seven bushels a day was a



good average for a farm) or used farm animals to tread it (twenty bushels a day on the average). A threshing machine, such as those manufactured by the Jerome I. Case factory in Racine, Wisconsin, could thresh twenty-five bushels or more in an hour. The Northwest considered itself the most democratic section of the country. But its democracy was based on a defense of economic freedom and the rights of property—a white, middle-class vision of democracy that was becoming common

290 CHAPTER 10 in many other parts of the country as well. Abraham Lincoln, an Illinois Whig, voiced the economic opinions of many of the people of his section. "I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can," said Lincoln. "Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. . . . When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life." Rural Life

Life for farming people was very different from life in towns and cities. It also varied greatly from one farming region to another. In the more densely populated farm areas east of the Appalachians and in the easternmost areas of the Northwest, farmers were usually part of vibrant communities and made extensive use of the institutions of those communities-the churches, schools, stores, and taverns. As white settlement moved farther west, farmers became isolated and had to struggle to find any occasions for contact with people outside their own families. Religion drew farm communities together perhaps more than any other force, particularly since so many farm areas were populated by people of common ethnic (and therefore religious) backgrounds. Town or village churches were popular meeting places, for both services and social events-most of them dominated by women. Even in areas with no organized churches, farm families-and. Importance of Religion in Rural Communities

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii again, women in particular-gathered in one another's homes for prayer meetings, Bible readings, and other religious activities. Weddings, baptisms, and funerals also brought communities together in celebration or mourning. But religion was only one of many reasons for interaction. Farm people joined together frequently to share tasks that a single family would have difficulty performing on its own; festive barn raisings were among the most frequent. Women prepared large suppers while the men worked on the barn and the children played. Large numbers of families also gathered together at harvest time to help bring in crops, husk corn, or thresh wheat. Women came together to share domestic tasks as well, holding "bees" in which groups of women joined together to make quilts, baked goods, preserves, and other products. But despite the many social gatherings farm families managed to create, they lived in a

world with much less contact with popular culture and public social life than people who lived in towns and cities. Rural people, often even more than urban ones, treasured their links to the outside world-letters from relatives and friends in distant places, newspapers and magazines from cities they had never seen, catalogs advertising merchandise that their local stores never had. Yet many also valued their separation from urban culture and cherished the relative autonomy that farm life gave them. One reason many rural Americans looked back nostalgically on country life once they moved to the city was that they sensed that in the urban world they did not have as much control over the patterns of their daily lives as they had once known.

**LOOKING BACK** Between the 1820s and the 1850s, the American economy experienced the beginnings of an industrial revolution-a change so profound that in the United States, as in Europe, it transformed almost every area of life in fundamental ways. The American industrial revolution was a result of many things: population growth (through both natural increase and immigration), advances in transportation and communication, new technologies that spurred the development of factories capable of mass producing goods, the recruiting of a large industrial labor force, and the creation of corporate bodies capable of managing large enterprises. The new economy created great wealth, expanding the ranks of the wealthy and helping to create a large new middle class. It also created high levels of inequality, which were particularly visible in the growth of a large industrial working class. Culture in the industrializing areas of the North changed too, and there were important changes in the structure and behavior of the family, in the role of women, and in the way people used their leisure time and encountered popular culture. The changes were often alluring, often disorienting, and often both. They helped widen the gap in experience and understanding between the generation of the Revolution and the generation of the mid-nineteenth century. They also helped widen the gap between North and South.

**Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events** Commonwealth v. Hunt 278 "Cult of domesticity" 282 Cyrus H. McCormick 289 De Witt Clinton 264 Erie Canal 264 Factory system 269 Godey's Lady's Book 286 Know-Nothings 262 Lowell System 271 Machine tools 270 Nativism 259 P. T. Barnum 287 Samuel F. B. Morse 266 Sarah Bagley 276 Trunk lines 266

AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION 291 RECALL AND REFLECT SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1. What were the political responses to immigration in mid-nineteenth-century America? Do you see any parallels to responses to immigration today? 2. Why did the rail system supplant the canal system as the nation's major transportation network? 3. How did the industrial workforce change between the 1820s and the 1840s? What were the effects on American society of changes in the workforce? 4. How did America's industrial revolution and the factory system change family life and women's social and economic roles? 5. How did agriculture in the North change as a result of growing industrialization and urbanization? 1813 Lowell establishes textile mill at Waltham, Massachusetts 1817-1825 Erie Canal constructed 1830 Baltimore and Ohio becomes first American railroad to begin operations 1830s Major immigration from southern (Catholic) Ireland begins First national craft unions founded 1832 Cholera plague \_ 1834 O Cyrus McCormick patents mechanical reaper Women workers at Lowell mills stage strike 1837 Native American Association begins efforts to restrict immigration Oberlin becomes first American coeducational college Mt. Holyoke College for women opens 1842 • ' . Massachusetts Supreme Court, in Commonwealth v. Hunt, declares unions and strikes legal

## 292 CHAPTER 10 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1844 Samuel F.

B. Morse sends first telegraph message 1845 • . . . . Irish potato famine begins, spurring major emigration to America Native American Party formed to combat immigration Female Labor Reform Association established at Lowell 1846 \_ O Rotary press invented, making possible rapid printing of newspapers A 1847 O John Deere begins manufacturing steel plows 1848 Failed revolution in Germany spurs emigration to America - 1850 O Nativists form Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner to oppose immigration 1852 o American Party (KnowNothings) formed

(© The Granger Collection, New York) 2. What was the myth and what was the reality of white society in the South? Why was the myth so pervasive and widely believed? 3. How did slaves resist their enslavement? How successful were their efforts? What was the response of whites? **LOOKING AHEAD**

iiiiiiiii

1. How did slavery shape the southern economy and society, and how did it make the South different from the North?



SETTING THE STAGE THE SOUTH, LIKE THE NORTH, EXPERIENCED DRAMATIC growth in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Southerners fanned out into the territories of the Southwest and established new communities, new states, and new markets. The southern agricultural economy grew increasingly productive and prosperous. Trade in such staples as sugar, rice, tobacco, and above all cotton made the South a major force in international commerce and created substantial wealth within the region. It also tied the South securely to the emerging capitalist world of the United States and its European trading partners. Yet despite its expansion and growth, the South experienced a much less fundamental transformation in these years than did the North. The South had begun the nineteenth century a primarily agricultural region; it remained overwhelmingly agrarian in 1860. It had begun the century with few important cities and little industry; so it remained sixty years later. In 1800, a plantation system dependent on slave labor had dominated the southern economy; by 1860, that system had only strengthened its grip on the region. As the South grew and expanded, it became increasingly unlike the North and increasingly sensitive to what it considered threats to its distinctive way of life. One historian has written, "The South grew, but it did not develop."

THE COTTON ECONOMY The most important economic development in the mid-nineteenth-century South was the shift of economic power from the "upper South" (the original southern states along the Atlantic coast) to the "lower South" (the expanding agricultural regions in the new states of the Southwest). That shift reflected above all the growing dominance of cotton in the southern economy. The Rise of King Cotton Much of the upper South continued in the nineteenth century to rely, as it always had, on the cultivation of tobacco. But the market for that crop was notoriously unstable. Tobacco prices were subject to frequent depressions, including a prolonged one that began in the the Tobacco 1820s and extended into the 1850s. Tobacco also rapidly exhausted the land on Economy which it grew; it was difficult for most growers to remain in business in the same place for very long. By the 1830s, therefore, many farmers in the old tobaccogrowing regions of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina were shifting to other crops-notably wheat-while the center of tobacco cultivation was moving westward, into the

Piedmont area. The southern regions of the coastal South-South Carolina, Georgia, and parts of Florida-continued to rely on the cultivation of rice, a more stable and lucrative crop than tobacco. Rice, however, demanded substantial irrigation and needed an exceptionally long growing season (nine months), so cultivation of that staple remained restricted to a relatively small area. Sugar growers along the Gulf Coast, similarly, enjoyed a reasonably profitable market for their crop. But sugar cultivation required intensive (and debilitating) labor and a long growing time. Only relatively wealthy planters could afford to engage in it, and they faced major competition from the great sugar plantations of the Caribbean. Sugar cultivation, therefore, did not spread much beyond a small area in southern Louisiana and eastern Texas. Long-staple (Sea Island) cotton was another lucrative crop, but like rice and sugar, it could grow only in a limited area-the coastal regions of the Southeast. The decline of the tobacco economy in the upper South, and the limits of the sugar, rice, and long-staple cotton economies farther south, might have forced the region to shift its attention in \_ ^ the nineteenth century to other nonagricultural pursuits, had it not been for Short-Staple j u a Cotton the 8rowin8 importance of a new product that soon overshadowed all else: . short-staple cotton. This was a hardier and coarser strain of cotton that could grow successfully in a variety of climates and in a variety of soils. It was harder to process than the long-staple variety; its seeds were more difficult to remove from the fiber. But the 1793 invention of the cotton gin (see p. 189) had largely solved that problem. 294



COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 295 THE NEW ORLEANS COTTON EXCHANGE Edgar Degas, the French impressionist, painted this scene of cotton traders examining samples in the New Orleans cotton exchange in 1873. By this time the cotton trade was producing less impressive profits than those that had made it the driving force of the booming southern economy of the 1850s. Degas's mother came from a Creole family of cotton brokers in New Orleans, and two of the artist's brothers (depicted here reading a newspaper and leaning against a window) joined the business in America. (Musee des Beaux-Arts, Pau, France/© Giraudon/ The Bridgeman Art Library)

Demand for cotton was growing rapidly. The growth of the textile industry in Britain in the 1820s and 1830s, and in New England in the 1840s and 1850s, created an enormous new demand for the crop. As a result, ambitious men and women rapidly moved into previously uncultivated lands-many of them newly open to planter settlement after the relocation of the tribes in the 1820s and 1830s-to establish new cottongrowing regions. Beginning in the 1820s, therefore, cotton production spread rapidly. From the western areas of South Carolina and Georgia, production moved steadily westward-first into Alabama and Mississippi, then into northern Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. By the 1850s, cotton had become the linchpin of the southern economy. In 1820, the South had produced about 500,000 bales of cotton. By 1850 it was producing nearly 3 million bales a year, and by 1860 nearly 5 million. There were periodic fluctuations in cotton prices, resulting generally from overproduction; periods of boom frequently gave way to abrupt busts. „ But the cotton economy continued to grow. Spread of .f . e u f u Cotton even if in fits and starts. By the time of the Production Civil War, cotton constituted nearly twothirds of the total export trade of the United States and was bringing in nearly \$200 million a year. The annual value of the rice crop, in contrast, was \$2 million. It was little wonder that southern politicians now proclaimed: "Cotton is king!" Cotton production dominated the more recently settled areas of what came to be known as the "lower South" (or, in a later era, the "Deep South"). Many people began to call this region the "Cotton Kingdom." Settlement of the area resembled in some ways the rush of gold seekers to a new strike. The prospect of tremendous profits from growing cotton drew white settlers to the

lower South by the thousands. Some were wealthy planters from the older states who transferred their assets and slaves to a cotton plantation. Most were small slaveholders or slaveless farmers who hoped to move into the planter class. A similar shift, if an involuntary one, occurred in the slave population. Between 1820 and 1860, the number of slaves in Alabama leaped from 41,000 to 435,000, Slavery and in Mississippi from 32,000 to 436,000. In the same period, the increase in Virginia was only from 425,000 to 490,000. Between 1840 and 1860, according to some estimates, 410,000 slaves moved from the upper South to the cotton states-either accompanying masters who were themselves migrating to the Southwest or (more often) sold to planters already there. Indeed, the sale of slaves to the Southwest became an important economic activity in the upper South and helped the troubled planters of that region compensate for the declining value of their crops.

Southern Trade and Industry

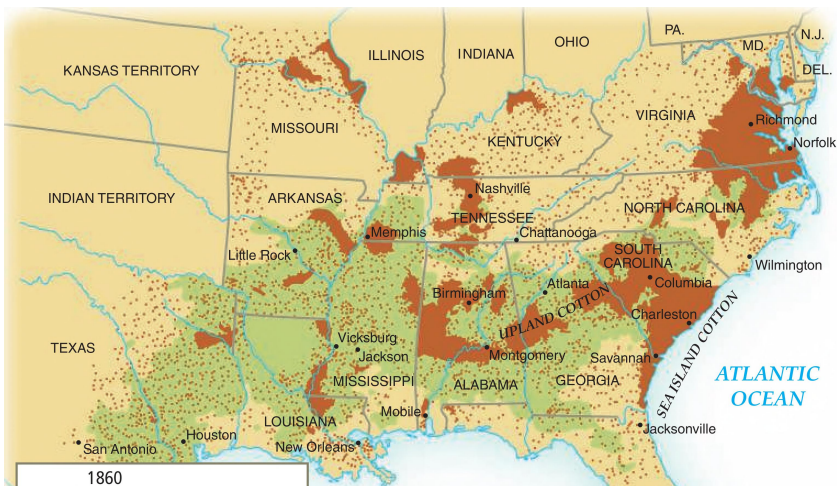
In the face of this booming agricultural expansion, other forms of economic activity developed slowly in the South. The business classes of the region-the manufacturers and merchants-were not unimportant. There was growing activity in flour milling and in textile and iron manufacturing, particularly in the upper South. The Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, for example, compared favorably with the best iron mills in the Northeast. But industry remained an insignificant force in comparison with the agricultural economy. The total value of southern textile manufactures in 1860 was \$4.5 million-a threefold increase over the value of those goods twenty years



296 CHAPTER 11 before, but only about 2 percent of the value of the raw cotton exported that year. To the degree that the South developed a nonfarm commercial sector, it was largely to serve the needs of the plantation economy. Particularly important were the brokers, or "factors," who marketed the planters' crops. These merchants tended to live in such towns as New Orleans, Charleston, Mobile, and Savannah, where they worked to find buyers for cotton and other crops and where they purchased goods for the planters they served. The South had only a very rudimentary financial system, and the factors often also served the planters as bankers, providing them with credit. Planters frequently accumulated substantial debts, particularly during periods when cotton prices were in decline; and the southern merchant-bankers thus became figures of considerable influence and importance in the region. There were also substantial groups of professional

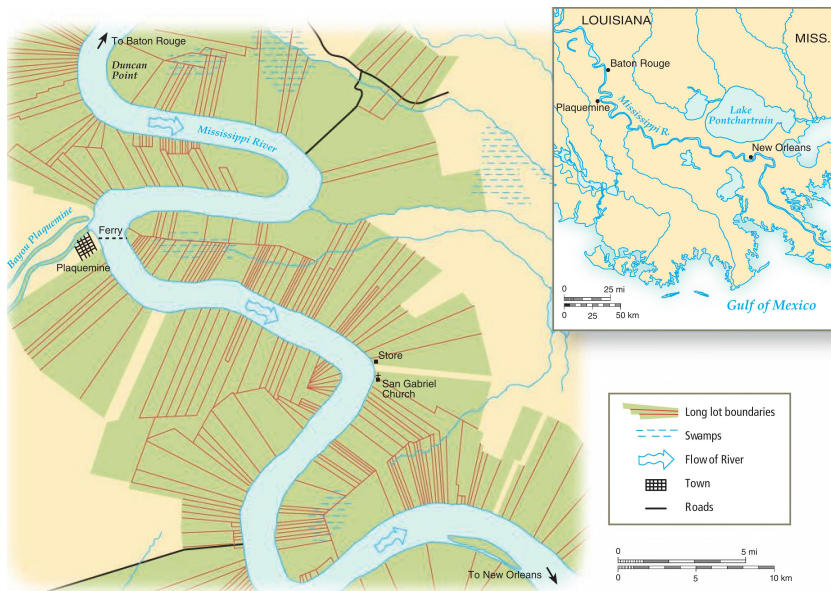
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY ILLINOIS INDIANA OHIO ■ N.J. MISSOURI ■ TERRITORY ARKANSAS TERRITORY .Memphis ;; ■ ■ ;vNjJsfrfyte ' ■. ^ t 1 7. . . . \* TEN Wilmington CAROLINA , 'Columbia MEXICO (SPAIN) Birmingham . • .Atljutap^.-.; A / M7 > chariest^ Vicksburg 1 i-"" ;\*.■; \*\* ' / ■ ' Jackson 7TvV V\* Montgomery gavann dr GEORGIA ;■ f & \*San Antonio Houston t;\*: v^js\$ISSI^Pl|! / / ' ALABAMA LQUfSI^NA ^.'J Mobi|& r^~ ' New 6rleao& ATLANTIC OCEAN 1820 Areas of cotton production Slave distribution (One dot approximates 200 slaves) FLORIDA TERRITORY 400 km SLAVERY AND COTTON IN THE SOUTH, 1820 AND 1860 These two maps show the remarkable spread of cotton cultivation in the South in the decades before the Civil War. Both maps show the areas of cotton cultivation (the green-colored areas) as well as areas with large slave populations (the brown-dotted areas). Note how in the top map, which represents 1820, cotton production is concentrated largely in the East, with a few areas scattered among Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Slavery is most concentrated along the Georgia and South Carolina coast, areas in which long-staple cotton was grown, with only a few other areas of highly dense slave populations. By 1860, the South had changed dramatically. Cotton production had spread throughout the lower South, from Texas to northern Florida, and slavery had moved with it. Slavery was also much denser in the tobacco-growing regions of Virginia and North Carolina, which had

also grown. • How did this economic shift affect the white South's commitment to slavery? ILLINOIS VIRGINIA Imond MISSOURI KENTUCKY lorfolk lash.vi1lQ ARKANSAS ^Wiqksbufg, i^f^VJackson jomery : Savann; KANSAS TERRITORY INDIAN TERRITORY 1 1 PA. OHIO . Mq 4 INDIANA T J V. p J ; " ; \v ■ : .Memphis ^Chattanooga ■; ■ Jh\*, At: 4 Me .Rock' \ 7 Y\ - \* Vv - V CAROLINA ' "'w i • - ■ ■■ v. ■' . ^ ■ S.V" ;':vTWL^ - \* Wllm" V : v - AF^- y: T ■ % -Jjk . : jMj- 4 ■ i TEXAS : - t.y ■ .' \_./v /V 'My - ■ . ■ ■ - ,T V ■■-I: ?.^l6u?fon •■ ■ \* ' . - ■ -V •••Jacksonville ' ' SarvAn^nio. ' N.ew Orleans\*# ■ , : ■ ..i.r Vt \_'■ Wilmington a? ATLANTIC OCEAN 1860 Areas of cotton production Slave distribution (One dot approximates 200 slaves) ■.FLORIDA = 1 200 400 km



COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 297 people in the South-lawyers, editors, doctors, and others. In most parts of the region, however, they too were closely tied to and dependent on the plantation economy. However important manufacturers, merchants, and professionals might have been to southern society, they were relatively unimportant in comparison with the manufacturers, merchants, and professionals of the North, on whom southerners were coming more and more (and increasingly unhappily) to depend. The primitive character of the region's banking system matched a lack of development in other basic services and structures necessary for industrial development. Inadequate perhaps most notable was the South's inRegional , T Transportation adecluate transportation system. In the System North in the antebellum period, enormous sums were invested in roads, canals, and above all railroads to knit the region together into an integrated market. In the South there were no such investments. Canals were almost nonexistent; most roads were crude and unsuitable for heavy transport; and railroads, although they expanded substantially in the 1840s and 1850s, failed to tie the region together effectively. Such towns as Charleston, Atlanta, Savannah, and Norfolk had direct connections with Memphis, and thus with the Northwest; and Richmond was connected, via the Virginia Central, with the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. In addition, several independent lines furnished a continuous connection between the Ohio River and New Orleans. Most of the South, however, remained unconnected to the national railroad system. Most lines in the region were short and local. The principal means of transportation was water. Planters generally shipped their crops to market along rivers or by sea; most manufacturing was in or near port towns. Perceptive southerners recognized the economic subordination of their region to the North. "From the rattle with which the nurse tickles the ear of the child born in the South to the shroud that covers the cold form of the dead, everything comes to us from the North." the Arkansas journalist Albert Pike lamented. Perhaps the most prominent advocate of southern economic independence was James B. D. De Bow, a resident of New Orleans. He published a magazine advocating PLANTATIONS IN LOUISIANA, 1858 This map provides a detailed view of plantation lands along a stretch of the Mississippi River between New Orleans

and Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Note the long, narrow shapes of these landholdings— known as "long lots." This system was designed to give as many planters as possible frontage on the river, which they needed to transport their crops to market and to receive goods in return. The river also deposited rich soil on the lands near its banks, which made cultivation of crops easier. Note how towns, stores, and churches all are near the riverbank, so planters and others living on plantations nearby could reach them easily by boat. How is this landscape different from that of the newly opened federal lands in the West?



298 CHAPTER 11 southern commercial and agricultural expansion, De Bow's Review, which survived from its founding in 1846 until 1880. De Bow's De Bow's Journal into a tireless Review advocate of southern economic independence from the North, warning constantly of the dangers of the "colonial" relationship between the sections. One writer noted in the pages of his magazine: "I think it would be safe to estimate the amount which is lost to us annually by our vassalage to the North at \$100,000,000. Great God!" Yet De Bow's Review was itself evidence of the dependency of the South on the North. It was printed in New York, because no New Orleans printer had facilities adequate for the task; it was filled with advertisements from northern manufacturing firms; and its circulation was always modest in comparison with those of northern publications. In Charleston, for example, it sold an average of 173 copies per issue; Harper's Magazine of New York, in contrast, regularly sold 1,500 copies to South Carolinians. Sources of Southern Difference Despite this growing concern about the region's "colonial dependency," the South made few serious efforts to build an economy that might challenge its dependency. An important question about antebellum southern history, therefore, is why the region did so little to develop a larger industrial and commercial economy of its own. Why did it remain so different from the North? Part of the reason was the great profitability of the South's agricultural system, particularly of cotton production. In the Northeast, many people had turned to manufacturing as the agricultural economy of the region declined. In the South, the agricultural economy was booming. Reasons for this were many. First, the South was eager to profit from the emerging capitalist economy and had little incentive to look beyond it. Another reason was that wealthy southerners had so much capital invested in their land and, particularly, their slaves, they had little left for other investments. Some historians have suggested that the southern climate-with its long, hot, steamy summers-was less suitable for industrial development than the climate of the North. Still others have claimed that southern work habits (perhaps a reflection of the debilitating effects of the climate) impeded industrialization; some white southerners appeared-at least to many northern observers-not to work very hard, to lack the strong work ethic that fueled



northern economic development. But the southern failure to create a flourishing commercial or industrial economy was also in part the result of a set of values distinctive to the South that discouraged the growth of cities and industry. Many white southerners liked to think of themselves as representatives of a special way of life based on traditional values of chivalry, leisure and elegance. White southerners were, they argued, "cavaliers"-people happily free from the base, acquisitive instincts of the "yankees" to their north. Southern white people were, they believed, more concerned with a refined and gracious way of life than with rapid growth and development. Appealing as the "cavalier" image was to southern whites, however, it conformed to the reality of southern society in very limited ways.

### WHITE SOCIETY IN THE SOUTH

Only a small minority of southern whites owned slaves. In 1850, when the total white population of the South was over 6 million, the number of slaveholders was only 347,525. In 1860, when the white population was just above 8 million, the number of slaveholders had risen to only 383,637. These figures are somewhat misleading, since each slaveholder was normally the head of a family averaging five members. But even with all members of slaveowning families included in the figures, those owning slaves still amounted to perhaps no more than one-quarter of the white population. And of the minority of whites holding slaves, only a small proportion owned them in substantial numbers. The Planter Class

### How, then, did the South come to be seen-both by the outside world and by many southerners themselves-as a society dominated by great plantations and wealthy aristocracy?

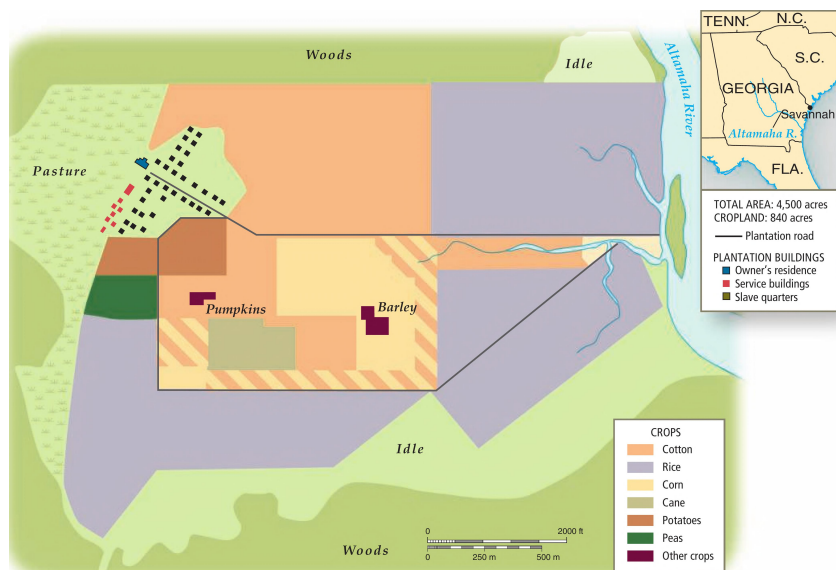
Landowning planters? In large part, it was because the planter aristocracy-the cotton magnates, the sugar, rice, and tobacco nabobs, the whites who owned at least forty or fifty slaves and 800 or more acres-exercised power and influence far in excess of their numbers. They stood at the apex of society, determining the political, economic, and even social life of their region. Enriched by vast annual incomes, dwelling in palatial homes, surrounded by broad acres and many black servants, they became a class to which all other southerners deferred. The wealthiest planters also maintained homes in towns or cities and spent several months of the year there, engaged in a glittering social life. Others traveled widely, especially to Europe, as an antidote to the isolation of plantation life. And many used their plantations to host opulent social events. White southerners liked to

compare their planter class to the old upper classes of England and Europe: true aristocracies, long entrenched. In fact, however, the southern upper class was in most cases not at all similar to the landed aristocracies of the Old World. In some areas of the upper South-the Tidewater region of Virginia, for example-some of the great aristocrats were indeed people whose families had occupied positions of wealth and power for generations. In most of the South, however, a long-standing landed aristocracy, although central to the "cavalier" image, was largely a myth. Even the most important planters in the cotton-growing areas of the South were, typically, new to their wealth and power. As late as



sufficient. Note the large areas of land devoted to growing cotton, rice, and sugarcane, all of them crops for the market. Note also the many crops grown for the local market or for consumption by residents of the plantation— potatoes, vegetables, corn, and others. The top left of the map shows the distribution of living quarters, with slaves' quarters grouped together very near the owner's residence.

- Why would a plantation in this part of the South be so much more diversified in the market crops it raised than the cotton plantations in the Mississippi Delta?
- Why would planters want their slaves living nearby? Why might slaves be unhappy about being so close to their owners?



300 CHAPTER 11 for men raised in a culture in which medieval knights (as portrayed in the novels of Walter Scott) were a powerful and popular image. The aristocratic ideal also found reflection in the definition of a special role for southern white women. "Honor" Above all, perhaps, white males adopted an elaborate code of chivalry, which obligated them to defend their "honor," often through dueling-which survived in the South long after it had largely vanished in the North. Southern white males placed enormous stock in conventional forms of courtesy and respect in their dealings with one another-perhaps to distance themselves from the cruelty and disrespect that were so fundamental to the slave system they controlled. Violations of such forms often brought what seemed to outsiders a disproportionately heated and even violent response. The idea of honor in the South was only partly connected to the idea of ethical behavior and bravery. It was also tied to the importance among white males of the public appearance of dignity and authority-of saving face in the presence of others. Anything that seemed to challenge the dignity, social station, or "manhood" of a white southern male might be the occasion for a challenge to duel, or at least for a stern public rebuke. When the South Carolina congressman Preston Brooks strode into the chamber of the United States Senate and savagely beat Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts with a cane to retaliate for what he considered an insult to a relative, he was acting wholly in accord with the idea of southern honor. In the North, he was reviled as a savage. In the South, he became a popular hero. But Brooks was only the most public example of a code of behavior that many white southern men followed. Honor. Avenging insults was a social necessity in many parts of southern society, and avenging insults to white southern women was perhaps the most important obligation of a white southern "gentleman." The "Southern Lady" In some respects, affluent white women in the South occupied roles very similar to those of middle-class white women in the North. Their lives generally centered in the home, where they served as companions to and hostesses for their husbands and as nurturing mothers for their children. Even less frequently than in the North did "genteel" southern white women engage in public activities or find income-producing employment. THE OLIVIER PLANTATION In this

watercolor on paper, Adrien Persac (1823-1873) places the main house of this sugar plantation on the left with additional dwellings towards the right, on the east bank of the Bayou Teche, an important waterway in Louisiana. Also on the right, he depicts the sugar house and a floating pontoon bridge. The artist represents the self-consciously elegant life of the planter and his family. (© Louisiana State Museum, USA/Bridgeman Images)



life of the "southern lady" was also in many ways very different from that of her northern counterpart. For one thing, the cult of honor in the region meant in theory that southern white men gave particular importance to the "defense" of women. In practice, this generally meant Subordinate Status of Women and white women even more subordinate in southern culture than they were in the North. George Fitzhugh, one of the South's most important social theorists, wrote in the 1850s: "Women, like children, have but one right, and that is the right to protection. The right to protection involves the obligation to obey." More important in determining the role of southern white women, however, were the social and economic realities in which they lived. The vast majority of females in the region lived on farms, isolated from people outside their own families, with virtually no access to the "public world" and thus few opportunities to look beyond their roles as wives and mothers. Because the family was the principal economic unit on most farms, the dominance of husbands and fathers over wives and children was even greater than in those northern families in which income-producing activities had moved out of the home and into the factory or office. For many white women, living on farms of modest size meant a fuller engagement in the economic life of the family than was becoming typical for middle-class women in the North. These women engaged in spinning, weaving, and other production; they participated in agricultural tasks; they helped supervise the slave workforce. On some of the larger plantations, however, even these limited roles were sometimes considered unsuitable for white women; and the "plantation mistress" became, in some cases, more an ornament for her husband than an active part of the economy or the society. CLEAR STARCHING IN LOUISIANA This 1837 etching by Auguste Hervieu offers a strikingly unromanticized view of plantation women in the South. The white plantation mistress, soberly dressed, speaks harshly to two black household servants, presumably criticizing the way they are doing the laundry. The slaves cower, carefully hiding whatever resentment they might feel behind a submissive pose. Nothing in this picture suggests anything like the kind of ease and luxury often associated with plantation life

in popular mythology at the time and since. ( *The Life and Adventures of Jonathan Jefferson Whitlow*, by Frances Trollope, 1836) Southern white women also had less access to education than their northern counterparts. Nearly a quarter of all white women over twenty were completely illiterate; relatively few women had more than a rudimentary exposure to schooling. Even wealthy planters were not interested in extensive schooling for their daughters. The few female "academies" in the South trained women primarily to be suitable wives. Southern white women had other special burdens as well. The southern white birth rate remained nearly 20 percent ~ higher than that of the nation as a whole, and Burdens infant mortality in the region remained higher . than elsewhere; nearly half the children born in the South in 1860 died before they reached five years of age. The slave-labor system had a mixed impact on white women. It helped spare many of them from certain kinds of arduous labor, but it also threatened their relationships with their husbands. Male slaveowners had frequent sexual relationships with the female slaves on their plantations; the children of those unions became part of the plantation labor force and served as a constant reminder to white women of their husbands' infidelity. Black women (and men) were obviously the most important victims of such practices. But white women suffered too. A few southern white women rebelled against their roles and against the prevailing assumptions of their region. Some became outspoken abolitionists and joined northerners in the crusade to abolish slavery. Some agitated for other reforms within the South itself. Most white women, however, found few outlets for whatever discontent they may have felt with their lives. Instead, they generally convinced themselves of the benefits of their position and even more fervently than southern white men-defended the special virtues of the southern way of life. Upper-class white women in the South were particularly energetic in defending the class lines that separated them from poorer whites. The Plain Folk The typical white southerner was not a great planter and slaveholder, but a modest yeoman farmer. Some of these "plain folk," as they have become known, owned a few slaves, with whom they worked and lived far more closely than did the larger planters. Most (in fact, three-quarters of all white families) owned no slaves. Some plain folk, most of whom owned their own land, devoted themselves largely to subsistence farming; others grew cotton or other crops for



the market, but usually could not produce enough to allow them to expand their operations or even get out of debt. During the 1850s, the number of nonslaveholding landowners increased much faster than the number of slaveholding landowners. While there were occasional examples of poor farmers moving into the ranks of the planter class, such cases were rare. Most yeomen knew that they had little prospect of substantially bettering their lot. One reason was the southern educational system, which provided poor whites with few opportunities to learn and thus limited their chances of advancement. For the sons of wealthy planters, the region provided ample opportunities to gain an

## 302 CHAPTER 11 Hill People

In 1860 there were 260 southern colleges and universities, public and private, with 25,000 students enrolled in Limited them, or more than half the total number of Educational students in the United States. But universiOpportunities ties were within the reach of only the upper class. The elementary and secondary schools of the South were not only fewer but also inferior to those of the Northeast (although not much worse than the crude schools of the Northwest), and a higher proportion of whites were illiterate than in other parts of the country. That a majority of the South's white population consisted of modest farmers largely excluded from the dominant plantation society raises another important question about the antebellum South. Why did the plain folk have so little power in the public world of the Old South? Why did they not oppose the aristocratic social system in which they shared so little? Why did they not resent the system of slavery, from which they generally did not benefit? Some nonslaveowning whites did oppose the planter elite, but for the most part in limited ways and in a relatively few, isolated areas. These were southern highlanders, the "hill people," who lived in the Appalachian ranges east of the Mississippi, in the Ozarks to the west of the river, and in other "hill country" or "backcountry" areas cut off from the commercial world of the plantation system. Of all southern whites, they were the most isolated from the mainstream of the region's life. They practiced a simple form of subsistence agriculture, owned practically no slaves, and had a proud sense of seclusion. They were, in most respects, unconnected to the new commercial economy that dominated the great cotton-planting region of the South. They produced almost no surplus for the market, had little access to money, and often bartered for the goods they could not grow themselves. To such men and women, slavery was unattractive for many of the same reasons it was unappealing to workers and small farmers in the North: because it threatened their sense of their own independence. Hill country farmers lived in a society defined by individual personal freedom and unusual isolation from modern notions of property. They also held to older political ideals, which for many included the ideal of fervent loyalty to the nation. Such whites frequently expressed animosity toward the planter aristocracy of the

other regions of the South. The mountain region was the only part of the South to defy the trend toward sectional conformity, and the only part to resist the movement toward secession when it finally developed. Even during the Civil War, many hill country southerners refused to support the Confederacy; some even fought for the Union. Far greater in number, however, were the nonslaveowning whites who lived in the midst of the plantation system. Many, perhaps most of them, accepted that system because they were tied to it in important ways. Small farmers depended on the local plantation aristocracy for many things: access to cotton gins, markets for their modest crops and their livestock, credit or other financial assistance. In many areas, there were also extensive kinship Close Relations with THE Plantation Aristocracy networks linking lower- and upper-class whites. The poorest resident of a county might be a cousin of the richest aristocrat. Together, these mutual ties helped mute what might otherwise have been pronounced class tensions. Small farmers felt tied to the plantation society in other ways as well. For white men, at least, the South was an unusually democratic society, in that participation in politics—both through voting and through attending campaign meetings and barbecues—was even more widespread than in the North, where participation was also high. Just as political participation gave workers in the North a sense of connection to the social order, so it did for farmers in the South—although officeholders in the South, even more than in the North, were almost always members of the region's elites. In the 1850s, moreover, the boom in the cotton economy allowed many small farmers to improve their economic fortunes. Some bought more land, became slaveowners, and moved into at least the fringes of plantation society. Others simply felt more secure in their positions as independent yeomen and hence more likely to embrace the fierce regional loyalty that was spreading throughout the white South in these years. Small farmers, even more than great planters, were also committed to a traditional, male-dominated family structure. Their household-centered economies required the participation of all family members and, they believed, a stable system Commitment of Sender relations to ensure order and staTO bility. Men were the unquestioned masters Paternalism of their homes; women and children, who  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii were both family and workforce, were firmly under the master's control. As the northern

attack on slavery increased in the 1840s and 1850s, it was easy for such farmers to believe-and easy for ministers, politicians, and other propagandists for slavery to persuade them-that an assault on one hierarchical system (slavery) would open the way to an assault on another such system (patriarchy). There were other white southerners, however, who did not share in the plantation economy in even limited ways and yet continued to accept its premises. These were the members of a particularly degraded class-numbering perhaps a half million in 1850-known to other classes variously and demeaningly as "crackers," "sand hillers," or "poor white trash" (a phrase used as a chapter title in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*). Occupying the infertile lands of the pine barrens, the red hills, and the swamps, they lived in miserable cabins amid genuine destitution. Many owned no land (or owned land on which nothing could be grown) and supported themselves by foraging or hunting. Others worked as common laborers for their neighbors, although the slave system limited their opportunities. Their degradation resulted partly from dietary deficiencies and disease. Some resorted at times to eating clay (hence the tendency of affluent whites to refer to them disparagingly as "clay eaters"); and they suffered from pellagra, hookworm, and malaria. Planters and small farmers alike held them in contempt. They formed a true underclass. In some material respects, their plight was worse than that of the African American slaves (who themselves often looked down on the poor whites).

Yet, even among these southerners- the true outcasts of white society in the region-there was no real opposition to Limited Class the Plantation system or slavery- In Part' Conflict undoubtedly, this was because these . men and women were so benumbed by poverty that they had little strength to protest. But their relative passivity resulted also from perhaps the single greatest unifying factor among the southern white population, the one force that was most responsible for reducing tensions among the various classes: their perception of race. However poor and miserable these white southerners were, they could still consider themselves members of a ruling race; they could still look down on the black population of the region and feel a bond with their fellow whites born of a determination to maintain their racial supremacy. As Frederick Law Olmsted, a northerner who visited the South and chronicled southern society in the 1850s, wrote: "From childhood, the one thing in their condition which has made life valuable to the mass of whites has been that the niggers are yet their inferiors." SLAVERY: THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTION"

White southerners often referred to slavery as the "peculiar institution." By that they meant not that the institution was odd, but that it was distinctive, special. The description was apt, for American slavery was indeed distinctive. The South in the mid-nineteenth century was the only area in the Western world-except for Brazil, Cuba, and Puerto Rico-where slavery still existed. Slavery, more than any other single factor, isolated the South from the rest of American society. And as that isolation increased, so did the commitment of southerners to defend the institution. Within the South itself, the institution of slavery had paradoxical results. On the one hand, it isolated blacks from whites, drawing a sharp and inviolable racial line dividing one group of southerners from another. As a result, African Americans under slavery began to develop a society and culture of their own, one unrelated to the white civilization around them. On the other hand, slavery created a unique bond between blacks and whites-masters and slaves-in the South. The two groups may have maintained separate spheres, but each sphere was deeply influenced by, indeed dependent on, the other. Varieties of Slavery Slavery was an institution established and regulated in detail by law. The slave codes of the southern states forbade slaves to hold property, to leave their masters'

premises without permission, to be out after dark, to congregate with other slaves except at church, to carry firearms, or to strike a white person, even in self-defense. The codes of some states prohibited whites from teaching slaves to read or write and denied slaves the right to testify in court against white people. The Legal Basis of Slavery laws contained no provisions to legalize slave marriages or divorces. If an owner killed a slave while punishing him, the act was generally not considered a crime. Slaves, however, faced the death penalty for killing or even resisting a white person and for inciting revolt. The codes also contained extraordinarily rigid provisions for defining a person's race. Anyone with even a trace of African ancestry was defined as black. And anyone even rumored to possess any such trace was presumed to be black unless he or she could prove otherwise-which was, of course, almost impossible to do. These and dozens of other restrictions might seem to suggest that slaves lived under a uniformly harsh and dismal regime. Had the laws been rigidly enforced, that might have been the case. In fact, however, enforcement was spotty and uneven. Some slaves did acquire property, did learn to read and write, and did assemble with other slaves, in spite of laws to the contrary. Although the major slave offenses generally fell under the jurisdiction of the courts (and thus of the slave codes), white owners handled most transgressions and inflicted widely varying punishments. In Reality of . . . \ , . . . Slavery other words, despite the rigid provisions . of law, there was in reality considerable variety within the slave system. Some blacks lived in almost prisonlike conditions, rigidly and harshly controlled by their masters. Many (probably most) others enjoyed some flexibility and (at least in comparison to the regimen prescribed by law) a significant degree of autonomy. Most masters possessed very few slaves, and their experience with (and image of) slavery was a reflection of the special nature of slavery on the small farm. White farmers with few slaves generally supervised their workers directly and often worked closely alongside them. On such farms, blacks and whites developed a form of intimacy unknown on larger plantations. The paternal relationship between such masters and their slaves could, like relationships between fathers and children, be warm and affectionate. It could also be tyrannical and cruel. In either case, it was a relationship based on the relative powerlessness of the slaves. Although the majority of

slaveowners were small farmers, the majority of slaves lived on plantations of medium or large size, with sizable slave workforces. Substantial planters often hired overseers and even assistant overseers to represent them. "Head drivers," trusted and responsible slaves often assisted by several subdrivers, acted under the overseer as foremen. Larger planters generally used one of two methods of assigning slave labor. One was the task system (most common in „ rice culture), under which slaves were asTask and , . . . . r Gang Systems S18ned a particular task in the morning, for . example, hoeing one acre; after completing the job, they were free for the rest of the day. The other, far more common, was the gang system (employed on the cotton, sugar, and tobacco plantations), under which slaves were simply divided into groups, each of them directed by a driver, and compelled to work for as many hours as the overseer considered a reasonable workday.

image, from the mid-1800s, depicts slaves picking cotton along a riverbank. They are waving to men sitting on bales as they ride the barge on route to the market. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) Life under Slavery Slaves generally received at least enough necessities to enable them to live and work. Their masters usually furnished them with an adequate, if mostly coarse, diet, consisting mainly of cornmeal, salt pork, molasses, and on special occasions fresh meat or poultry. Many slaves cultivated gardens for their own use. They received cheap clothing and shoes. They lived in crude cabins, called slave quarters, usually clustered in a complex near the master's house. The plantation mistress or a doctor retained by the owner provided some medical care; but slave women themselves-as "healers" and midwives, or simply as mothers-were the more important source. Slaves worked hard, beginning with light tasks as children. Their workdays were longest at harvest time. Slave women worked particularly hard. They generally Special labored in the fields with the men, and Position of they assumed as well the crucial chores tra. runt . . . . . ii ditionally reserved for women-cooking, cleaning, and child rearing. Because slave families were often divided, with husbands and fathers frequently living on neighboring plantations (or, at times, sold to plantation owners far away), black women often found themselves acting in effect as single parents. Within the slave family, therefore, women had special burdens but also a special authority. Slaves were, as a group, much less healthy than southern whites. After 1808, when the international slave trade became High Slave illegal in America, the proportion of blacks Mortality t0 whites steadily declined. In 1820, there Rates was one African American to every four whites; in 1840, one to every five. The slower increase of the black population was a result of its comparatively high death rate. Slave mothers had large families, but the enforced poverty in which virtually all African Americans lived ensured that fewer of their children would survive to adulthood than the children of white parents. Even those who did survive typically died at a younger age than the average white person.





COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 305 Even so, according to some scholars, the actual material conditions of slavery may have been better than those of some northern factory workers and better than those of both peasants and industrial workers in much of nineteenth-century Europe. The conditions of American slaves were certainly less severe than those of slaves in the Caribbean and South America crops, which required more arduous labor. Sugar production in the Caribbean islands, in particular, involved extraordinarily backbreaking work and a high risk of fatal tropical diseases. Caribbean and South American planters continued to use the African slave trade well into the nineteenth century to replenish their labor supply, so they had less incentive than American planters (who no longer had access to that trade) to protect their existing laborers. Growing cotton, the principal activity for most slaves in the United States, was much less debilitating than growing sugar; and planters had strong economic incentives to maintain a healthy slave population. One result of this was that America became the only country where a slave population actually increased through natural reproduction (although it grew much more slowly than the white population). Most masters did make some effort to preserve the health and thus the usefulness of their slaves. One example was the frequent practice of protecting slave children from hard work until early adolescence. Masters believed that doing so would NURSING THE MASTER'S CHILD This photograph shows a black slave woman caring for a white child. The image was taken in Arkansas in 1855. Black women typically cared for white children on plantations, sometimes with great affection and sometimes—as this photograph may suggest—dutifully and without enthusiasm. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC4-5251)) make young slaves more loyal and would also ensure better health as adults. Another example was the use of hired labor, when available, for the most unhealthy or dangerous tasks. A traveler in Louisiana noted, for example, that Irishmen were employed to clear malarial swamps and to handle cotton bales at the bottom of chutes extending from the river bluff down to a boat landing. If an Irish worker died of disease or in an accident, a master could hire another for a dollar a day or less. But a master would lose an investment of perhaps \$1,000 or more if a prime field hand died. Still, cruel masters might forget their

pocketbooks in the heat of anger. Slaves were often left to the discipline of overseers, who had less of an economic stake in their well-being; overseers were paid in proportion to the amount of work they could get out of the slaves they supervised. Household servants had a somewhat easier life-physically at least-than did field hands. On a small plantation, the same slaves might do both field work and housework. But on a House Slaves large estate > there would generally be a sep. arate domestic staff: nursemaids, housemaids, cooks, butlers, coachmen. These people lived close to the master and his family, eating the leftovers from the family table and in some cases even sleeping in the "big house." Between the blacks and whites of such households affectionate, almost familial relationships might sometimes develop. More often, however, house servants resented their isolation from their fellow slaves and the lack of privacy that came with living in such close proximity to the master's family. Among other things, that proximity meant that their transgressions were more visible than those of field hands, and so they received punishments more often than did other slaves. When emancipation came after the Civil War, it was often the house servants who were the first to leave the plantations of their former owners. Female household servants were especially vulnerable to sexual abuse by their masters and white overseers, who Sexual Abuse sometimes pressured them into suppos. edly consensual sexual relationships and sometimes raped them. In addition to unwanted sexual attention from white men, female slaves often received vindictive treatment from white women. Plantation mistresses naturally resented the sexual liaisons between their husbands and female slaves. Punishing their husbands was not usually possible, so they often punished the slaves instead-with arbitrary beatings, increased workloads, and various forms of psychological torment. Slavery in the Cities The conditions of slavery in the cities differed significantly from those in the countryside. On relatively isolated plantations, slaves had little contact with free blacks and lower-class whites, and masters maintained direct and effective control; a deep and seemingly unbridgeable chasm yawned between slavery and freedom. In the city, however, a master often could not supervise his slaves closely and at the same time use them



DEBATING THE PAST i ar The Character of Slavery jlt

issue in American history has produced a richer literature or a more spirited debate than IN \J the nature of American slavery. The debate began even before the Civil War, when abolitionists strove to expose slavery to the world as a brutal, dehumanizing institution, while southern defenders of slavery tried to depict it as a benevolent, paternalistic system. But by the late nineteenth century, as historian David Blight noted in *Race and Reunion* (2002), with white Americans eager for sectional conciliation, both northern and southern chroniclers of slavery began to accept a romanticized and unthreatening picture of the Old South and its "peculiar institution." The first major scholarly examination of slavery was Ulrich B. Phillips's *American Negro Slavery* (1918), which portrayed slavery as an essentially benign institution in which kindly masters looked after submissive, childlike, and generally contented African Americans. Phillips's apologia for slavery remained the authoritative work on the subject for nearly thirty years. Challenges to Phillips began to emerge in the 1940s, as concern about racial injustice increasingly engaged the attention of white Americans. In 1941, Melville J. Herskovits challenged Phillips's contention that black Americans retained little of their African cultural inheritance. In 1943, Herbert Aptheker published a chronicle of slave revolts as a way of refuting Phillips's claim that blacks were submissive and content. A somewhat different challenge to Phillips emerged in the 1950s from historians who emphasized the brutality of the institution. Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* (1956) and Stanley Elkins's *Slavery* (1959) described a labor system that did serious physical and psychological damage to its victims. Stampp, and especially Elkins, portrayed slavery as something like a prison, in which men and women had no space in which to develop their own social and cultural lives. In the 1970s, new scholarship on slavery focused on slaves' striking success in building a culture of their own despite their enslavement. John Blassingame in 1973 argued that "the most remarkable aspect of the whole process of enslavement is the extent to which the American-born slaves were able to retain their ancestors' culture." Herbert Gutman, in *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (1976), challenged the prevailing belief that slavery had weakened and even destroyed the African American family. On the contrary, he argued, the black

family survived slavery with impressive strength. Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1974) and other works revealed how African Americans manipulated the paternalist assumptions at the heart of slavery to build a large cultural space of their own within the system where they could develop their own family life, social traditions, and religious patterns. That same year, Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman published their profitably. Even if they slept at night in carefully watched backyard barracks, slaves moved about during the day alone, performing errands of various kinds. Thus urban slaves gained numerous opportunities to mingle with free blacks and with whites. In the cities, the line between slavery and freedom became increasingly indistinct. There was a considerable market in the South for common laborers, particularly since, unlike in the North, there were few . European immigrants to perform menial tasks. Urban slaves' chores. Even the poorest whites tended . 1 to prefer working on farms to doing ordinary labor, and so masters often hired out slaves for such tasks. Slaves on contract worked in mining and lumbering (often far from cities); but others worked on the docks and on construction sites, drove wagons, and performed other unskilled jobs in cities and towns. Slave women and children worked in the region's few textile mills. Particularly skilled workers such as blacksmiths or carpenters were also often hired out. Many white southerners considered slavery to be incompatible with city life, and as southern cities grew the number of slaves in them declined, relatively if not absolutely. Fearing conspiracies and insurrections, many urban slaveowners sold off much of their male property to the countryside. The remaining black women outnumbered black men. The same 306 • cities also had more white men than women—a situation that helped account for the birth of many mulattoes. Even while slavery in the cities was declining, the forced segregation of urban blacks, both free and slave, from white society increased. Segregation was a means of social control intended to make up for the loosening of the discipline of slavery in urban areas. Free African Americans There were about 250,000 free African Americans in the slaveholding states by the start of the Civil War, more than half of them in Virginia and Maryland. In some cases, they were slaves who had somehow earned money with which they managed to buy their own and their families' freedom, usually by developing a skill they could market independently of their masters. It was usually urban blacks,

with their greater freedom of movement and activity, who could take that route. One example was Elizabeth Keckley, a slave woman who bought freedom for herself and her son with proceeds from sewing. She later became a seamstress, personal servant, and companion to Mary Todd Lincoln in the White House. But few masters had any incentive, or inclination, to give up their slaves, so this route was open to relatively few people. iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

(© The Granger Collection, New York) controversial *Time on the Cross*, a highly quantitative study that supported some of the claims of Gutman and Genovese about black achievement, but that went much further in portraying slavery as a successful and reasonably humane (if ultimately immoral) system. Slave workers, they argued, were better treated and lived in greater comfort than most northern industrial workers of the same era. Other scholarship on slavery has focused on the role of women within it. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household* (1988) examined the lives of both white and black women on the plantation. Rejecting the claims of some feminist historians that black and white women shared a common female identity born of their shared subordination to men, she portrayed slave women as defined by their dual roles as members of the plantation workforce and anchors of the black family. Recent works by Walter Johnson and Ira Berlin mark at least a partial return to the "damage" thesis. In *Soul by Soul* (2000), a study of the New Orleans slave market, Johnson contends that for whites, purchasing slaves was a way of fulfilling the middle-class fantasy of success and independence, but for the slaves themselves the trade was destructive and dehumanizing. Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone* (2000), *Generation of Captivity* (2003), and *The Making of African America* (2010) similarly emphasize the dehumanizing character of the slave market and argue that slavery was less a social system than a commodification of human beings.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Why have scholarly studies of slavery interpreted the system so differently? Do the differing interpretations reflect general social attitudes of the period in which the studies were written?
2. Why might the conclusions drawn by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman in *Time on the Cross* have provoked vehement criticism?
3. What might be some reasons for the resurgence of focus on the "damage" thesis of slavery, as in the works by Walter Johnson and Ira Berlin? Some slaves were sometimes set free by a master who had moral qualms about slavery, or by a master's will after his death—for example, the more than 400 slaves belonging to John Randolph of Roanoke, freed in 1833. From the 1830s on, however, state laws governing slavery became more rigid. That was in part a response to the fears Nat Turner's revolt (see *Tir HTFNFD 1 Restrictions P- 31*) created



among white southerners: on Free free blacks, removed from close supervision Blacks by whites, might generate more violence and rebellion than slaves. It was also in part because the community of free blacks in southern cities was becoming larger and, to whites, more threatening-a dangerous example to blacks still in slavery. The rise of abolitionist agitation in the North-and the fear that it would inspire slaves to rebel-also persuaded southern whites to tighten their system. The new laws made it more and more difficult, and in some cases practically impossible, for owners to set free (or "manumit") their slaves; all southern states forbade free African Americans from entering. Arkansas even forced the freed slaves living there to leave. A few free blacks (generally those on the northern fringes of the slaveholding regions) attained wealth and prominence. Some owned slaves themselves, usually relatives whom they had bought in order to ensure their ultimate emancipation. In a few cities-New Orleans, Natchez, Charleston-free black communities managed to flourish relatively unmolested by whites and with some economic stability. Most free blacks, however, lived in abject poverty, under conditions worse than those of African Americans in the North. Law or custom closed many occupations to them, forbade them to assemble without white supervision, and placed numerous other restraints on them. They were only quasi-free, but they had all the burdens of freedom: the necessity to support themselves, to find housing, to pay taxes. Yet, great as were the hardships of freedom, these blacks preferred them to slavery.

**The Slave Trade** The transfer of enslaved people from one part of the South to another was one of the most important and terrible consequences of slavery. Sometimes slaves moved to the new cotton lands in the company of their original owners or were migrating themselves. But more often, the transfer occurred through the efforts of professional slave traders. For shorter journeys slaves traveled on foot, trudging in coffles of hundreds along dusty highways. For transfers over longer distances, the traders • 307



308 CHAPTER 11 THE BUSINESS OF SLAVERY The offices of slave dealers were familiar sights on the streets of pre-Civil War southern cities and towns. They provide testimony to the way in which slavery was not just a social system, but a business, deeply woven into the fabric of southern economic life. (The Library of Congress) conveyed slaves via river or ocean steamers. Central slave markets included Natchez, New Orleans, Charleston, and Mobile. In the 1840s and 1850s, healthy young field hands could fetch between \$500 and \$1,700, depending on the fluctuations in the market. The domestic slave trade, essential to the growth and prosperity of the system, was one of its most horrible aspects. The trade dehumanized all who were involved in it. It separated children from their parents and parents from each other. Even families who had long been together might be broken up by new owners in the division of the estate after an old master's death. Planters might deplore the trade, but they eased their consciences by holding traders in contempt. The foreign slave trade was usually badly conducted, resulting in many people dying along the way. Although federal law had prohibited the importation of The Foreign Slave Trade slaves from 1808 on, some continued to be smuggled into the United States as late as the 1850s when the supply of slaves had become inadequate. At the annual southern commercial conventions, planters began to discuss the legal reopening of the trade. "If it is right to buy slaves in Virginia and carry them to New Orleans," William L. Yancey of Alabama asked his fellow delegates in 1858, "why is it not right to buy them in Cuba, Brazil, or Africa?" The convention that year voted to repeal all the laws against slave imports, but the government never acted on its proposal. The continued smuggling was not without resistance from the slaves themselves. In 1839, a group of fifty-three slaves in Cuba took charge of the ship *Amistad* that was transporting REVOLT ON THE AMISTAD Joseph Cinquez led the revolt of African slaves on the Spanish vessel *Amistad* en route to Cuba in June 1839. Once exonerated of charges of murder and piracy, he was reported to have said, "Brothers, we have done that which we purposed, our hands are now clean for we have Striven to regain the precious heritage we received from our fathers. ... I am resolved it is better to die than to be a white man's slave." (© Chicago History Museum, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library)



COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 309 them to another part of Cuba. Their goal was to sail back to their homeland in Africa. The slaves had no experience with sailing, and they tried to compel the crew to steer them across the Atlantic. Instead, the ship sailed up the Atlantic coast until it was captured by a ship of the United States Revenue Service. Many Americans, including President Van Buren, thought the slaves should be returned to Cuba. But at the request of a group of abolitionists, former president John Quincy Adams went before the Supreme Court to argue that they should be freed. Adams argued that the foreign slave trade was illegal and thus the Amistad rebels could not be returned to slavery. The Court accepted his argument in 1841, and most of the former slaves were returned to Africa, with funding from American abolitionists. Two years later, in 1841, another group of slaves revolted on board a ship and took control of it-this time an American vessel bound from Norfolk, Virginia, to New Orleans-and steered it (and its 135 slaves) to the British Bahamas, where slavery was illegal and the slaves were given sanctuary. Such shipboard revolts were rare, but they were symbols of the continued efforts by Africans to resist slavery. Slave Resistance Few issues have sparked as much debate among historians as the effects of slavery on the blacks themselves. (See "Debating the Past," pp. 306-307.) Slaveowners, and many white Americans after emancipation, liked to argue that the slaves were generally content, "happy with their lot." That may have been true in some cases. But it is clear that the vast majority of southern blacks were not content with being slaves, that they yearned for freedom even though most realized there was little they could do to secure it. Evidence for that conclusion can be found, if nowhere else, from the reaction of slaves when emancipation finally came. Virtually all reacted to freedom with Joy and celebration; few chose to remain in the service of the whites who had owned them before the Civil War (although most African Americans remained for many years subservient to whites in one way or another). Rather than contented acceptance, the dominant response of blacks to slavery was a complex one: a combination of adaptation and resistance. At the extremes, slavery could produce two very different reactions, each serving as the basis for a powerful stereotype in white society. One extreme was HARRIET TUBMAN WITH ESCAPED SLAVES Harriet

Tubman (c. 1820-1913) was born into slavery in Maryland. In 1849, when her master died, she escaped to Philadelphia to avoid being sold out of state. Over the next ten years, she assisted first members of her own family and then up to 300 other slaves to escape from Maryland to freedom. During the Civil War, she served alternately as a nurse and as a spy for Union forces in South Carolina. She is shown here, on the left, with some of the slaves she had helped to free. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images)



The Slaves' Music C O D African Americans living as slaves on southern plantations, there was little leisure r l\ time— and little opportunity for the kinds of cultural activities that were beginning to appeal to other groups of Americans. But slaves managed nevertheless to create a culture of their own. And among its most distinctive and pervasive features was music. Indeed, to white observers at least, nothing was more striking about slave life than the role music played within it. African Americans sang frequently, sometimes alone, more often in groups. They sang while they worked together in the fields, as they shucked corn, slaughtered hogs, or repaired fences. They sang whenever they had social gatherings— on Sundays or on the rare other holidays from work. They sang when they gathered for chores in the evenings. They sang during their religious services. And they sang with a passion, at times even an ecstasy, that was completely unfamiliar to whites — and sometimes troubling to them. Their songs were rarely written down and often seemed entirely spontaneous; but much slave music was really derived from African and Caribbean traditions passed on through generations and from snatches of other songs the performers had heard before and from which they improvised variations. In its emotionalism, its pulsing rhythms, and its lack of conventional formal structure, it resembled nothing its white listeners had ever heard before. Slaves sang whether or not there were any musical instruments to accompany them, but they often created instruments for themselves out of whatever materials were at hand. "Us take pieces of sheep's rib or cow's jaw or a piece of iron, with an old kettle or a hollow gourd and some horsehair to make the drum," one former slave recalled years later. "They'd take the buffalo horn and scrape it out to make the flute." When they could, they would build banjos, an instrument that had originated in Africa. Their masters sometimes gave them violins and guitars. When the setting permitted it, African Americans danced to their music— dances very different from and much more spontaneous than the formal steps that nineteenth-century whites generally learned. They also used music to accompany one of their other important cultural traditions: storytelling. Black music on the plantations took a number of forms. The most common was religious songs, the precursors of modern gospel music, which expressed— in terms that their white masters, who usually did not



listen to the words very carefully, found acceptable— a faith in their eventual freedom and salvation and often spoke of Africans as a chosen people waiting for redemption. At other times, the songs would express a bitterness toward white slaveholders. The great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass remembered one: We raise de wheat, Dey gib us de corn; We bake de bread, Dey gib us de crust; We sif the meal, Dey gib us de huss; We peel de meat, Dey gib us de skin; And dat's de way Dey take us in; We skim de pot, Dey gib us de liquor, what became known as the "Sambo"—the shuffling, grinning, head-scratching, deferential slave who acted out the role that he recognized the white world expected of him. More often than not, the "Sambo" pattern of behavior was a charade, a facade assumed in the presence of whites. The other extreme was the slave rebel—the African American who could not bring himself or herself to either acceptance or accommodation but remained forever rebellious. Actual slave revolts were extremely rare, but the knowledge that they were possible struck terror into the hearts of white southerners everywhere. In 1800, Gabriel Prosser gathered 1,000 rebellious slaves outside Richmond; but two Africans gave the plot away, and the Virginia militia stymied the uprising before it could begin. Prosser and thirty-five others were executed. In 1822, the Charleston free black Denmark Vesey and his followers—rumored to total 9,000—made preparations for revolt; but again \_ word leaked out, and suppression and Prosser and . \_ „ JT ^ Turner retribution followed. In 1831, Nat Turner, a Rebellions slave preacher, led a band of African Americans who armed themselves with guns and axes and, on a summer night, went from house to house in Southampton County, Virginia. They killed sixty white men, women, and children before being overpowered 310 by state and federal troops. More than a hundred blacks were executed in the aftermath. Nat Turner's was the only largescale slave insurrection in the nineteenth-century South, but fear of slave conspiracies and renewed violence pervaded the section as long as slavery lasted. For the most part, however, resistance to slavery took less drastic forms such as running away. A small number of slaves managed to escape to the North or to Canada, especially after sympathetic whites began organizing the so-called underground railroad to assist them in flight. But the odds against a successful escape, particularly from the Deep South, were almost impossibly high. The hazards of distance and the slaves' ignorance of geography were serious



obstacles. So were the white "slave patrols," which stopped wandering blacks on sight throughout the South demanding to see travel permits. Without such a permit, slaves were presumed to be runaways and were taken captive. Slave patrols often employed bloodhounds to track African Americans who attempted to escape through the woods. Despite all the obstacles to success, however, blacks continued to run away from their masters in large numbers. Some did so repeatedly, undeterred by the whippings and other penalties inflicted on them when captured. iiimiiiimmimi

**SLAVE MUSIC** This folk painting illustrates the importance of music to slaves (and at times also to their masters). The banjo in the hands of the man in the center was an instrument that originated in Africa. (Private Collection/© Peter Newark American Pictures/Bridgeman Art Library International) And say dat's good enough for nigger. Your butter and the fat; Poor nigger, you can't ever get that. To African Americans, music was a treasured avenue of escape from the hardships of slavery. It was also a vehicle through which they could express anger, resentment, and hope. Their masters generally tolerated their slaves' music— and even valued it, both because they often enjoyed listening to it and because the more intelligent understood that without this means of emotional and spiritual release, active resistance to slavery might be more frequent. The powerful music that emerged from slavery helped shape the lives of African Americans on the plantations. It also helped lay the foundations for music that almost all Americans later embraced: gospel, blues, jazz, rhythm and blues, rock, and rap.

• **UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE** 1. Does the prominent place of music in slave culture support the thesis that slavery was essentially a benign institution? 2. The English dramatist William Congreve in *The Mourning Bride* wrote: Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, To soften rocks, or bend a knotted oak. How might this quote apply to the place of music in African American slave culture? 3. What more recent musical forms continue the tradition of the slaves' religious songs or spirituals? In what way do these more recent forms serve purposes similar to the purpose of the slaves' religious songs? Does music continue to shape a distinct African American culture? But perhaps the most important method of resistance was simply a pattern of everyday behavior by which blacks defied their masters. That whites so often considered blacks to be lazy and shiftless suggests one means of resistance: refusal to work hard. Some slaves stole from their masters or from neighboring whites. Some performed isolated acts of sabotage: losing or breaking tools (southern planters gradually began to buy unusually heavy hoes because so many of the lighter ones got broken) or performing tasks improperly. Many African Americans resisted by building into their normal patterns of behavior subtle methods of rebellion. **THE CULTURE OF SLAVERY** I III III III MINIM III III MINIM III III III

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III III III MINIM Millie Resistance was only part of the slave  
response to slavery. Another was an elaborate process of  
adaptation. The process did not imply contentment with bondage. It  
represented a recognition that there was no realistic alternative.  
One of the ways blacks adapted was by developing their own,  
separate culture, one that enabled them to sustain a sense of racial  
pride and unity. Language and Music In many areas, slaves retained  
a language of their own, sometimes incorporating African speech  
patterns into English. Having arrived in America speaking many  
different African languages, the first generations of slaves had as  
much difficulty communicating with one another as they did with  
white people. To overcome these barriers, they learned a simple,  
comPidgin mon language (known to linguists as . "pidgin"). It  
retained some African words, but it drew primarily, if selectively,  
from English. And while slave language grew more sophisticated as  
blacks spent more time in America-and as new generations grew up  
never having known African tongues-some features of this early  
pidgin survived in black speech for many generations. Music was  
especially important in slave society. In some ways, it was as  
important to African Americans as language. Most important were  
voices and song. Field Importance of Slave workers often used songs  
to pass the time Spirituals in the helds; since they sang them in the  
11 . . 1 1 presence of whites, they usually attached relatively  
innocuous words to them. But African Americans also created  
emotionally rich and politically challenging music 311  
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312 CHAPTER 11 in the relative privacy of their religious services. It was there that the tradition of the spiritual emerged in the early nineteenth century. African American Religion A separate slave religion was not supposed to exist. Almost all African Americans were Christians by the early nineteenth century. Some had converted voluntarily, and some were coerced by their masters and by the Protestant missionaries who evangelized among them. Masters expected their slaves to worship under the supervision of white ministers. Indeed, autonomous black churches were banned by law; and many slaves became members of the same denominations as their owners-usually Baptist or Methodist. In the 1840s and 1850s, as slavery expanded in the South, missionary efforts increased. Vast numbers of African Americans became members of Protestant churches in those years. Nevertheless, blacks throughout the South developed their own version of Christianity, at times incorporating into it such practices as voodoo or other polytheistic religious traditions of Africa. Or they simply bent religion to the special circumstances of bondage. Natural leaders emerging within the slave community rose to the rank of preacher. African American religion was often more emotional than that of its white counterparts and reflected the influence of African customs and practices. Slave prayer meetings routinely involved fervent chanting, spontaneous exclamations from the congregation, and ecstatic conversion experiences. Black religion was also more joyful and affirming than that of many white denominations. And above all, African American religion emphasized the dream of freedom and deliverance. In their prayers and songs and sermons, black Christians talked and sang of the day when the Lord would "call us home," "deliver us to freedom," "take us to the Promised Land." And while their white masters generally chose to interpret such language merely as the expression of hopes for life after death, many Slave African Americans themselves used the imReligion ages Christian salvation to express their . own dream of freedom in the present world. Christian images, and biblical injunctions, were central to Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and others who planned or engaged in open resistance to slavery. In cities and towns in the South, some African Americans had their own churches, where free blacks occasionally worshiped alongside slaves. In the countryside, however, slaves usually attended the

same churches as their masters-sometimes a chapel on the plantation itself, sometimes a church serving a larger farm community. Seating in such churches was usually segregated. Slaves sat in the rear or in balconies. They held their own services later, often in secret, usually at night. The Slave Family The slave family was the other crucial institution of black culture in the South. Like religion, it suffered from certain legal restrictions-most notably the lack of legal marriage. Nevertheless, what we now call the "nuclear family" consistently emerged as the dominant kinship model among African Americans. Such families did not always operate according to white customs. Black women generally began bearing children at younger ages than most white women, often as early as age fourteen or fifteen. Slave communities did not condemn premarital pregnancy in the way white society did, and African Slave American couples would often begin living together before marrying. It was customary, however, for couples to marry in a ceremony involving formal vows-soon after conceiving a child. Often, marriages occurred between slaves living on neighboring plantations. Husbands and wives sometimes visited each other with the permission of their masters, but often such visits had to be in secret, at night. Family ties were no less strong than those of whites, and many slave marriages lasted throughout the course of long lifetimes. When marriages did not survive, it was often because of circumstances over which blacks had no control. Up to a third of all black families were broken apart by the slave trade; an average slave might expect during a lifetime to see ten or more relatives sold. And that accounted for some of the other distinctive characteristics of the black family, which adapted itself to the cruel realities of its own uncertain future. Extended kinship networks-which grew to in importance elude not only spouses and their children, of kinship but also aunts, uncles, grandparents, even Networks distant cousins-were strong and important and often helped compensate for the breakup of nuclear families. A slave forced suddenly to move to a new area, far from his or her family, might create fictional kinship ties and become "adopted" by a family in the new community. Even so, the impulse to maintain contact with a spouse and children remained strong long after the breakup of a family. One of the most frequent causes of flight from the plantation was a slave's desire to find a husband, wife, or child who had been sent elsewhere. It was not only by breaking up

families through sale that whites intruded on black family life. Black women, usually powerless to resist the sexual advances of their masters, often bore the children of whites-children whom the whites almost never recognized as their own and who were consigned to slavery from birth. In addition to establishing social and cultural institutions of their own, slaves adapted themselves to slavery by forming complex relationships with their masters. However much blacks resented their lack of freedom, they often found it difficult to maintain an entirely hostile attitude toward their owners. Not only were they dependent on whites for the material means of existence-food, clothing. Paternal Nature of and shelter; they also often derived from Slavery their masters a sense of security and protection. There was, in short, a paternal relationship between slave and master-sometimes harsh, sometimes kindly, but almost invariably important. Paternalism,

COTTON, SLAVERY, AND THE OLD SOUTH 313 in fact, became (even if not always consciously) a vital instrument of white control. By creating a sense of mutual dependence, whites helped reduce resistance to an institution that, in essence, served only the interests of the ruling race. LOOKING BACK

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While the North was creating a complex and rapidly developing commercial-industrial economy, the South was expanding its agrarian economy without making many fundamental changes in its character. Great migrations took many southern whites, and even more African American slaves, into new agricultural areas in the Deep South, where they created a booming "cotton kingdom" that raised crops for export around the world. The cotton economy created many great fortunes and some modest ones. It also entrenched the planter class as the dominant force within southern society-both as owners of vast numbers of slaves, and as patrons, creditors, landlords, and marketers for the large number of poor whites who lived on the edge of the planter world. The differences between the North and the South were a result of differences in natural resources, social structure, climate, and culture. Above all, they were the result of the existence within the South of an unfree labor system that prevented the kind of social fluidity that an industrializing society usually requires and that kept a large proportion of the southern population in debilitating bondage.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1800 Gabriel Prosser organizes unsuccessful slave revolt in Virginia 1808 Importation of slaves to United States banned 1820s Prolonged depression in tobacco prices begins English market for cotton textiles boosts prices and causes explosion in cotton production in the Southwest 1831 Nat Turner slave rebellion breaks out in Virginia - 1822 O Denmark Vesey thwarted in plans for slave rebellion in Charleston O 1833 O John Randolph of Roanoke frees 400 slaves Key Terms/People/Places/Events Cult of honor 300 De Bow's Review 298 Denmark Vesey 310 Gabriel Prosser 310 Gang system 303 Nat Turner 310 Pidgin 311 "Sambo" 309 Slave codes 303 Task system 303 1837 Cotton prices plummet 1846 De Bow's Review founded in New Orleans RECALL AND

REFLECT 1. Why did cotton become the leading crop of the South? 2. Why did industry fail to develop in the South to the extent that it did in the North? 3. How did slavery function economically and



socially? 4. What was the effect of slavery on white slaveowners? on slaves? on nonslaveowning whites? on free blacks? 5. Through what means did slaves maintain a distinct African American culture? 1849 Rise in cotton prices spurs production boom

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A detailed painting of a 17th-century interior scene, likely a school or a workshop. A large group of children and a few adults are gathered around long wooden tables. The children are engaged in various activities, including writing, reading, and playing. The room has a tiled floor, wooden benches, and several windows. A woman in a red dress is standing in the center, possibly a teacher or a supervisor. The painting is signed 'G. Verelst' in the bottom right corner.

SETTING THE STAGE THE UNITED STATES IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY was a rapidly changing society—growing in size, population, and economic complexity. Many Americans were excited by the new possibilities these changes produced. Others, however, were painfully aware of the challenges to traditional values and institutions, the social instability, the increasing inequality, and the uncertainty about the future that accompanied change. One result of these conflicting attitudes was the emergence of a broad array of movements intended to "reform" the nation. These reform efforts generally reflected one of two basic impulses. The first was an optimistic faith in human nature, a belief that within every individual resided a spirit that was basically good and that society should attempt to unleash. A second impulse was a desire for order and control. With their traditional values and institutions under assault and often eroding, many Americans yearned above all for a restoration of stability and discipline to their nation. Often, this impulse embodied a conservative nostalgia for better, simpler times. But it also inspired forward-looking efforts to create new institutions of social control, suited to the realities of the new age. The reforms that flowed from these two impulses came in many guises and mobilized many different groups. In the course of the 1840s, however, one issue—slavery—came to overshadow all others. And one group of reformers—the abolitionists—became the most visible of all. At that point, the reform impulse, which at first had been a force that tended to unify the sections, became another wedge between the North and the South.

THE ROMANTIC IMPULSE "In the four quarters of the globe," wrote the English wit Sydney Smith in 1820, "who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue?" The National answer, he assumed, was obvious: no one. American intellectuals were fully Cultural aware of the low regard in which Europeans held their artistic and intellectual life. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, they continued to work for both an elevation and a liberation of their nation's culture—for the creation of an American artistic world independent of Europe, one that would express their nation's special virtues. At the same time, however, some of the nation's cultural leaders were beginning to strive for another kind of liberation, one that would eventually overshadow their self-conscious nationalism. That impulse—which

was, ironically, largely an import from Europe-was the spirit of romanticism. In literature, philosophy, art, even in politics and economics, American intellectuals were committing themselves to the liberation of the human spirit. Nationalism and Romanticism in American Painting When Sydney Smith asked in 1820 who looked at an American painting, he was expressing the belief among European artists that they-and they alone-stood at the center of the world of art. But in the United States, many people were looking at American paintings in the antebellum era-and they were doing so not because the paintings introduced them to the great traditions of Europe, but because they believed Americans were creating important new artistic traditions. The most important and popular American paintings of the first half of the nineteenth century set out to evoke the wonder of the nation's landscape. Unlike their European counterparts, American painters did not favor gentle scenes of carefully cultivated countrysides. They sought instead to capture the undiluted power of nature by portraying some of the nation's wildest and most spectacular areas-to evoke what many nineteenth-century people called the "sublime," the feeling of awe and wonderment and even fear of the grandeur of nature. The first great school of American painters emerged in New York. Frederic Church, Thomas Cole, Thomas Doughty, and Asher Durand-known, along with others, as the Hudson River School-painted the spectacular 315

316 CHAPTER 12 vistas of the rugged and still largely unsettled Hudson Valley. Hudson River Like Emerson and Thoreau, whom many of School the painters read and admired, they considered nature-more than civilization-the best source of wisdom and spiritual fulfillment. In portraying the Hudson Valley, they seemed to announce that in America, unlike in Europe, "wild nature" still existed; and that America, therefore, was a nation of greater promise than the played-out lands of the Old World. Yet there was also a sense of nostalgia in many of the Hudson River paintings, an effort to preserve and cherish a kind of nature that many Americans feared was fast disappearing. In later years, some of the Hudson River painters traveled farther west, in search of more profound spiritual experiences. They found an even more rugged and spectacular natural world. Their enormous canvases of great natural wonders-the Yosemite Valley, Yellowstone, the Rocky Mountains-touched a passionate chord among the American public. Some of the most famous of their paintings-particularly the works of Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran-traveled around the country attracting enormous crowds. Literature and the Quest for Liberation American readers in the first decades of the nineteenth century were relatively indifferent to the work of their nation's own writers. The most popular novelist in America in these years was the British writer Sir Walter Scott, whose swashbuckling historical novels set in eighteenth-century England and Scotland won him an impassioned readership in both Britain and America. When Americans read books written in their own country, many were likely to turn to the large number of "sentimental novels," written mostly by and for women. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 336-337.) But even during the heyday of Scott in the 1820s, the effort to create a distinctively American literature-which Washington Irving and others had advanced in the first decades of the century-made considerable progress with the emergence of the first great American novelist: James Fenimore Cooper. The author of more than thirty novels in the space of three decades. Cooper was known to his contemporaries as a master of adventure and \_ suspense. What most distinguished his Cooper and , . & r . the American work, however, was its evocation of the Wilderness American wilderness. Cooper had grown up in central New York, at a time when the edge of white settlement was not far away; and he

retained throughout his life a fascination with man's relationship to nature and with the challenges (and dangers) of America's expansion westward. His most important novels were known as the "Leatherstocking Tales." Among them were *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and *The Deerslayer* (1841), which explored the American frontiersman's experience with Indians, pioneers, violence, and the law. Cooper's novels were a continuation of the early-nineteenth-century effort to produce a truly American literature. But they also served as a link to the concerns of later intellectuals. For in the "Leatherstocking Tales" could be seen not only a celebration of the American spirit and landscape but also an evocation, through the central character of Natty Bumppo, of the ideal of the independent individual with a natural inner goodness. There was also evidence of another impulse that would motivate American reform: the fear of disorder. Many of Cooper's less savory characters illustrated the vicious, grasping nature of some of the nation's western settlers and suggested a need for social discipline even in the wilderness. Walt Whitman, the self-proclaimed poet of American democracy, became one of the most important writers of his time. He was born in 1819, on Long Island, to Quaker parents the second of nine children. As he grew older, he worked as an

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ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 317 apprentice in newspapers. At age sixteen, he moved to New York City, where he worked as a printer and later taught at several schools. After his teaching attempts, Whitman went to Huntington, New York, to found his own newspaper, the *Long Islander*, and served as its publisher, editor, pressman, and distributor and even provided home delivery. But he began to write poetry when he could and eventually left his newspaper. In 1855, he hired a printer and published a first volume of work: *Leaves of Grass*. His poems were an unrestrained celebration of democracy, of the liberation of the individual, and of the pleasures of the flesh as well as of the spirit. They also expressed Whitman's personal yearning for emotional and physical release and personal fulfillment—a yearning perhaps rooted in part in his own experience as a homosexual living in a society profoundly intolerant of unconventional sexuality. In his large body of poems, Whitman not only helped liberate verse from traditional, restrictive conventions but also helped express the soaring spirit of individualism that characterized his age. The new literary concern with the unleashing of human emotions did not always produce such optimistic works, as the work of Herman Melville suggests. Born in New York in 1819, Melville ran away to sea as a youth and spent years sailing the world before returning home to become the greatest American novelist of his era. The most important of his novels was *Moby Dick*, published in 1851. His portrayal of Ahab, the powerful, driven captain of a whaling vessel, was a story of courage and of the strength of individual will; but it was also a tragedy of pride and revenge. Ahab's maniacal search for *Moby Dick*, a great white whale that had maimed him, suggested how the search for personal fulfillment and triumph could not only liberate but destroy as well. The result of Ahab's great quest was his own annihilation, reflecting Melville's conviction that the human spirit was a troubled, often selfdestructive force. Even more bleak were the works of one of the few southern writers of the time to embrace the search for the essence of the human spirit: Edgar Allan Poe. In the course of his short and unhappy life (he died in 1849 at the age of forty), Poe produced stories and poems that were primarily sad and macabre. His first book, *Tamerlane and Other Poems* (1827), received little recognition. But later works, including his most famous poem, "The Raven" (1845), established him as a

major, if controversial, literary figure. Poe evoked images of individuals rising above the narrow confines of intellect and exploring the deeper world of the spirit and the emotions. Yet that world, he seemed to say, contained much pain and horror. Other American writers were contemptuous of Poe's work and his message, but he was ultimately to have a profound effect on European poets such as Baudelaire. Literature in the Antebellum South Poe, however, was something of an exception in the world of southern literature. Like the North, the South experienced a literary flowering in the mid-nineteenth century, and produced writers and artists who were concerned with defining the nature of American society and the American nation. But white southerners produced very different images of what that society was and should be. Southern novelists of the 1830s (among them Beverly Tucker, William Alexander Caruthers, and John Pendleton Southern Kennedy), some of them writers of great Romanticism talent, many of them residents of Richmond, . produced historical romances or romantic eulogies of the plantation system of the upper South. In the 1840s, the southern literary capital moved to Charleston, home of the most distinguished of the region's men of letters: William Gilmore Simms. For a time, Simms's work expressed a broad nationalism that transcended his regional background; but by the 1840s he too had become a strong defender of southern institutions- especially slavery- against the encroachments of the North. There was, he believed, a unique quality to southern life that it was the duty of intellectuals to defend. One group of southern writers, however, produced works that were more broadly American and less committed to a glorification of the peculiarities of southern life. These were writers from the fringes of plantation society, who depicted the world of the backwoods rural areas. Augustus B. Longstreet, Joseph G. Baldwin, Johnson J. Hooper, and others focused not on aristocratic "cavaliers," but on ordinary people and poor whites. Instead of romanticizing their subjects, they were deliberately and sometimes painfully realistic. And they seasoned their sketches with a robust, vulgar humor that was new to American literature. These southern realists established a tradition of American regional humor that was ultimately to find its most powerful voice in Mark Twain. The Transcendentalists One of the outstanding expressions of the romantic impulse in America came from a group of New England writers and philosophers known as



the transcendentalists. Borrowing heavily from German philosophers such as Kant, Hegel, and Schelling, and from the English writers Coleridge and Carlyle, the transcendentalists embraced a theory of the individual that rested on a distinction (first suggested by Kant) between what they called "reason" and "understanding"-words they used in ways that seem unfamiliar, even strange, to modern ears. Reason, as they defined it, had little to do with rationality. It was, rather, the individual's innate capacity to grasp beauty and truth through giving full expression to the instincts and emotions; and as such, it was the highest human faculty. Understanding, the transcendentalists argued, was the use of intellect in the narrow, artificial ways imposed by society; it involved the repression of instinct and the victory of externally imposed learning. Every person's goal, therefore, should be liberation from the confines of "understanding" and the cultivation of "reason." Each individual should strive to "transcend" the limits of the intellect and allow

## 318 CHAPTER 12 Ralph Waldo Emerson

miiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimiiiiiiiiiiii the emotions, the "soul," to create an "original relation to the Universe."

Transcendentalist philosophy emerged first among a small group of intellectuals centered in Concord, Massachusetts. Their leader and most eloquent voice was Ralph Waldo Emerson. A Unitarian minister in his youth, Emerson left the church in 1832 to devote himself entirely to writing and teaching the elements of transcendentalism. He was a dazzling figure to his contemporaries—a lecturer whose public appearances drew rapturous crowds; a conversationalist who drew intellectuals to his Concord home almost daily. He was the most important intellectual of his age. Emerson produced a significant body of poetry, but he was most renowned for his essays and lectures. In "Nature" (1836), one of his best-known essays, Emerson wrote that in the quest for self-fulfillment, individuals should work for a communion with the natural world: "in the woods, we return to reason and faith. . . . Standing on the bare ground—my head bathed by the blithe air, and uplifted into infinite space—all mean egotism vanishes. . . . I am part and particle of God." In other essays, he was even more explicit. "Nothing is at last sacred," he wrote in "Self-Reliance" (1841), perhaps his most famous essay, "but the integrity of your own mind." The quest for self-reliance, he explained, was really a search for communion with the unity of the universe, the wholeness of God, the great spiritual force that he described as the "Oversoul." Each person's innate capacity to become, through his or her private efforts, a part of this essence was perhaps the classic expression of the romantic belief in the "divinity" of the individual. Emerson was also a committed nationalist, an ardent proponent of American cultural independence. In a famous 1837 lecture, "The American Scholar," he boasted that "our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close." His belief that truth and beauty could be derived as much from instinct as from learning suggested that Americans, lacking the rich cultural heritage of European nations, could still aspire to artistic and literary greatness. Artistic and intellectual achievement need not rely on tradition and history; it could come from the instinctive creative genius of individuals. "Let the single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts and there abide," Emerson once said,

"and the huge world will come round to him." Almost as influential as Emerson was another leading Concord transcendentalist, Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau went even further than his friend Emerson in repudiating the repressive forces of society, which produced, he said, "lives of quiet desperation." Individuals should work for self-realization by resisting pressures to conform to society's expectations and responding instead to their own instincts. Thoreau's own effort to free himself-immortalized in his most famous book, *Walden* (1854)-led him to build a small cabin in the Concord woods on the edge of Walden Pond, where he lived alone for two years as simply as he could. "I went to the woods," he explained, "because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived." Living simply, Thoreau believed, was a desirable alternative to the rapidly modernizing world around him-a world, he believed, that the disruptive and intrusive railroad unhappily symbolized. Thoreau's rejection of what he considered the artificial constraints of society extended as well to his relationship with government. In 1846, he went to jail (briefly) rather than agree to pay a poll tax. He would not, he insisted, give financial support to a government that permitted the Civil existence of slavery. In his 1849 essay *Disobedience* "Resistance to Civil Government," Thoreau explained his refusal by claiming that the individual's personal morality had the first claim on his or her actions, that a government which required violation of that morality had no legitimate authority. The proper response was "civil disobedience," or "passive resistance"-a public refusal to obey unjust laws. The Defense of Nature The transcendentalists, and others, feared the impact of the new capitalist enthusiasms on the integrity of the natural world. "The mountains and cataracts, which were to have made poets and painters," wrote the essayist Oliver Wendell Holmes, "have been mined for anthracite and dammed for water power." Nature was not just a setting for economic activity, as many farmers, miners, and others believed; and it was not simply a body of data to be catalogued and studied, as many scientists thought. It was the source of human inspiration-the vehicle through which individuals could best realize the truth within their own souls. Genuine spirituality, they argued, came not from formal religion but through communion with the natural world. "In wildness is the preservation

of the world.” Thoreau once wrote. Humans separated from nature, he believed, would lose a substantial part of their humanity. In making such claims, the transcendentalists were among the first Americans to anticipate the environmental movement of the twentieth century. They had no scientific basis for their defense of the wilderness, no knowledge of modern ecology, little sense of the twentieth-century notion of the interconnectedness of species. But they did believe in, and articulate, an essential unity between humanity and nature—a spiritual unity, they believed, without which civilization would be impoverished. They looked at nature, they said, “with new eyes,” and with those eyes they saw that “behind nature, throughout nature, spirit is present.” Visions of Utopia

Although transcendentalism was above all an individualistic philosophy, it helped spawn the most famous of all nineteenth-century experiments in communal living: Brook Farm, which the Boston transcendentalist George Ripley established as an experimental Brook Farm

FULLER As a leading transcendentalism Fuller argued for the important relationship between the discovery of the "self" and the questioning of the prevailing gender roles of her era. In her famous feminist work, *Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Fuller wrote, "Many women are considering within themselves what they need and what they have not." She encouraged her readers, especially women, to set aside conventional thinking about the role of women in society: "I would have Woman lay aside all thought, such as she habitually cherishes, of being taught and led by men." Fuller provided a strong voice in the redefinition of gender roles in the nineteenth century. (© Corbis) community in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1841. There, according to Ripley, individuals would gather to create a new form of social organization. All residents would share equally in the labor of the community so that all could share too in the leisure, because leisure was the first necessity for cultivation of the self. (Ripley was one of the first Americans to attribute positive connotations to the idea of leisure; most of his contemporaries equated it with laziness and sloth.) Participation in manual labor served another purpose as well: it helped individuals bridge the gap between the world of the intellect and learning, and the world of instinct and nature. The obvious tension between the ideal of individual freedom and the demands of a communal society took their toll on Brook Farm. Many residents became disenchanted and left; when a fire destroyed the central building of the community in 1847, the experiment dissolved. Among the original residents of Brook Farm was the writer Nathaniel Hawthorne, who expressed his disillusionment with the experiment and, to some extent, with transcendentalism in a series of notable novels. In *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), he wrote scathingly of Brook Farm itself, portraying the disastrous consequences of the experiment on the individuals who had submitted to it. The failure of Brook Farm did not, however, prevent the formation of other experimental communities. Some borrowed, as Ripley had done, from the ideas of the French philosopher Charles Fourier, whose ideas of socialist communities organized as cooperative "phalanxes" received wide attention in America. Others drew from the ideas of the Scottish industrialist and philanthropist Robert Owen. Owen himself founded an

experimental community in Indiana in 1825, which he named New Harmony. It was to be a "Village of . Cooperation," in which every resident worked and lived in total equality. The community was an economic failure, but the vision that had inspired it continued to enchant Americans. Dozens of other "Owenite" experiments began in other locations in the following years.

### Redefining Gender Roles

One of the principal concerns of many of the new utopian communities (and of the new social philosophies on which they rested) was the relationship between men and women. Transcendentalism and other movements of this period fostered expressions of a kind of feminism that would not gain a secure foothold in American society until the late twentieth century. One of those most responsible for raising issues of gender was Margaret Fuller. A leading transcendentalist and a close associate of Emerson, she suggested the important relationship between the discovery of the "self" that was so central to antebellum reform and the questioning of gender roles: "Many women are considering within themselves what they need and what they have not," she wrote in a famous feminist work. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1844). "I would have Woman lay aside all thought, such as she habitually cherishes, of being taught and led by men." Fuller herself, before her premature death in a shipwreck in 1850, lived a life far different from the domestic ideal of her time. She had intimate relationships with many men; became a great admirer of European socialists and a great champion of the Italian revolution of 1848, which she witnessed during travels there; and established herself as an intellectual leader whose power came in part from her perspective as a woman. A redefinition of gender roles was crucial to one of the most enduring utopian colonies of the nineteenth century: the Oneida Community, established in 1848 in upstate New York by John Humphrey Noyes. The residents of the Oneida Community called themselves, rejected traditional notions of family and marriage. All residents, Noyes declared, were "married" to all other residents; there were no permanent conjugal ties. But Oneida was not, as its horrified critics often claimed, an experiment in "free love." It was a place where the community carefully monitored sexual behavior; where women were to be protected from unwanted childbearing; in which children were raised

communally, often seeing little of their own parents. The Oneidans took special pride in what they considered the liberation of their women from the demands of male "lust" and from the traditional bonds of family.

320 CHAPTER 12 The Shakers, even more than the Oneidans, made a redefinition of traditional sexuality and gender roles central to their society. Founded by "Mother" Ann Lee in the 1770s, the society of the Shakers survived throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. (A tiny remnant survives today.) But the Shakers attracted a particularly large following in the antebellum period and established more than twenty communities throughout the Northeast and Northwest in the 1840s. They derived their name from a unique religious ritual, a sort of ecstatic dance, in which members of a congregation would "shake" themselves free of sin while performing a loud chant. The most distinctive feature of Shakerism, however, was its commitment to complete celibacy—which meant, of course, that no one could be born to Shakerism; all Shakers had to choose the faith voluntarily. Shaker communities attracted about 6,000 members in the 1840s, more than any other religious group in America. The Shakers were not, however, motivated only by a desire to escape the burdens of traditional gender roles. They were trying as well to create a society separated and protected from the chaos and disorder that they believed had come to characterize American life as a whole. Less interested in personal freedom than in social discipline, they were like some other dissenting religious sects and utopian communities of their time. Another example was the Amana Community, founded by German immigrants in 1843, whose members settled in Iowa in 1855 and attempted to realize Christian ideals by creating an ordered, socialist society. The Mormons Among the most important efforts to create a new and more ordered society within the old was that of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints—the Mormons. Mormonism began in upstate New York as a



result of the efforts of Joseph Smith, a young, energetic, but economically unsuccessful man, who had spent most of his twenty-four years moving restlessly through New England and the Northeast. Then, in 1830, he published a remarkable document—the Book of Mormon, named for the ancient prophet who he claimed had written it. It was, Smith said, a translation of a set of golden tablets he had found in the hills of New York, revealed to him by an angel of God. The Book of Mormon told the story of an ancient and successful civilization in America, peopled by one of the lost tribes of Israel who had found their way to the New World centuries before Columbus. Its members waited patiently for the appearance of the Messiah, and they were rewarded when Jesus came to America after his resurrection. Subsequent generations, however, strayed from the path of righteousness that Jesus had laid out for them. Ultimately, their civilization collapsed, and God punished the sinful by making their skin dark. These darkened people, Smith believed, were the descendants of the American Indians, although the modern tribes had no memory of their origins. But while the ancient Hebrew kingdom in America had ultimately vanished, Smith believed, its history as a righteous society could serve as a model for a new holy community in the United States. In 1831, gathering a small group of believers around him, Smith began searching for a sanctuary for his new community of "saints," an effort that would continue unhappily for more than twenty years. Time and again, the Mormons attempted to establish their "New Jerusalem." Time and again, they met with persecution from surrounding communities suspicious of their radical religious doctrines—which included polygamy (the right of men to take several wives), a rigid form of social organization, and, particularly damaging to their image, an intense secrecy, which gave rise to wild rumors among their critics of conspiracy and depravity. Driven from their original settlements in Independence, Missouri, and Kirtland, Ohio, the Mormons moved on to the new town of Nauvoo, Illinois, which by the early 1840s had become an imposing and economically successful community. In 1844, however, Joseph Smith was arrested, charged with treason (for allegedly conspiring against the government to win foreign support for a new Mormon colony in the Southwest), and imprisoned in Carthage, Illinois. There an anti-establishment mob attacked the jail > forced Smith of Salt Lake from his cell, and shot and killed him. The City Mormons

now abandoned Nauvoo and, under the leadership of Smith's successor, Brigham Young, traveled across the desert-a society of 12,000 people, in one of the largest single group migrations in American history-and established a new community in Utah, the present Salt Lake City. There, at last, the Mormons were able to create a lasting settlement. Like other experiments in social organization of the era, Mormonism reflected a belief in human perfectibility. God had once been a man, the church taught, and thus every man or woman could aspire to become-as Joseph Smith had become-a saint. But unlike other new communities, such as the Oneidans, the Mormons did not embrace the doctrine of individual liberty. Instead, they created a highly organized, centrally directed, almost militarized social structure, a refuge against the disorder and uncertainty of the secular world. They placed particular emphasis on the structure of the family. Mormon religious rituals even included a process by which men and women went through baptism ceremonies in the name of deceased ancestors; as a result, they believed, they would be reunited with those ancestors in heaven. The intense Mormon interest in genealogy, which continues today, is a reflection of

## ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 321 MORMONS

**HEADING WEST** This lithograph, by William Henry Jackson (1843-1942), shows Mormon handcart pioneers heading west to Utah in 1850. (Private Collection/© Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library) this belief in the possibility of reuniting present generations with those of the past. The original Mormons were, for the most part, men and women who felt displaced in their rapidly changing society people left behind or troubled by the material growth and social progress of their era. In the new religion, they found genuine faith. In the society Mormonism created, they found security and order.

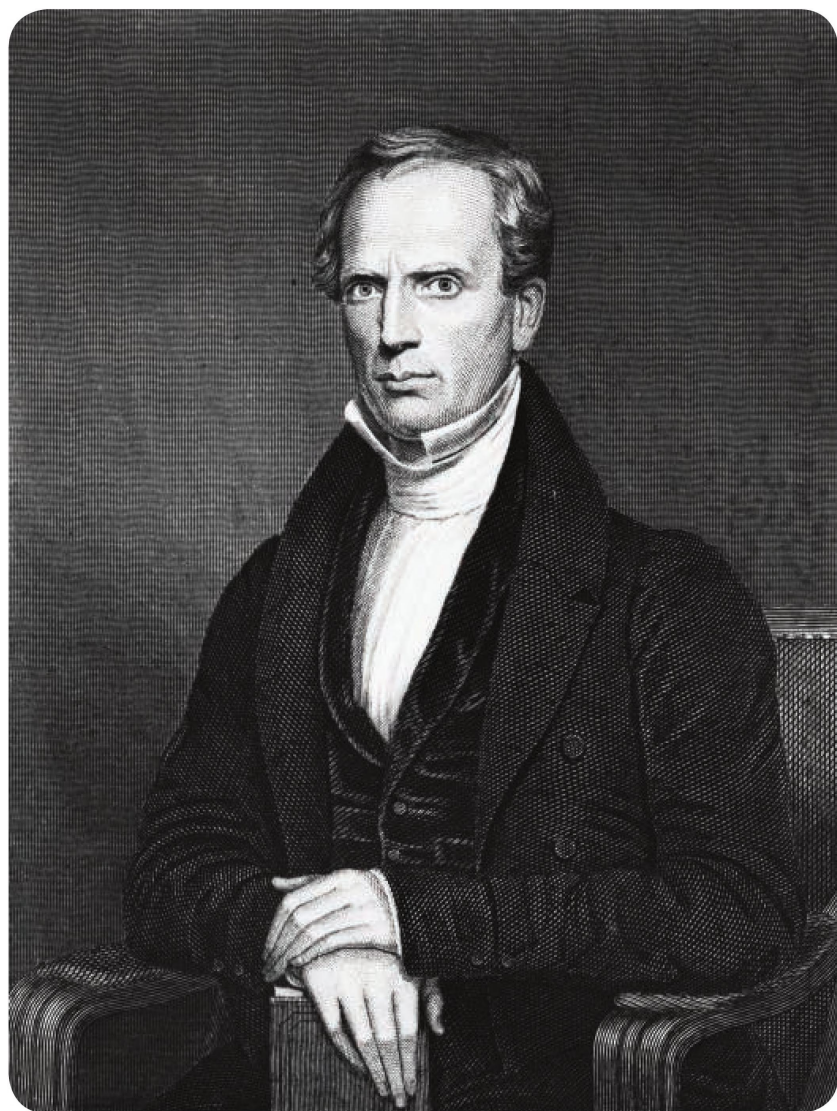
**REMAKING SOCIETY** The simultaneous efforts to liberate the individual and impose order on a changing world also helped create a wide range of new movements to remake society-movements in which, to a striking degree, women formed the real rank and file and often the leadership as well. By the 1830s, such movements had taken the form of organized reform societies. "In no country in the world," Tocqueville had observed, "has the principle of association been more successfully used, or more unsparingly applied to a multitude of different objects, than in America." The new organizations did indeed work on behalf of a wide range of issues: temperance; education; peace; the care New Reform °f P°°T the handicapped, and the Movements mentally ill; the treatment of criminals; the rights of women; and many more. Few eras in American history have witnessed as wide a range of reform efforts as emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. And few eras have exposed more clearly the simultaneous attraction of Americans to the ideas of personal liberty and social order. Revivalism, Morality, and Order

The philosophy of reform arose from several distinct sources. One was the optimistic vision of those who, like the transcendentalists, rejected Calvinist doctrines and preached the divinity of the individual. These included not only Emerson, Thoreau, and their followers, but also a much larger group of Americans who embraced the doctrines of Unitarianism and Universalism and absorbed European romanticism.



322 CHAPTER 12 A second, and in many respects more important, source was Protestant revivalism-the movement that had begun with the Second Great Awakening early in the century and had, by the 1820s, evolved into a powerful force for social reform. Although the New Light revivalists were theologically far removed from the transcendentalists and Unitarians, they had come to share the optimistic belief that every individual was capable of salvation. According to Charles Grandison Finney, an evangelistic Presbyterian minister who became the most influential revival leader of the 1820s and 1830s, traditional Calvinist doctrines of predestination and individual human helplessness were both obsolete and destructive. Each person, he preached, contained within himself or herself the capacity to experience spiritual rebirth and achieve salvation. A revival of faith need not depend on a miracle from God; it could be created by individual effort. Finney enjoyed particular success in upstate New York, where he helped launch a series of passionate revivals in towns along the Erie Canal-a region so prone to religious awakenings that it was known as the "burned-over district." It was no coincidence that the new revivalism should prove so powerful CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY Evangelistic Presbyterian minister Charles Grandison Finney became the most influential revival leader of the 1820s and 1830s. He argued that each person contained within herself or himself the capacity to experience spiritual rebirth and achieve salvation. Finney's views on revivalist faith contrasted with earlier Calvinist doctrines of predestination and individual human helplessness. (© Bettmann/Corbis) there, for this region of New York was experiencing-largely as a result of the construction of the canal-a Revivalism in the Burned- major economic transformation. And with Over District that transformation had come changes in the social fabric so profound that many men and women felt baffled and disoriented. (It was in roughly this same area of New York that Joseph Smith first organized the Mormon church.) In Rochester, New York, the site of his greatest success, Finney staged a series of emotionally wrenching religious meetings that aroused a large segment of the community. He had particular success in mobilizing women, on whom he tended to concentrate his efforts both because women found the liberating message of revivalism particularly appealing and because, Finney discovered,

they provided him with access to their male relatives. Gradually, he developed a large following among the prosperous citizens of the region. They were enjoying the economic benefits of the new commercial growth, but they were also uneasy about some of the social changes accompanying it (among them the introduction into their community of a new, undisciplined pool of transient laborers). For them, revivalism became not only a means of personal salvation but also a mandate for the reform (and control) of their society. Finney's revivalism became a call for a crusade against personal immorality. "The church," he maintained, "must take right ground on the subject of Temperance, the Moral Reform, and all the subjects of practical morality which come up for decision from time to time." Finney's *Doctrine of Personal Regeneration* The Temperance Crusade Evangelical Protestantism added major strength to one of the most influential reform movements of the era: the crusade against drunkenness. No social vice, argued some reformers (including many of Finney's converts in cities such as Rochester), was more responsible for crime, disorder, and poverty than the excessive use of alcohol. Women, who were particularly active in the temperance movement, claimed that alcoholism placed a special burden on wives: men spent money on alcohol that their families needed for basic necessities, and drunken husbands often abused their wives and children. In fact, alcoholism was an even more serious problem in antebellum America than it has been in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The supply of alcohol was growing rapidly, particularly in the West; farmers there grew more grain than they could sell in the still-limited markets in this prerailroad era, so they distilled much of it into whiskey. But in the East, too, commercial distilleries and private stills were widespread. The appetite for alcohol was growing along with the supply: in isolated western areas, where drinking provided a social pastime in small towns and helped ease the loneliness and isolation on farms; in pubs and saloons in eastern cities, where drinking was the principal leisure activity for many workers. The average male in the 1830s drank nearly three times as much alcohol as the average person does today. And



## ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 323 American

# Society for the Promotion of Temperance

suggests, many people drank habitually and excessively, with bitter consequences for themselves and others. Among the many supporters of the temperance movement were people who saw it as a way to overcome their own problems with alcoholism. Although advocates of temperance had been active since the late eighteenth century, the new reformers gave the movement an energy and influence it had never previously known. In 1826, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance emerged as a coordinating agency among various groups; it attempted to use many of the techniques of revivalism in preaching abstinence. Then, in 1840, six reformed alcoholics in Baltimore organized the Washington Temperance Society and began to draw large crowds-in which workers (many of them attempting to overcome their own alcoholism) were heavily represented-to hear their impassioned and intriguing confessions of past sins. By then, temperance advocates had grown dramatically in numbers; more than a million people had signed a formal pledge to forgo hard liquor. As the movement gained in strength, it also became divided in purpose. Some temperance advocates now urged that abstinence include not only liquor but beer and wine as well. Not everyone agreed. Some began to demand state legislation to restrict the sale and consumption of alcohol (Maine passed such a law in 1851); others insisted that temperance must rely on the conscience of the individual. Whatever their disagreements, by promoting abstinence reformers were attempting to promote the moral self-improvement of individuals. They were also trying to impose discipline on society. The search for social discipline was particularly clear in the battle over prohibition laws, which pitted established Protestants against new Catholic immigrants. Divisions over grants to many of whom drinking was an important social ritual and an integral part of the life of their communities. The arrival of the immigrants was profoundly disturbing to established residents of many communities, and the restriction of alcohol seemed to them a way to curb the disorder they believed the new population was creating. Health Fads and Phrenology For some Americans, the search for individual and social perfection led to an interest in new



theories of health and knowledge. Threats to public health were critical to the sense of insecurity that underlay many reform movements, especially after the terrible cholera epidemics of the 1830s and 1840s. Cholera is a severe bacterial infection of the intestines, usually a result of consuming contaminated food or water. In the nineteenth century, long before the discovery of antibiotics, less

**THE DRUNKARD'S PROGRESS**

This 1846 lithograph by Nathaniel Currier shows what temperance advocates argued was the inevitable consequence of alcohol consumption. Beginning with an apparently innocent "glass with a friend," the young man rises step by step to the summit of drunken revelry, then declines to desperation and suicide while his abandoned wife and child grieve. (The Library of Congress)



than half of those who contracted the disease survived. Thousands of people died of cholera during its occasional outbreaks, and in certain cities-New Orleans in 1833 and St. Louis in 1849-the effects were truly catastrophic. Nearly a quarter of the population of New Orleans died in the 1833 epidemic. Many municipalities, pressured by reformers, established city health boards to try to find solutions to the problems of epidemics. But the medical profession of the time, unaware of the nature of bacterial infections, had no answers; and the boards therefore found little to do. Instead, many Americans turned to nonscientific theories for improving health. Affluent men and, especially, women flocked to health spas for the celebrated "water cure," which purported to improve health through immersing people in hot or cold baths or wrapping them in wet sheets. Although the water cure delivered few of the benefits its promoters promised, it did have some therapeutic value; some forms of hydrotherapy are still in use today. Other people adopted new dietary theories. Sylvester Graham, a Connecticut-born Presbyterian minister and committed reformer, won many followers with his prescriptions for eating fruits, vegetables, and bread made from coarsely ground flour-a prescription not unlike some dietary theories today-instead of meat. (The "Graham cracker" is made from a kind of flour named for him.) Graham accompanied his dietary prescriptions with moral warnings about the evils of excess and luxury. Perhaps strangest of all to modern sensibilities was the widespread belief in the new "science" of phrenology, which appeared first in Germany and became popular in the United States beginning in the 1830s through the efforts of Orson Phrenology and Lorenzo Fowler, publishers of the *Phrenology Almanac*. Phrenologists argued that the shape of an individual's skull was an important indicator of his or her character and intelligence. They made elaborate measurements of bumps and indentations to calculate the size (and, they claimed, the strength) of different parts of the brain, each of which, they argued, controlled a specific kind of intelligence or behavior. For a time, phrenology seemed to many Americans an important vehicle for improving society. It provided a way of measuring an individual's fitness for various positions in life and seemed to promise an end to the arbitrary process by which people matched their talents to occupations and responsibilities.

The theory is now universally believed to have no scientific value. Medical Science In an age of rapid technological and scientific advances, the science of medicine sometimes seemed to lag behind. In part, that was because of the greater difficulty of experimentation in medicine, which required human subjects as compared to other areas of science and technology that relied on inanimate objects. In part, it was because of the character of the medical profession, which-in the absence of any significant regulationattracted many poorly educated people and many quacks, in addition to trained physicians. Efforts to regulate the profession

“SPOUT BATH AT WARM SPRINGS” Among the many fads and theories about human health to gain currency in the 1830s and 1840s, one of the most popular was the idea that bathing in warm, sulphurous water was restorative. Visitors to "warm springs" all over the United States and Europe "took the baths," drank the foul-smelling water, and sometimes stayed for weeks as part of a combination vacation and "cure." This 1837 drawing is by Sophie Dupont, a visitor to a popular spa. She wrote to a friend that the water, "notwithstanding its odour of half spoiled eggs and its warmth, is not very nauseous to the taste." (© Courtesy of Hagley Museum and Library) were opposed in the 1830s and 1840s by those who considered the licensing of physicians to be a form of undemocratic monopoly. The prestige of the profession, therefore, remained low, and it was for many people a career of last resort. The biggest problem facing American medicine, however, was the absence of basic knowledge about disease. The great medical achievement of the eighteenth century-the development of a vaccination against smallpox by the English Physician Edward Jenner-came from no broad theory of infection, but from a brilliant adaptation of folk practices among country people. The development of anesthetics came not from medical doctors at first, but from a New England dentist, William Morton, who was looking for ways to help his patients endure the extraction of teeth. Beginning in 1844, Morton began experimenting with using sulphuric ether. John Warren, a Boston surgeon, soon began using ether to sedate surgical patients. Even these advances met with stiff resistance from traditional physicians, some of whom continued to believe that all medical knowledge derived from timeless truths and ancient scholars and who mistrusted innovation and experimentation. Others rejected scientific advances because of

unorthodox, and untested "medical" techniques popularized by entrepreneurs, many of them charlatans. In the absence of any broad acceptance of scientific methods and experimental practice in medicine, it was very difficult for even the most talented doctors to succeed in treating disease. Even so, halting progress toward the discovery of the germ theory did occur in antebellum America. In 1843, the

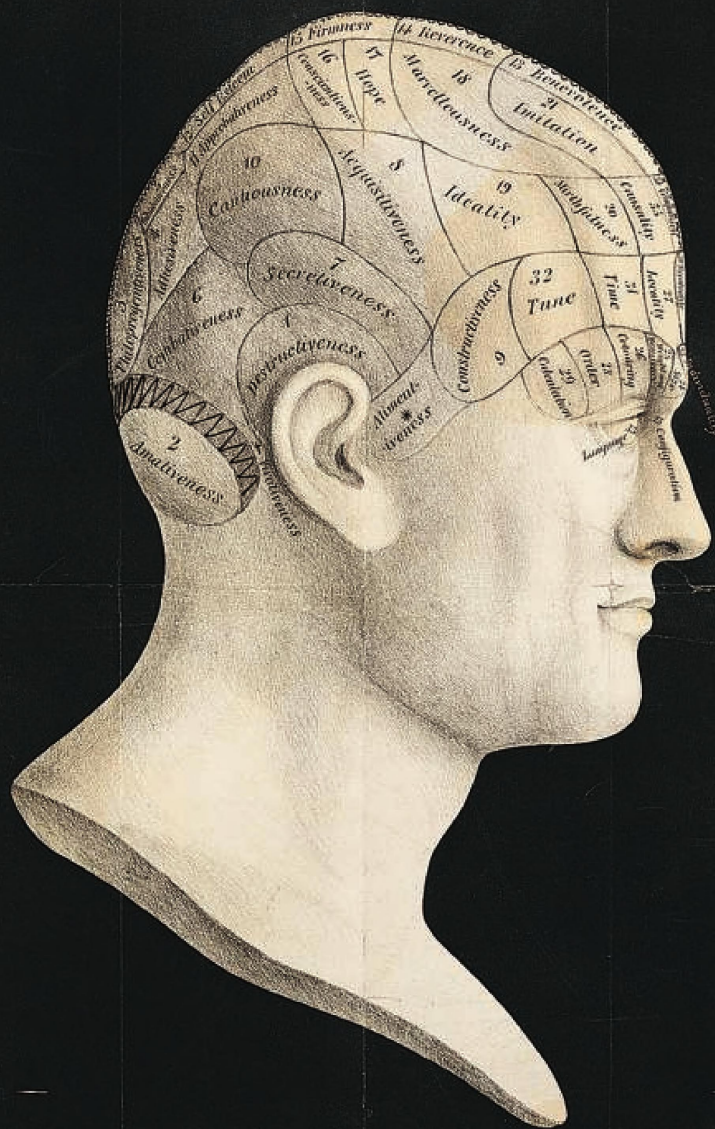


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**PHRENOLOGY** This lithograph illustrates some of the ideas of the popular "science" of phrenology in the 1830s. Drawing from the concepts of the German writer Johann Gaspar Spurzheim, American phrenologists promoted the belief that a person's character and talents could be understood by the formation of his or her skull; that the brain was, in fact, a cluster of autonomous organs, each controlling some aspect of human thought or behavior. In this diagram, the areas of the brain that supposedly control "identity," "acquisitiveness," "secretiveness," "marvelousness," and "hope" are clearly identified. The theory has no scientific basis. (The Library of Congress) Boston essayist, poet, and physician Oliver Wendell Holmes Discovery of published his findings from a study of large Contagion numbers of cases of "puerperal fever" (septicemia in children) and concluded that the disease could be transmitted from one person to another. This discovery of contagion met with a storm of criticism, but was later vindicated by the clinical success of the Hungarian physician Ignaz Semmelweis, who noticed that the infection seemed to be spread by medical students who had been working with corpses. Once he began requiring students to wash their hands and disinfect their instruments, the infections virtually disappeared.

**Reforming Education** One of the outstanding reform movements of the mid-nineteenth century was the effort to produce a system of universal public education. As of 1830, no state yet had such a system, although some states-such as Massachusetts-had supported a limited version for many years. In the 1830s, however, interest in public education grew rapidly. It was a reflection of the new belief in the innate capacity of every person and of society's obligation to tap that capacity; but it was a reflection, too, of the desire to expose students to stable social values as a way to resist instability. The greatest educational reformer was Horace Mann, the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, which was established in 1837. To Mann and his followers, education was the only way to "counterwork this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor." The only way to protect democracy, Mann believed, was to create an educated electorate. He reorganized the Massachusetts school system, lengthened the academic year (to six months), doubled teachers' salaries (although he did nothing to eliminate the large disparities between the

salaries of male and female teachers), enriched the curriculum, and introduced new methods of professional training for teachers. Other states experienced similar expansion and development. ^ They built new schools, created teachers' Rapid Growth / , , , , , of Public colleges, and offered large new groups of Education children access to education. Henry Barnard helped produce a educational system in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Pennsylvania passed a law in 1835 appropriating state funds for the support of universal education. Governor William Seward of New York extended public support of schools throughout the state in the early 1840s. By the 1850s, the principle of tax-supported elementary schools had been accepted in all the states; and all were making at least a start toward putting the principle into practice. Yet the quality of the new education continued to vary widely. In some places- Massachusetts, for example, where Mann established the first American state-supported teachers' college in 1839 and where the first professional association of teachers was created in 1845- educators were usually capable men and women, often highly trained, and with an emerging sense of themselves as career professionals. In other areas, however, teachers were often barely literate, and limited funding for education restricted opportunities severely. In the newly settled regions of the West, where the white population was highly dispersed, many children had no access to schools. In the South, the entire black population was barred from formal education (although approximately 10 percent of the slaves achieved literacy anyway), and only about a third of all white children of school age actually enrolled in schools in 1860. In the North the percentage was 72 percent, but even there, many students attended classes only briefly and casually. The interest in education was visible too in the growing movement to educate American Indians in the antebellum period. Some reformers held racist assumptions about the unredeemability of nonwhite peoples; but even many who accepted that idea about African Americans continued to believe that Indians could be "civilized" if only they could be taught the ways of the white world. Efforts to educate Native



326 CHAPTER 12 Americans and encourage them to assimilate were particularly prominent in such areas of the Far West as Oregon. Substantial numbers of whites were beginning to settle there in the 1840s. Nevertheless, the great majority of Native Americans remained outside the reach of educational reform, either by choice or by circumstance or both. Despite limitations and inequities, the achievements of the school reformers were impressive by any standard. By the beginning of the Civil War, the United States had one of the highest literacy rates of any nation: 94 percent of the population of the North and 83 percent of the white population of the South (58 percent of the total southern population). The conflicting impulses underlying the movement for school reform were visible in some of the different educational institutions that emerged. In New England, for example, the transcendentalist Bronson Alcott established a controversial experimental school in Concord that reflected his strong belief in the importance of complete self-realization. He urged children to learn from their own inner wisdom, not from the imposition of values by the larger society. Children were to teach themselves, rather than rely on teachers. A similar emphasis on the potential of the individual yHE sparked the creation of new institutions to Benevolent help the handicapped, institutions that Empire formed part of a great network of charitaII I III Mill II HIM Mil MI III (II I III II INI llllll Mill II II INI I III II - - , , \_ , bie activities known as the Benevolent Empire. Among them was the Perkins School for the Blind in Boston, the first such school in America. Nothing better exemplified the romantic impulse of the era than the belief of those who founded Perkins that even society's supposedly leastfavored members-the blind and otherwise handicapped-could be helped to discover inner strength and wisdom. More typical of educational reform, however, were efforts to use schools to impose a set of social values on children-the values that reformers believed were appropriate for their new, industrializing society. These values included thrift, order, discipline, punctuality, and respect for authority. Horace Mann, for example, spoke frequently of the role of public schools in extending democracy and expanding individual opportunity. But he spoke, too, of their role in creating social order. "The unrestrained passions of men are not only homicidal, but suicidal," he said, suggesting a philosophy very different from that



of Alcott and other transcendentalists, who emphasized instinct and emotion. Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Rehabilitation unable to pay their debts, the mentally ill, even senile paupers all were crowded together indiscriminately into prisons and jails, which in some cases were holes in the ground; one jail in Connecticut was an abandoned mine shaft. Beginning in the 1820s, numerous states replaced these antiquated facilities with new "penitentiaries" and mental institutions designed to provide a proper environment for inmates. New York built the first penitentiary at Auburn in 1821. In Massachusetts, the social reformer Dorothea Dix began a national movement for new methods of treating the mentally ill. Imprisonment of debtors and paupers gradually disappeared, as did such traditional practices as legal public hangings. But the creation of "asylums" for social deviants was not Prison simply an effort to curb the abuses of the Reform old system. It was also an attempt to reform and rehabilitate the inmates. New forms of rigid prison discipline were designed to rid criminals of the "laxness" that had presumably led them astray. Solitary confinement and the imposition of silence on work crews (both adopted in Pennsylvania and New York in the 1820s) were meant to give prisoners opportunities to meditate on their wrongdoings (hence the term "penitentiary": a place for individuals to cultivate penitence). Some reformers argued that the discipline of the asylum could serve as a model for other potentially disordered environments—for example, factories and schools. But penitentiaries and mental hospitals often fell victim to overcrowding, and the original reform ideal gradually faded. Many prisons ultimately degenerated into little more than warehouses for criminals, with scant emphasis on rehabilitation, which was far from the original, optimistic vision. The "asylum" movement was not, however, restricted to criminals and people otherwise considered "unfit." The idea that a properly structured institution could prevent moral failure or rescue individuals from failure and despair helped spawn the creation of new orphanages designed as educational institutions. Such institutions, reformers believed, would provide an environment in which children who might otherwise be drawn into criminality could be trained to become useful citizens. Similar institutions emerged to provide homes for "friendless" women—women without families or homes, but otherwise "respectable," for whom the institutions might

provide an opportunity to build a new life. (Such homes were in part an effort to prevent such women from turning to prostitution.) There were also new facilities for the poor: almshouses and workhouses, which created closely supervised environments for those who had failed to work their way up in society. Such an environment, reformers believed, would train them to live more productive lives. Achievements of Educational Reform Similar impulses helped create another powerful movement of reform: the creation of "asylums" (as they now were called) for criminals and for the mentally ill. On the one hand, in advocatThe Asylum hig Prison and hospital reform, Americans Movement were reacting to one of society's most glaring ills. Criminals of all kinds, debtors Mil I Mil II II 1 1 III I llli I llllll Mil I II III II II Mil II II I Mill I Mil III The Indian Reservation Some of these same beliefs underlay the emergence in the 1840s and 1850s of a new "reform" approach to the problems of Native Americans: the idea of the reservation. For several decades, the dominant thrust of U.S. policy toward the Indians

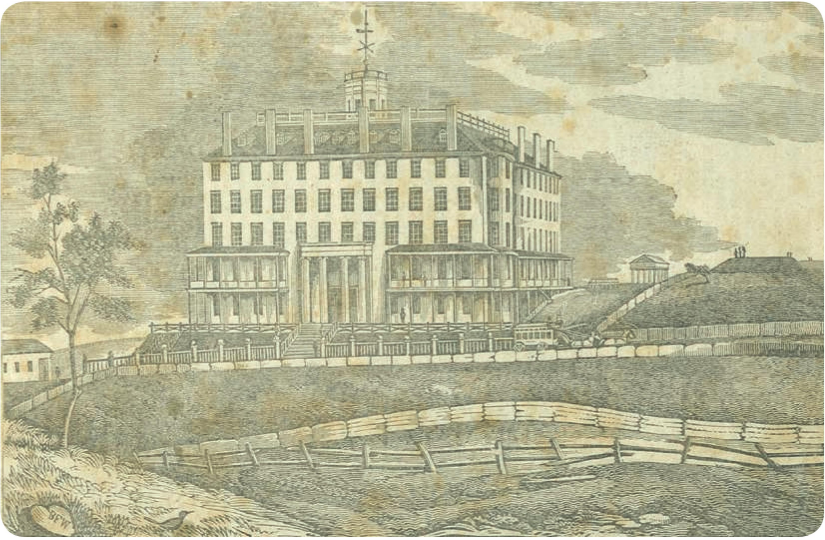
## ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 327 PERKINS

**SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND** The Perkins School in Boston was the first school for the blind in the United States and was committed to the idea that the blind could be connected effectively to the world through the development of new skills, such as reading through the relatively new technique of embossed writing systems. This woodcut shows Perkins's main building in the mid-1850s, by which time the school was already over twenty years old. It continues to educate the blind today. (© Courtesy of Perkins School for the Blind, Watertown, Massachusetts)

in areas of white settlement had been relocation. The principal motive behind relocation had always been a simple one: getting the tribes out of the way of white civilization. But among some whites there had also been another, if secondary, intent: to move the Indians to a place where they would be protected from whites and allowed to develop to a point where assimilation might be possible. Even Andrew Jackson, whose animus toward Indians was legendary, once described the removals as part of the nation's "moral duty ... to protect and if possible to preserve and perpetuate the scattered remnants of the Indian race." It was a small step from the idea of relocation to the idea of the reservation: the idea of creating an enclosed region in which Indians would live in isolation from white society. The reservations served white economic purposes above all moving Native Americans out of good lands that white settlers wanted. But they were also supposed to serve a reform purpose. Just as prisons, asylums, and orphanages would provide society with an opportunity to train and uplift misfits and unfortunates within white society, so the reservations might provide a way to undertake what one official called "the great work of regenerating the Indian race." Native Americans on reservations, reformers argued, would learn the ways of civilization in a protected setting.

**The Emergence of Feminism** The reform ferment of the antebellum period had a particular meaning for American women. They played central roles in a wide range of reform movements and a particularly important role in the movements on behalf of temperance and the abolition of slavery. In the process, they expressed their awareness of the problems that women themselves faced in a male-dominated society. The result was the creation of the first important American feminist movement, one that laid the groundwork for more than a century of

agitation for women's rights. Women in the 1830s and 1840s faced not only all the traditional restrictions imposed on members of their sex by society, but also a new set of barriers that had emerged from the doctrine of "separate spheres" and the transformation of the family. Many women who began to involve themselves in reform movements in the 1820s and 1830s came to look on such restrictions with rising resentment. Some began to defy them. Sarah and Angelina Grimké, sisters born in South Carolina who had become active in the Mill II III II Mill Mill II HIM Mill II III II Mill Mill II Mill II 111 111 spoken abolitionists, ignored attacks by men who claimed that their activities were inappropriate for their sex. "Men and women were CREATED EQUAL," they argued. "They are both moral and accountable beings, and whatever is right for man to do, is right for women to do." Other reformers-Catharine Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe (her sister), Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Dorothea Dix-also chafing at the restrictions placed on them by men, similarly pressed at the boundaries of "acceptable" female behavior. Finally, in 1840, the patience of several women snapped. A group of American female delegates arrived at a world antislavery convention in London, only to be turned away by the men who controlled the proceedings. Angered at the rejection, several of the delegates-notably Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton-became convinced that their first duty as reformers should now be to elevate the status of women. Over the next several years, Mott, Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and



## CONSIDER THE SOURCE

IN THE 1840S, a group of women who had started out as abolitionists began to ^^^^ FEMINIST advocate for the rights of women. "All men and women are created equal," they declared. They argued that women should have the same opportunities as men and should no longer be restricted to the domestic sphere. This effort reached its peak at the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls, New York, where a Declaration of Sentiments was proclaimed. Just as the women's rights movement of the nineteenth century grew out of the abolitionist movement, so the feminist movement of the twentieth century built upon the civil rights movement. The modern feminist movement often marks its beginning with the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and the formation of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. Despite the more than one hundred years separating the two documents that follow, the basic sentiments of the Seneca Falls Declaration bear many similarities to the ideas that have shaped feminist thinking of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

SENECA FALLS-1848 r \ The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Convention, 1848 When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course. We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. . . . Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal



NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW)— 1966  
The National Organization for Women's 1966 Statement of Purpose  
We, men and women who hereby constitute ourselves as the  
National Organization for Women, believe that the time has come  
for a new movement toward true equality for all women in  
America, and toward a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part  
of the worldwide revolution of human rights now taking place  
within and beyond our national borders. The purpose of NOW is to  
take action to bring women into full participation in the  
mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges  
and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men. We  
believe the time has come to . . . confront, with concrete action, the  
conditions that now prevent women from enjoying the equality of  
opportunity and freedom of choice which is their right, as  
individual Americans, and as human beings. NOW is dedicated to  
the proposition that women, first and foremost, are human beings,  
who, like all other people in our society, must have the chance to  
develop their fullest human potential. We believe that women can  
achieve such equality only by accepting to the full the challenges  
and responsibilities they share with all other people in our society,  
as part of the decision-making mainstream of American political,  
economic and social life. WE BELIEVE that the power of American  
law, and the protection guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution to the  
civil rights of all individuals, must be effectively applied and  
enforced to isolate and remove patterns of sex discrimination, to  
ensure equality of opportunity in employment and education, and  
equality of civil and political rights and responsibilities on behalf of  
women, as well as for Negroes and other deprived groups. WE  
BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of  
women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own  
equality, freedom, and human dignity-not in pleas for special  
privilege, nor in enmity toward men, who are also victims of the  
current, half-equality between the sexes-but in an active, self-  
respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop  
confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership  
with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and  
their society. This Statement of Purpose was written by Betty  
Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*. Source: National  
Organization for Women Statement of Purpose (1966). N \_ \_ \_ j



## MAKE CONNECTIONS

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1. How does the NOW statement of purpose echo the sentiments of the Seneca Falls Declaration? 2. What image of women's status does each document create? How do these images differ? 3. What rights that are asked for in the Declaration of 1848 had women gained by 1966? Has the vision outlined in the NOW statement of purpose been achieved today? 329 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimiiiiimmi

CiTiiAamt Stkbbins, snd KcrtABicTn C. Stanton, and was unanimously adopted, as follows : DECLARATION OF SENTIMENT\*. When, in the course of human events, it b£•omfs necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume araong the |h\*oj le of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, hut one to which flic laws of nftare and of nature s (iod entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course. THE "DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS" Frederick Douglass joined female abolitionists in signing the famous "Declaration of Sentiments" that emerged out of the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848— one of the founding documents of American feminism. (The Library of Congress) others began drawing pointed parallels between the plight of Seneca Falls women and the plight of slaves; and in Convention 1848, they organized a convention in  
 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii Seneca Falls, New York, to discuss the question of women's rights. Out of the meeting emerged a "Declaration of Sentiments" (patterned on the 1776 Declaration of Independence), which stated that "all men and women are created equal," that women no less than men have certain inalienable rights. Their most prominent demand was for the right to vote, thus launching a movement for woman suffrage that would continue until 1920. But the document was in many ways more important for its rejection of the whole notion that men and women should be assigned separate "spheres" in society. It should not be surprising, perhaps, that many of the women involved in these feminist efforts were Quakers. Quakerism had long embraced the ideal of sexual equality and had tolerated, indeed encouraged, the emergence of women as preachers and community leaders. Women taught to expect the absence of gender-based restrictions in their own communities naturally resented the restrictions they encountered when they moved outside them. Quakers had also been among the leaders of the antislavery movement, and Quaker women played a leading role within those efforts. Of the women who drafted the Declaration of Sentiments, all but Elizabeth Cady Stanton were Quakers. Progress toward feminist goals was limited in the antebellum years, but individual

women did manage to break the social barriers to advancement. Elizabeth Blackwell, born in England, gained acceptance and fame as a physician. Her sister-in-law Antoinette Brown Blackwell became the first ordained woman minister in the United States; and another sister-in-law, Lucy Stone, took the revolutionary step of retaining her maiden name after marriage (as did the abolitionist Angelina Grimke). Stone became a successful and influential lecturer on women's rights. Emma Willard, founder of the Troy Female Seminary in 1821, and Catharine Beecher, who founded the Hartford Female Seminary in 1823, worked on behalf of women's education. Some women expressed their feminist sentiments even in their choice of costume—by wearing a distinctive style of dress (introduced in the 1850s) that combined a short skirt with full-length pantalettes—an outfit that allowed freedom of movement without loss of modesty. Introduced by the famous actress Fanny Kemble, it came to be called the "bloomer" costume, after one of its advocates, Amelia Bloomer. (It provoked so much controversy that feminists finally abandoned it, convinced that the furor was drawing attention away from their more important demands.) There was an irony in this rise of interest in the rights of women. Feminists benefited greatly from their association with other reform movements, most notably abolitionism; but they also suffered from them. For the demands of women were usually assigned—even by some women themselves—a secondary position to what many considered the far greater issue of the rights of slaves.

**THE CRUSADE AGAINST SLAVERY** The antislavery movement was not new to the mid-nineteenth century. There had been efforts even before the Revolution to limit, and even eliminate, the institution. Those efforts had helped remove slavery from most of the North by the end of the eighteenth century and had led to the legal prohibition of the international slave trade in 1808. There were powerful antislavery movements in Europe that cried out forcefully against human bondage, perhaps most notably from Britain, where the great antislavery leader, William Wilberforce, had led the effort to abolish the slave trade, and later slavery itself, from the British Empire. But American anti-slavery sentiment remained relatively muted in the first decades after independence. Not until 1830 did it begin to gather the force that would ultimately enable it to overshadow virtually all other efforts

at social reform. Early Opposition to Slavery In the early years of the nineteenth century, those who opposed slavery were, for the most part, a calm and genteel lot, expressing moral disapproval but engaging in few overt activities. To the extent that there was an organized antislavery movement, it centered on the concept of colonization-the effort to encourage the resettlement of African Americans in Africa or the American Caribbean. In 1817, a group of prominent Colonization white Virginians organized the American Society Colonization Society (ACS), which worked carefully to challenge slavery without challenging property rights or southern sensibilities. The ACS proposed

ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 331 a gradual manumission (or freeing) of slaves, with masters receiving compensation through funds raised by private charity or appropriated by state legislatures. The Society would then transport liberated slaves out of the country and help them to establish a new society of their own elsewhere. The ACS was not without impact. It received some funding from private donors, some from Congress, some from the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland. And it arranged the shipment of several groups of African Americans out of the country, some of them to the west coast of Africa, where in 1830 they established the nation of Liberia (which became an independent republic in 1846-its capital, Monrovia, was named for the American president who had presided over the initial settlement). But the ACS was in the end a negligible force. Neither private nor public funding was nearly enough to carry out the vast projects its supporters envisioned. In the space of a decade, they Failure of managed to "colonize" fewer slaves than Colonization were born in the United States in a month. No amount of funding, in fact, would have been enough; there were far too many black men and women in America in the nineteenth century to be transported to Africa by any conceivable program. And in any case, the ACS met resistance from African Americans themselves, many of whom were now three or more generations removed from Africa and had no wish to move to a land of which they knew almost nothing. (The Massachusetts free black Paul Cuffe had met similar resistance from members of his own race in the early 1800s when he proposed a colonization scheme of his own.) By 1830, in other words, the early antislavery movement was rapidly losing strength. Colonization was proving not to be a viable method of attacking the institution, particularly since the cotton boom in the Deep South was increasing the commitment of planters to their "peculiar" labor system. Those opposed to slavery had reached what appeared to be a dead end. Garrison and Abolitionism At this crucial juncture, with the antislavery movement seemingly on the verge of collapse, a new figure emerged to transform it into a dramatically different phenomenon. He was William Lloyd Garrison. Born in Massachusetts in 1805, Garrison was an assistant in the 1820s to the New Jersey Quaker Benjamin Lundy, who published the leading antislavery newspaper of the time-the *Genius of Universal Garrison*

and Emancipation- in Baltimore. Garrison shared the Liberator Lundy's abhorrence of slavery, but he soon grew impatient with his employers moderate tone and mild proposals for reform. In 1831, therefore, he returned to Boston to found his own weekly newspaper, the Liberator. Garrison's simple philosophy was genuinely revolutionary. Opponents of slavery, he said, should view the institution from the point of view of the black man, not the white slaveowner. They should not, as earlier reformers had done, talk about the evil influence of slavery on white society; instead, they should talk about the damage the system did to Africans. And they should, therefore, reject "gradualism" and demand the immediate, unconditional, universal abolition of slavery. Garrison spoke with particular scorn about the advocates of colonization. They were not emancipationists, he argued; on the contrary, their real aim was to strengthen slavery by ridding the country of those African Americans who were already free. The true aim of foes of slavery, he insisted, must be to extend to African Americans all the rights of American citizenship. As startling as the drastic nature of his proposals was the relentless, uncompromising tone with which he promoted them. "I am aware," he wrote in the first issue of the Liberator, "that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. . . . I am in earnest-I will not equivocate-I will not excuse-I will not retreat a single inch-AND I WILL BE HEARD." Garrison soon attracted a large group of followers throughout the North, enough to enable him to found the New England American Anti-Slavery Society in 1832 and a year later, after a convention in Philadelphia, the American Anti-Slavery Society. Membership I llllllllll II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill II \_ \_ \_ in the new organizations mushroomed. By 1835, there were more than 400 chapters of the societies; by 1838, there were 1,350 chapters, with more than 250,000 members. Antislavery sentiment was developing a strength and assertiveness greater than at any other point in the nation's past history. Black Abolitionists Abolitionism had a particular appeal to the free blacks of the North, who in 1850 numbered about 250,000, mostly concentrated in cities. They lived in conditions of poverty and oppression often worse than those of their slave counterparts in the South. An English traveler who had visited both sections of the country wrote in 1854 that he was

"utterly at a loss to imagine the source of that prejudice which subsists against [African Americans] in the Northern states, a prejudice unknown in the South, where the relations between the Africans and the European [white American] are so much more intimate." This confirmed an earlier observation by the French observer Alexis de Tocqueville that "the prejudice which repels the Negroes seems to increase in proportion as they are emancipated." Northern blacks were often victimized by mob violence; they had virtually no access to education; they could vote in only a few states; and they were barred from all but the most menial of occupations. Most worked either as domestic servants or as sailors in the American merchant marine, and their wages were such that they lived in squalor. Some were kidnapped by whites and forced back into slavery. For all their problems, however, northern blacks were aware of, and fiercely proud of, their freedom. And they remained acutely sensitive to the plight of those members of their race who remained in bondage, aware that their own position in society would remain precarious as long as slavery existed. Many in the 1830s came to support Garrison, to subscribe to his newspaper, and to sell subscriptions to it in their

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW CONVENTION Abolitionists gathered in Cazenovia, New York, in August 1850 to consider how to respond to the law recently passed by Congress requiring northern states to return fugitive slaves to their owners. Frederick Douglass is seated just to the left of the table in this photograph of some of the participants. The gathering was unusual among abolitionist gatherings in including substantial numbers of African Americans. (From the Collection of the Madison County Historical Society, Oneida, New York) own communities. Indeed, the majority of the *Liberator's* early subscribers were free African Americans. There were also important African American leaders who expressed the aspirations of their race. One of the most militant was David Walker, a free black from Boston, who in 1829 published a harsh pamphlet: *Walker's Appeal ... to the Colored Citizens*. In it he declared: "America is more our country than it is the whites -we have enriched it with our blood and tears." He warned: "The whites want slaves, and want us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us." Slaves should, he declared, cut their masters' throats, should "kill, or be killed!" Most African American critics of slavery, however, were less violent in their rhetoric. Sojourner Truth, a freed black woman, spent several years involved in a strange religious cult in upstate New York. She emerged as a powerful and eloquent spokeswoman for the abolition of slavery. The greatest African American abolitionist of all-and one Frederick °f most electrifying orators of his time, Douglass black or white-was Frederick Douglass. Born a slave in Maryland, Douglass escaped to Massachusetts in 1838, became an outspoken leader of antislavery sentiment, and spent two years lecturing in England, where members of that country's vigorous antislavery movement lionized him. On his return to the United States in 1847, Douglass purchased his freedom from his Maryland owner and founded an antislavery newspaper, the *North Star*, in Rochester, New York. He achieved wide renown as well for his autobiography. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), in which he presented a damning picture of slavery. Douglass demanded for African Americans not only freedom but full social and economic equality as well. "What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July?" Douglass harshly asked in an Independence Day speech in



Rochester, New York, in 1854. "I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. . . . There is not a nation on earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States at this very hour." Black abolitionists had been active for years before Douglass emerged as a leader of their cause; they had held their first national convention in 1830. But with Douglass's leadership, they became a more influential force; and they began, too, to forge alliances with white antislavery leaders such as Garrison. Anti-Abolitionism Abolitionism was a powerful force, but it provoked a powerful opposition as well. Almost all white southerners, of course, looked on the movement with fear and contempt. But so too did many northern whites. Indeed, even in the North, abolitionists were never more than a small, dissenting minority. To its critics, the abolitionist crusade was a dangerous and frightening threat to the existing social system. Some whites correctly warned that it would produce a terrible war between the sections. Others feared, also correctly, that it might Free Blacks\* Commitment to Abolition



ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 333 lead to a great influx of free blacks into the North. The strident, outspoken abolition movement seemed to many northern whites a sign of the disorienting social changes their society was experiencing-yet another threat to stability and order. To other northerners, mostly men of business, abolition was a threat to lucrative trade with the South. The result was an escalating wave of violence directed against abolitionists in the 1830s. When Prudence Crandall attempted to admit several African American girls to her private school in Connecticut, local citizens had her arrested. Violent threw filth into her well, and forced her to Reprisals close down the school. A mob in Philadelphia attacked the abolitionist headquarters, the "Temple of Liberty," in 1834, burned it to the ground, and began a bloody race riot. Another mob seized Garrison on the streets of Boston in 1835 and threatened to hang him. Authorities saved him from death only by locking him in jail. Elijah Love joy, the editor of an abolitionist newspaper in Alton, Illinois, was a repeated victim of mob violence. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON Garrison was the first member of the antislavery movement to call publicly for "immediate and complete emancipation" of slaves. That was in 1831, and for the next three decades he remained a stern and uncompromising enemy of slavery. After the Civil War, however, Garrison displayed little interest in the plight of the blacks he had tried to emancipate. Instead, he turned to women's suffrage, Indian rights, and the prohibition of alcohol. (© FPG/Getty Images) Three times, angry whites invaded his offices and smashed his presses. Three times. Love joy installed new machines and began publishing again. When a mob attacked his office a fourth time, late in 1837, he tried to defend his press. The attackers set fire to the building and, as Love joy fled, shot and killed him. That so many men and women continued to embrace abolitionism in the face of such vicious opposition from within their own communities suggests much about the nature of the movement. Abolitionists were not people who made their political commitments lightly or casually. They were strongwilled, passionate crusaders, displaying enormous courage and moral strength, and displaying, too, at times a level of fervor that many of their contemporaries found disturbing. Abolitionists were widely denounced, even by some who shared their aversion to slavery, as

wild-eyed fanatics bent on social revolution. The anti-abolitionist mobs, in other words, were only the most violent expression of a sentiment that many other white Americans shared. Abolitionism Divided By the mid- 1830s, the abolitionist crusade had become impossible to ignore. It had also begun to experience serious internal strains and divisions. One reason was the violence of the anti-abolitionists, which persuaded some members of the Moderates movement that a more moderate approach versus was necessary. Another reason was the Extremists growing radicalism of William Lloyd iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii 1111 r i Garrison, who shocked even many of his own allies (including Frederick Douglass) by attacking not only slavery but the government itself. The Constitution, he said, was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." The nation's churches, he claimed, were bulwarks of slavery. In 1840, finally. Garrison precipitated a formal division within the American Anti-Slavery Society by insisting that women, who had always been central to the organization's work, be permitted to participate in the movement on terms of full equality. He continued after 1840 to arouse controversy with new, more-radical stands: an extreme pacifism that rejected even defensive wars; opposition to all forms of coercion-not just slavery but prisons and asylums as well; and finally, in 1843, a call for northern disunion from the South. The nation could. Garrison suggested, purge itself of the sin of slavery by expelling the slave states from the Union. From 1840 on, therefore, abolitionism moved in many channels and spoke with many different voices. The Garrisonians remained influential, with their uncompromising moral stance. Others operated in moderate ways, arguing that abolition could be accomplished only as the result of a long, patient, peaceful struggle-immediate abolition gradually accomplished," as they called it. At first, such moderates depended on "moral suasion." They would appeal to the conscience of the slaveholders and convince them that their institution was sinful. When that produced no results, they turned to political action, seeking to induce the northern states and the federal government to aid the cause wherever



AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Abolition of Slavery |T| fj  
Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1865,  
following the Civil War, abolished slavery in the United  
States. But the effort to abolish slavery did not begin or end in  
North America. Emancipation in the United States was part of a  
worldwide antislavery movement that had begun in the late  
eighteenth century and continued through the end of the  
nineteenth. The movement to end slavery reflected the ideals of the  
Enlightenment, which inspired new concepts of individual freedom  
and political equality. As Enlightenment ideas spread throughout  
the Western world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,  
introducing human rights and individual liberty to the concept of  
civilization, people on both sides of the Atlantic began to ask  
whether slavery was compatible with these new ideas. Some  
Enlightenment thinkers, including some of the founders of the  
American republic, ANTI-SLAVE MESSAGE This sampler conveys a  
potent anti-slave message, "Thou God Seest Me." Originally from  
the Bible (Genesis 16:13), this quote expresses the sentiment that  
the kneeling slave should be seen as a man rather than chattel. (©  
Wilberforce House, Hull City Museums and Art Galleries, UK/The  
Bridgeman Art Library) believed that freedom was appropriate for  
white people, but not for people of color. But others came to believe  
that all human beings had an equal claim to liberty, and their views  
became the basis for an escalating series of antislavery movements.  
Opponents of slavery first targeted the slave trade— the vast  
commerce in human beings that had grown up in the seventeenth  
and eighteenth centuries and had come to involve large parts of  
Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and North and South America. In the  
aftermath of the revolutions in America, France, and Haiti in the  
late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the attack on the  
slave trade gained momentum. The English reformer William  
Wilberforce spent years attacking Britain's connection with the slave  
trade, arguing against it on moral and religious grounds. After the  
Haitian revolution, he argued as well that the continuation of  
slavery would create more slave revolts. In 1807, he persuaded  
Parliament to pass a law ending the slave trade within the entire  
British Empire. The British example— combined with political,  
economic, and military pressure from London— persuaded many  
other nations to make the international slave trade illegal: the

United States in 1808, France in 1814, Holland in 1817, and Spain in 1845. Trading in slaves continued within countries and colonies where slavery remained legal (including the United States), and some illegal slave trading continued throughout the Atlantic world. But the sale of slaves steadily declined after 1807. The last known shipment of slaves across the Atlantic— from Africa to Cuba occurred in 1867. Ending the slave trade was a great deal easier than ending slavery itself. But pressure to abolish slavery grew steadily throughout the nineteenth century, with Wilberforce once more helping lead the international outcry against the institution. In Haiti, the slave revolts that began in 1791 eventually abolished not only slavery but also French rule. In some parts of South America, slavery came to an end with the overthrow of Spanish rule in the possible. They Joined the Garrisonians in helping runaway slaves find refuge in the North or in Canada through the so-called underground railroad (although their efforts were never as highly organized as the term suggests). They helped fund the legal battle over the Spanish slave vessel Amistad. Later, after the Supreme Court (in Prigg v. Pennsylvania, 1842) ruled that states need not aid in enforcing the 1793 law requiring the return of fugitive slaves to their owners, abolitionists secured the passage of "personal liberty laws" in several northern states. These laws forbade state officials to assist 334 . in the capture and return of runaways. Above all, the antislavery societies petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in places where the federal government had Jurisdiction-in the territories and in the District of Columbia-and to prohibit the interstate slave trade. But political abolitionism had severe limits. Few members of the movement believed that Congress could constitutionally interfere with a "domestic" institution such as slavery within the individual states themselves. The abolitionists never formed a political party. Antislavery sentiment underlay the formation in 1840 of the Liberty Party, iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

Thou God Seeſt me .....



ANTEBELLUM CULTURE AND REFORM 335 1820s. Simon Bolivar, the great leader of Latin American independence, considered abolishing slavery an important part of his mission. He freed those slaves who joined his armies, and he insisted on prohibitions of slavery in several of the constitutions he helped frame. In 1833, the British Parliament passed a law abolishing slavery throughout the British Empire and compensated slaveowners for freeing their slaves. France abolished slavery in its empire in 1848. In the Caribbean, Spain followed Britain in slowly eliminating slavery from its colonies. Puerto Rico abolished slavery in 1873 and Cuba became the last colony in the Caribbean to end slavery, in 1886, in the face of increasing slave resistance and the declining profitability of slave-based plantations. Brazil was the last nation in the Americas to end the system, in 1888. The Brazilian military began to turn against slavery after the valiant participation of slaves in Brazil's war with Paraguay in the late 1860s; eventually, educated Brazilian civilians began to oppose the system too, arguing that it obstructed economic and social progress. In the United States, the power of world opinion— and the example of Wilberforce's movement in England— became an important spur to the abolitionist movement as it gained strength in the 1820s and 1830s. American abolitionism, in turn, helped reinforce the movements abroad. Frederick Douglass, the former slave turned abolitionist, became a major figure in the international antislavery movement and was a much-admired and much-sought-after speaker in England and Europe in the 1840s and 1850s. No other nation paid as terrible a price for abolishing slavery as did the United States during its Civil War, but American emancipation was nevertheless a part of a worldwide movement toward ending legalized human bondage. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. Why did opponents of slavery focus first on ending the slave trade, rather than abolishing slavery itself? Why was ending the slave trade easier than ending slavery? 2. How do William Wilberforce's arguments against slavery compare with those of the abolitionists in the United States? 3. How could a nation that declared "all men are created equal" justify slavery? which chose the Kentucky antislavery leader James G. Birney as its presidential candidate. But this party, and its successors, never campaigned for outright abolition (an illustration of the important



fact that "antislavery" and "abolitionism" were not always the same thing). They stood instead for "free soil," for keeping slavery out of the territories. Some free-soilers were concerned about the welfare of African Americans; others cared nothing about the slaves but simply wanted to keep the West a country for whites. Garrison dismissed free-soilism as "white-manism." But the free-soil position would ultimately do what abolitionism never could accomplish: attract the support of large numbers, even a majority, of the white population of the North. The frustrations of political abolitionism drove some critics of slavery to embrace more drastic measures. A few began to advocate violence; a group of prominent abolitionists in New England, for example, funneled money and arms to John Brown to enable bloody uprisings in Kansas and Virginia (see pp. 356-357, 360). Others attempted to arouse widespread public anger through propaganda. Abolitionist descriptions of slavery—for example, Theodore Dwight Weld and Angelina Grimke's *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839)—presented what the authors claimed were careful, factual pictures of slavery, but what were in fact highly polemical, often wildly distorted images. The most powerful document of abolitionist propaganda, however, was a work of fiction: Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It appeared first, in 1851-1852, as a serial in an *antislavery weekly*. Then, in 1852, it was published as a book. It rocked the nation, selling more than 300,000 copies within a year of publication, and was later issued again and again to become one of the most remarkable best-sellers in American history. Stowe's novel emerged not just out of abolitionist politics, but also out of a popular tradition of sentimental novels written by, and largely for, women. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 336-337) Stowe combined the emotional conventions of the sentimental novel with the political ideas of the abolition movement, and to sensational effect. Her novel, by embedding the antislavery message within a familiar and popular literary form, succeeded in bringing the message of abolitionism to an enormous new audience—not only those who read the book but also those who watched dramatizations of its story by countless theater companies throughout the nation. The novel's emotional portrayal of good, kindly slaves victimized by a cruel system; of the loyal, trusting

Uncle Tom; of the vicious overseer Simon Legree (described as a New Englander so as to prevent the book from seeming to be an attack on southern whites); of the escape of the beautiful Eliza; of the heartrending death of Little Eva—all became a part of American popular legend. Reviled throughout the South, Stowe became a hero to many in the North. And in both regions, her novel helped to inflame sectional tensions to a new level of passion. Few books in American history have had so great an impact on the course of public events. Even divided, therefore, abolitionism remained a powerful influence on the life of the nation. Only a relatively small number of people before the Civil War Abolitionism's , , , , Enduring ever accepted the abolitionist position Influence that slavery must be entirely eliminated in a single stroke. But the crusade that Garrison had launched, and that thousands of committed men and women kept alive for three decades, was a constant, visible reminder of how deeply the institution of slavery was dividing America.

Sentimental Novels have it just as it is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women," x \ XVI Ci 0, 1

Nathaniel Hawthorne complained in 1855, "and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash." Hawthorne, one of the leading novelists of his time, was complaining about the most popular form of fiction in mid-nineteenth-century America— not his own dark and serious works, but the "sentimental novel," a genre of literature written and read mostly by middle-class women. In an age when affluent women occupied primarily domestic roles, and in which finding a favorable marriage was the most important thing many women could do to secure or improve their lots in life, the sentimental novel gave voice to both female hopes and female anxieties. The plots of sentimental novels were usually filled with character-improving problems and domestic trials, but most of them ended with the heroine securely and happily married. They were phenomenally successful, many of them selling more than 100,000 copies each— far more than almost any other books of the time. Sentimental heroines were almost always beautiful and endowed with specifically female qualities — "all the virtues," one novelist wrote, "that are founded in the sensibility of the heart: Pity, the attribute of angels, and friendship, the balm of life, delight to dwell in the female breast." Women were highly sensitive creatures, the sentimental writers believed, incapable of disguising their feelings, and subject to fainting, mysterious illnesses, trances, and, of course, tears— things rarely expected of men. But they were also capable of a kind of nurturing love and natural sincerity that was hard to find in the predominantly male public world. In Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* (1850), for example, the heroine, a young girl named Ellen Montgomery, finds herself suddenly thrust into the "wide, wide world" of male competition after her father loses his fortune. She is unable to adapt to this world, but she is saved in the end when she is taken in by wealthy relatives, who will undoubtedly prepare her for a successful marriage. They restore to her the security and comfort to which she had been born and without which she seemed unable to thrive. Sentimental novels accepted uncritically the popular assumptions about women's special needs and desires, and they offered stirring tales of how women satisfied them. But sentimental novels were not limited to romanticized

images of female fulfillment through protection and marriage. They hinted as well at the increasing role of women in reform movements. Many such books portrayed women dealing with social and moral problems— and using their highly developed female sensibilities to help other women escape from their troubles. Women were particularly suitable for such reform work, the writers implied, because they were specially gifted at helping and nurturing others.

**LOOKING BACK** The rapidly changing society of antebellum America produced a remarkable upsurge of cultural nationalism and reform. Writers, artists, intellectuals, and others drew heavily from new European notions of personal liberation—a set of ideas often known as romanticism. But they also strove to create a truly American culture, un beholden to European models. The literary and artistic life of the nation expressed the rising interest in personal liberation—in giving individuals the freedom to explore their own souls and to find in nature a full expression of their divinity. It also called attention to some of the nation’s glaring social problems. Reformers, too, made use of the romantic belief in the divinity of the individual. They flocked to religious revivals, worked on behalf of such “moral” reforms as temperance, supported education, and stirred the beginnings of feminism. Above all, in the North, they rallied against slavery. Out of this growing antislavery movement emerged a new and powerful phenomenon: abolitionism, which rejected moderate reform and insisted on nothing less than immediate emancipation of the slaves. The abolitionist crusade galvanized much of the North. It also contributed greatly to the growing schism between North and South.

**Key Terms/People/Places/Events** Amistad 334 Charles Grandison Finney 322 Edgar Allan Poe 317 Elizabeth Cady Stanton 327 Frederick Douglass 332 Harriet Beecher Stowe 335 Henry David Thoreau 318 Herman Melville 317 Horace Mann 325 Hudson River School 315 James Fenimore Cooper 316 Joseph Smith 320 Lucretia Mott 327 Margaret Fuller 319 Nathaniel Hawthorne 319 Ralph Waldo Emerson 318 Sarah and Angelina Grimke 327 Seneca Falls Convention 330 Shakers 320 Susan B. Anthony 327 Transcendentalism 317 Walt Whitman 316 William Lloyd Garrison 331 336 • iiiiii

■ 135,000 SETS, 270,000 VOLUMES SOU. UNCLE TOM'S CABIN FOR SALE HERE. in KurruiN rim tie miu.miv imfuite in i i\*. r«ux u i\* cent! • ■ IN SEMIN. IN I l\*L MIKE S» CENTS. - - IN \* I OK. (I.OTB, 0 TLITEJi, MIIT SIJA sircitll IU.IVTRITEO EHm»V IN I l«L linn UJ ENOUII MN I'IlM'RK PKOH \*\*,30 Til «.«!. The Greatest Book of the Age. UNCLE TOM'S CABIN Uncle Tom's Cabin did much to inflame public opinion in both the North and the South in the last years before the Civil War. When Abraham Lincoln was introduced to Stowe once in the White House, he reportedly said to her: "So you are the little lady that has brought this great war." At the time, however, Stowe was equally well known as one of the most successful American writers of sentimental novels. (© Corbis) consumers of the expanding products of Amer in sentimental novels searched not just for love The most famous sentimental novelist of the nineteenth century was Harriet Beecher Stowe. Most of her books— The Minister's Wooing, My Wife and I, We and Our Neighbors, and others— portrayed the travails and ultimate triumphs of women as they became wives, mothers, and hostesses. But Stowe was and remains best known for her 1852 antislavery novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, one of the most influential books ever published in America. As a story about slavery, and about an aging black man— Uncle Tom— who is unfailingly submissive to his white masters, it is in many ways very different from her other novels. But Uncle Tom's Cabin is a sentimental novel, too. Stowe's critique of slavery is based on her belief in the importance of domestic values and family security. Slavery's violation of those values, and its denial of that security, is what made it so abhorrent to her. The simple, decent Uncle Tom faces many of the same dilemmas that the female heroines of other sentimental novels encounter in their struggles to find security and tranquillity in their lives. Another way in which women were emerging from their domestic sphere was in becoming 's industrializing economy. The female characters , security, and social justice; they also searched for luxury and for the pleasure of buying some favored item. Susan Warner illustrated this aspect of the culture of the sentimental novel — and the desires of the women who read them— in The Wide, Wide World, in her description of the young Ellen Montgomery in an elegant bookstore, buying a Bible: "Such beautiful Bibles she had never seen; she pored in ecstasy over their varieties of type and

binding, and was very evidently in love with them all." •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did the lives of the heroines of the sentimental novels compare with the lives of real women of the nineteenth century? What made them so popular? 2. How did the sentimental novels encourage women's participation in public life? Did the novels reinforce prevailing attitudes toward women or broaden the perception of women's "proper role"? 3. Uncle Tom's Cabin is probably one of the bestknown works of American fiction. Why was this novel so much more powerful than other sentimental novels? Why has it endured?

RECALL AND REFLECT 1. What is "romanticism" and how was it expressed in 4. What arguments and strategies did the abolitionists use in American literature and art? their struggle to end slavery? Who opposed them and 2. How did religion affect reform movements, and what was why? the effect of these movements on religion? 3. What were the aims of the women's movement of the nineteenth century? How successful were women in achieving these goals? . 337 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

338 CHAPTER 12 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1817 American Colonization Society founded 1825 Robert Owen founds New Harmony community in Indiana 1829 David Walker publishes Appeal ... to the Colored Citizens 1831 William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing the Liberator 1837 Horace Mann becomes first secretary of Massachusetts Board of Education 1821 New York constructs first penitentiary 1826 James Fenimore Cooper publishes The Last of the Mohicans American Society for the Promotion of Temperance founded 1830 American Colonization Society helps create Liberia for emigrating American slaves Joseph Smith publishes the Book of Mormon 1833 American Anti-Slavery Society founded 1840 Liberty Party formed 1841 Brook Farm founded in Roxbury, Massachusetts 1845 Frederick Douglass publishes autobiography 1848 1844 Mormon leader Joseph Smith killed 1847 Mormons found Salt Lake City Women's rights convention held at Seneca Falls, New York Oneida Community founded in New York 1851 1850 Nathaniel Hawthorne publishes The Scarlet Letter Herman Melville publishes Moby Dick 1854 Henry David Thoreau publishes Walden 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes Uncle Tom's Cabin 1855 Walt Whitman publishes Leaves of Grass

THE IMPENDING CRISIS “BLEEDING KANSAS” The battle over the fate of slavery in Kansas was one of the most turbulent events of the 1850s. This 1855 poster invites antislavery forces to a meeting to protest the actions of the "bogus" proslavery territorial legislature, which had passed laws that, among other things, made it illegal to speak or write against slavery. "Squatter sovereignty" was another term for "popular sovereignty," the doctrine that gave residents of a prospective state the power to decide the fate of slavery there. (© Bettmann/Corbis) LOOKING AHEAD

1. How did the annexation of western territories intensify the conflict over slavery and lead to deeper divisions between the North and the South? 2. What compromises attempted to resolve the conflicts over the expansion of slavery into new territories? To what degree were these compromises successful? Why did they eventually fail to resolve the differences between the North and the South? 3. What were the major arguments for and against slavery and its expansion into new territories?

TMafat autf ben TVivltn finin' fett im StYnjfnrti'u'hiVfr \* & KANSAS t FREE STATE. Squatter Sovereignty VINDICATED S SIMM! The Squatters of Kansas who are tavora\* hie lo I'HELUOn OF SPFRcIl on alj subject\* which intercut them, and an un\* rCn lit j.t-rd PRESS : who are determined to do ih«ir own THlft RtljVf\* aji4 VOTING of FOHF1CN DIcI'A JTO^T, are requested (a n^rmbtr in MASSMEETIR6 at I he lime, and following le veils The following »bebhc« will be in attendance, who will eddreu you on the important ^luaiiont dow before, the people of Kanvit i mi\*- 1 ■\* h-t " 0,1 t\*. ~ + \* iPmOf \* 1\* " T > |f, Cu! w4 34 \* i f 1k.hu rwt\* ■ \* \* Ifti 1 Vair\* r t'M's r> 31 ■.\*. +1 s Ok> W t> f or li ii e INSON. J. A. Wakefield, C. K. Holliday, 3ft. F. Conway >v K. Vail. t. I.. Spr.r, W 1. tils, J..8i»h.Wit|.;r. O C. Br^rn. J. K. Owlin. IWb Cilpolriek, Ki\*m Mr, Tufon and J Iv, Stewart. V. A. IVmter, J I\* r«aF VI. Hr«»\*pq) n Wrawn, A II MaHny and vlbrni. TURN OUT AND HEAR TIHUN! i



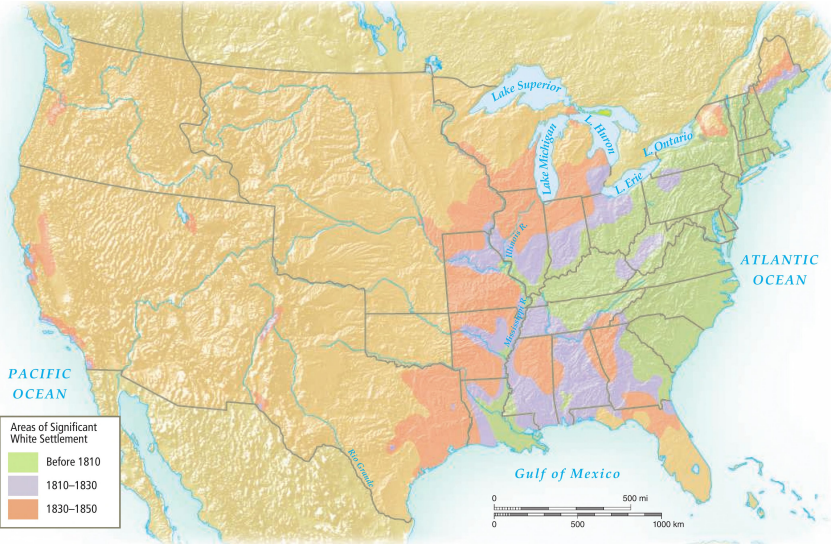
SETTING THE STAGE UNTIL THE 1840S, THE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE NORTH AND the South remained relatively contained. Had no new sectional controversies arisen, the United States might have avoided a civil war and the two sections might have resolved their differences peaceably over time. But new controversies did arise, all of them centered on slavery. From the North came the powerful abolitionist movement, which rejected compromise and conciliation and attempted, with great success, to make the elimination of slavery a moral issue that would not be open to compromise. From the South came a belligerent defense of slavery. Slavery, its proponents argued, was not a necessary evil, but a positive good—the best possible system for white southerners, who needed a labor force, and the best possible system as well for black southerners, whom the defenders of slavery insisted needed the paternalistic supervision of white masters. The West brought these differences to a head most forcefully. As the nation annexed extensive new lands— Texas, the Southwest territories, California, Oregon Country, and others— a single question arose again and again: What would be the status of slavery in the territories? Two compromises— one in 1850 and another in 1854— failed to contain the conflict. The result was a dangerous and persistent crisis that produced such bitterness, anger, and despair on both sides that it could no longer be contained. By the time Abraham Lincoln became president in 1860, the nation was beginning to break apart and the momentum toward civil war was becoming almost impossible to reverse.

LOOKING WESTWARD The United States acquired more than a million square miles of new territory in the 1840s—the greatest wave of expansion since the Louisiana Purchase nearly forty years before. By the end of the decade, the nation possessed all the territory of the present-day United States except Alaska, Hawaii, and a few relatively small areas acquired later through border adjustments. Many factors accounted for this great new wave of expansion, the most important of which were the hopes and ambitions of the many thousands of white Americans who moved into or invested in these new territories. Advocates of expansion justified their goals with a carefully articulated set of ideas—an ideology known as "Manifest Destiny," which became one of the factors driving white Americans to look to the West. Manifest Destiny

Manifest Destiny reflected

both the burgeoning pride that characterized American nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century and the idealistic vision of social perfection that fueled so much of the reform energy of the time. It rested on the idea that America was destined-by God and by history-to expand its boundaries over a vast area, an area that included, but was not necessarily restricted to, the continent of North America. American expansion was not selfish, its advocates insisted; it was an altruistic attempt to extend American liberty to new realms. John L. O'Sullivan, the influential Democratic editor who gave the movement its name, wrote in 1845 that the American claim to new territory is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federative self government entrusted to us. Manifest Destiny represented more than pride in the nation's political system. Running throughout many of the arguments for expansion was an explicitly racial justification. Throughout the 1840s, many Americans defended the idea of westward expansion by citing the justification superiority of the "American race"-white people of northern European origins. The nonwhite peoples of the territories could not be absorbed into the republican system. The Indians, the Mexicans, and others in the western regions were racially unfit to be part of an "American" community. Manifest Destiny advocates insisted. Westward expansion 340

THE IMPENDING CRISIS 341 EXPANDING SETTLEMENT,  
1810-1850 This map shows the dramatic expansion of the territorial boundaries of the United States in the decades after the Louisiana Purchase. By 1850, the nation had reached its present boundaries (with the exception of Alaska and Hawaii, which it acquired later). Much of this acquisition occurred in the 1840s. It also shows the spread of white settlement within the territories and states. • What events contributed to the annexation of new land to the United States in those years? was, therefore, a movement to spread both a political system and a racially defined society. O'Sullivan called "racial purity" (or "whiteness") the "key" to the triumph of the nation. By the 1840s, the idea of Manifest Destiny had spread throughout the nation, publicized by the new "penny press" (inexpensive newspapers aimed at a mass audience) and fanned by the rhetoric of nationalist politicians. Advocates of Manifest Destiny disagreed, however, about how far and by what means the nation should expand. Some had relatively limited territorial goals; others envisioned a vast new "empire of liberty" that would include Canada, Mexico, Caribbean and Pacific islands, and ultimately, a few dreamed, much of the rest of the world. Some believed America should use force to achieve its expansionist goals, while others felt that the nation should expand peacefully or not at all. Not everyone embraced the idea of Manifest Destiny. Henry Clay and other prominent politicians feared, correctly as it turned out, that territorial expansion Opposition to would reopen the painful controversy over Further slavery and threaten the stability of the Union. But their voices were barely audible Expansion  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii over the clamor of enthusiasm for expansion in the 1840s, which began with the issues of Texas and Oregon. THE LONE STAR FLAG Almost from the moment Texas won its independence from Mexico in 1836, it sought admission to the United States as a state. Controversies over the status of slavery in the territories prevented its admission until 1845, and so for nine years it was an independent republic. The tattered banner pictured here was one of the republic's original flags. (© The Granger Collection, New York)



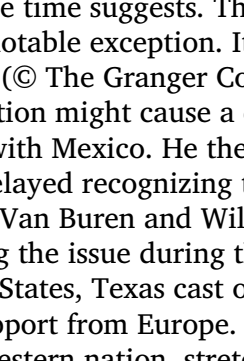
342 CHAPTER 13 Americans in Texas

The United States had once claimed Texas- which until the 1830s was part of the Republic of Mexico-as a part of the Louisiana Purchase, but it had renounced the claim in 1819. Twice thereafter the United States had offered to buy Texas, only to meet with indignant Mexican refusals. But in the early 1820s, the Mexican government launched an ill-advised experiment that would eventually cause it to lose its great northern province: it encouraged American emigration to Texas. The Mexicans hoped to strengthen the economy of the territory and increase their own tax revenues. They also liked the idea of the Americans sitting between Mexican settlement and the large and sometimes militant Indian tribes to the north. They convinced themselves, too, that settlers in Texas would serve as an effective buffer against United States expansion into the region; the Americans, they thought, would soon become loyal to the Mexican government. An 1824 colonization law designed to attract American settlers promised the newcomers cheap land and a four-year exemption from taxes. Thousands of Americans, attracted by the rich soil in Texas, took advantage of Mexico's welcome. Since much of the available land was suitable for growing cotton, the great majority of the immigrants were southerners, many of whom brought slaves with them. By 1830, there were about 7,000 Americans living in Texas, more than twice the number of Mexicans there. Most of the settlers came to Texas through the efforts of American intermediaries, who received sizable land grants from Mexico in return for promising to bring settlers into the region. The most successful of them was Stephen F. Austin Austin, a young immigrant from Missouri who had established the first legal American settlement in Texas in 1822. Austin and other intermediaries were effective in recruiting American immigrants to Texas, but they also created centers of power in the region that competed with the Mexican government. In 1826, one of these American intermediaries led a revolt to establish Texas as an independent nation (which he proposed calling Fredonia). The Mexicans quickly crushed the revolt and, four years later, passed new laws barring any further American immigration into the region. They were too late. Americans kept flowing into the territory, and in 1833 Mexico dropped the futile immigration ban. By 1835 more than 30,000 Americans, white and black, had settled

in Texas. Tensions between the United States and Mexico Friction between the American settlers and the Mexican government continued to grow. It arose from the continuing ties of the immigrants to the United States, and it arose, too, from their desire to legalize slavery, which the Mexican government had made illegal in Texas in 1830. But the Americans were divided over how to address their unhappiness with Mexican rule. Austin and his followers wanted to reach a peaceful settlement that would give Texas more autonomy within the Mexican republic. Other Americans wanted to fight for independence. In the mid- 1830s, instability in Mexico drove General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna to seize power as a dictator and impose a new, more autocratic regime on the nation and its territories. A new law increased the powers of the national government of Mexico at the expense of the state governments, a measure that Texans from the United States assumed Santa Anna was aiming specifically at them. The Mexicans even imprisoned Stephen Austin in Mexico City for a time, claiming that he was encouraging revolts among his fellow Americans in Texas. Sporadic fighting between Americans and Mexicans in Texas began in 1835 and escalated as the Mexican government sent more troops into the territory. In 1836, the American settlers defiantly proclaimed their independence from Mexico. Santa Anna led a large army into Texas, where the American settlers were having difficulties organizing an effective defense of their new "nation." Several different factions claimed to be the legitimate government of Texas, and the rebels could not even agree on who their commanders were. Mexican forces annihilated an American garrison at the Alamo mission in San Antonio after a famous, if futile, defense by a group of Texas patriots, a group that included, among others, the renowned frontiersman and former Tennessee congressman Davy Crockett. Another garrison, at Goliad, suffered substantially the same fate when the Mexicans executed most of the force after it had surrendered. By March 1836, the rebellion appeared to have collapsed. Americans were fleeing east toward Louisiana to escape Santa Anna's army. But General Sam Houston managed to keep a small force together. And on April 23, 1836, at the Battle of San Jacinto San Jacinto (near the present-day city of Houston), he . defeated the Mexican army and took Santa Anna prisoner. During the surrender, American troops killed many of the Mexican soldiers in retribution for the executions at Goliad. Santa

Anna, under pressure from his captors, signed a treaty giving Texas independence. The Mexican government repudiated the treaty, and Mexican troops briefly occupied San Antonio in 1842 but were unable to win Texas back. A number of Mexican residents of Texas (known as "Tejanos") had fought with the Americans in the revolution. But soon after Texas won its independence, their positions grew difficult. The Americans did not trust the Mexicans, fearing that they were agents of the Mexican government, and in effect drove many of them out of the new republic. Most of those who stayed had to settle for a politically and economically subordinate status within the fledgling nation. Above all, American Texans hoped for annexation by the United States. One of the first acts of the new president of Texas, Sam Houston, was to send a delegation to Washington with an offer to join the Union. There were supporters of expansion in the United States who welcomed these overtures; indeed, exOpposition to pansionists in the United States had been Annexation supporting and encouraging the revolt against Mexico for years. But there was also opposition. Many American northerners opposed acquiring a large new slave territory, and others opposed increasing the southern votes in Congress and in the electoral college. Unfortunately for the Texans, one of the opponents was President

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AUSTIN, TEXAS, 1840 Four years after Texas declared its independence from Mexico, the new republic's capital, Austin, was still a small village, most of whose buildings were rustic cabins, as this hand-colored lithograph from the time suggests. The imposing house atop the hill at right was a notable exception. It was the residence of President Mirabeau Lamar. (© The Granger Collection, New York) Jackson, who feared annexation might cause a dangerous sectional controversy and even a war with Mexico. He therefore did not support annexation and even delayed recognizing the new republic until 1837. Presidents Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison also refrained from pressing the issue during their terms of office. Spurned by the United States, Texas cast out on its own. Its leaders sought money and support from Europe. Some of them dreamed of creating a vast southwestern nation, stretching to the Pacific, that would rival the United States—a dream that appealed to European nations eager to counter the growing power of America. England and France quickly recognized and concluded trade treaties with Texas. In response, President Tyler persuaded Texas to apply for statehood again in 1844. But when Secretary of State Calhoun presented an annexation treaty to Congress as if its only purpose were to extend slavery, northern senators rebelled and defeated it. Rejection of the treaty only spurred advocates of Manifest Destiny to greater efforts toward their goal. The Texas question quickly became the central issue in the election of 1844. Oregon Control of what was known as Oregon Country, in the Pacific Northwest, was another major political issue in the 1840s. Its half-million square miles included the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, parts of Montana and Wyoming, and half of British Columbia. Both Britain and the Disputed United States claimed sovereignty in the Claims region—the British on the basis of explorations in the 1790s by George Vancouver, a naval officer; the Americans on the basis of simultaneous claims by Robert Gray, a fur trader. Unable to resolve their conflicting claims diplomatically, they agreed in an 1818 treaty to allow citizens of each country equal access to the territory. This arrangement, known as "joint occupation," continued for twenty years. In fact, by the time of the treaty neither Britain nor the United States had established much of a presence in Oregon



Country. White settlement in the region consisted largely of American and Canadian fur traders; and the most significant white settlements were the fur trading post established by John Jacob Astor's company at Astoria and other posts built by the British Hudson's Bay Company north of the Columbia River-where residents combined fur trading with farming and recruited Indian labor to compensate for their small numbers. But American interest in Oregon grew substantially in the 1820s and 1830s. Missionaries considered the territory an attractive target for evangelical efforts, especially after the strange appearance of four Nez Perce and Flathead Indians in St. Louis in 1831. White Americans never discovered what had brought the Indians (who spoke no English) from Oregon to Missouri, and all four died before they could find out. But some missionaries considered the visit a divinely inspired invitation to extend their efforts westward. They were also motivated by a desire to counter the Catholic missionaries from Canada, whose presence in Oregon, many settlers believed, threatened American hopes for annexation. The missionaries had little success with the tribes they attempted to convert, and some embittered by Indian resistance to their efforts-began encouraging white emigration to the region, arguing that by repudiating Christianity the Indians had abdicated their right to the land. "When a people refuse or neglect to fill the designs of Providence, they ought not to complain of the results," said the missionary Marcus Whitman, who, with his wife, Narcissa, had established an important, if largely unsuccessful, mission among the Cayuse Indians east of the Cascade Mountains. Significant numbers of white Americans began emigrating to Oregon in the early 1840s, and they soon substantially outnumbered the British settlers there. They also devastated much of the Indian population, in part through a measles epidemic that spread through the Cayuse. The tribe blamed the Whitman mission for the plague. Conflict between Settlers and Indians



VIEW OF AUSTIN THE NEW CAPITAL OF TEXAS IN JANUARY 1840

Engraving by J. L. Cox

344 CHAPTER 13 and in 1847 they attacked it and killed thirteen whites, including Marcus and Narcissa. But such resistance did little to stem the white immigration. By the mid- 1840s, American settlements had spread up and down the Pacific coast; and the new settlers (along with advocates of Manifest Destiny in the East) were urging the U.S. government to take possession of the disputed Oregon Country. Westward Migration The migrations into Texas and Oregon were part of a larger movement that took hundreds of thousands of white and black Americans into the far western regions of the continent between 1840 and 1860. Southerners flocked mainly to Texas. But the largest number of migrants came from the Old Northwest-white men and women, and a few African Americans, who undertook arduous journeys in search of new opportunities. Most traveled in family groups, until the early 1850s, when the great California gold rush attracted many single men (see pp. 351-352). Most were relatively prosperous young people. Poor people could not afford the expensive trip, and those who wished to migrate usually had to do so by joining established families or groups as laborersmen as farm or ranch hands, women as domestic servants, teachers, or, in some cases, prostitutes. The character of the migrations varied according to the destination of the migrants. Groups headed for areas where mining or lumbering was the principal economic activity consisted mostly of men. Those heading for farming regions traveled mainly as families. All the migrants were in search of a new life, but they harbored many different visions of what a new life would bring. Some-particularly after the discovery of gold in California in 1848-hoped for quick riches. Others planned to take advantage of the vast public lands the federal government was selling at modest prices to acquire property for farming or speculation. Still others hoped to establish themselves as merchants and serve the new white communities developing in the West. Some (among them the Mormons) were on religious missions or were attempting to escape the epidemic diseases plaguing many cities in the East. But the vast majority of migrants were looking for economic opportunities. They formed a vanguard for the expanding capitalist economy of the United States. Life on the Trail Most migrants-about 300,000 between 1840 and 1860traveled west along the great overland trails. They generally gathered in one of several major depots in

Iowa and Missouri (Independence, St. Joseph, or Council Bluffs), joined a wagon train led by hired guides, and set off with their belongings piled in covered wagons, livestock trailing behind. The major route west was the 2,000-mile Oregon Trail, which stretched from Independence across the Great Plains and through the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. From there, migrants moved north into Oregon or south (along Oregon Trail California Trail) to the northern . California coast. Other migrations moved WESTWARD HO! Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way, painted by Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze (1816-1868) in 1861, is a pictorial representation of Manifest Destiny. It symbolizes the belief held by many during the mid-1800s that the United States was destined by divine plan and authority for western exploration and expansion. This mural is displayed in the House of Representatives in the United States Capitol building. (Private Collection/© Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library)



THE IMPENDING CRISIS 345 along the Santa Fe Trail, southwest from Independence into New Mexico. However they traveled, overland migrants faced considerable hardships-although the death rate for travelers was only slightly higher than the rate for the American population as a whole. The mountain and desert terrain in the later portions of the trip were particularly difficult. Most journeys lasted five or six months (from May to November), and there was always pressure to get through the Rockies before the snows began, not always an easy task given the very slow pace of most wagon trains (about fifteen miles a day). And although some migrants were moving west at least in part to escape the epidemic diseases of eastern cities, they were not immune from plagues. Thousands of people died on the trail of cholera during the great epidemic of the early 1850s. In the years before the Civil War, fewer than 400 migrants (about one-tenth of 1 percent) died in conflicts with the tribes. In fact, Indians were usually more helpful than dangerous to the white migrants. They often served as guides through difficult terrain or aided travelers in crossing streams or herding.

Seattle Havre Whitman's Mission • ■ Fort Walla Walla  
 REGON trail Eugene Billings OREGON (1859)ocatello Donner Pass  
 j IOWA (1846) Cheyenne Omaha\* Francisco. ^ ^ (Sacarrrento) C^-  
 zlavoo Denver ^Colorado Springs Pueblo -^Bent's Fort ansas City ?  
 Independence Abilene Ellsworth Visalia Fort Atkinson Sedalia o  
 Bakersfield Dodge City TERRITORY MISSOURI San Bernardino  
 Albuquerque Tucson Dallas San Angelo trail LOUISIANA Sandera  
 CANADA Astoria Portland PACIFIC OCEAN Fargo\* MINNESOTA  
 Bismarck \ (1858) WISCONSIN (1848) ILLINOIS Fort Smith  
 ARKANSAS Houston San Antonio 1 Los Angeles San Diego. Gulf of  
 Mexico WESTERN TRAILS IN 1860 As settlers began the long  
 process of exploring and establishing farms and businesses in the  
 West, major new trails began to facilitate travel and trade between  
 the region and the more thickly settled areas to the east. Note how  
 many of the trails led to California and how few of them led into  
 any of the far northern regions of United States territory. Note too  
 the important towns and cities that grew up along these trails. •  
 What forms of transportation later performed the functions that  
 these trails performed prior to the Civil War?



346 CHAPTER 13 CROSSING THE SIERRAS A wagon train struggles across the rugged trails over the Sierra Nevada, as migrants travel in California. The image is a black-and-white photograph that was colored by paint. Only a few years later, the same trip could be achieved much easier because of the transcontinental railroad. (© The Granger Collection, New York)

livestock. They maintained an extensive trade with the white travelers in horses, clothing, and fresh food. But stories of the occasional conflicts between migrants and Indians on the trail created widespread fear among white travelers, even though more Indians than white people (and relatively few of either) died in those conflicts. Life on the trail was obviously very different from life on a farm or in a town. But the society of the trail re-created many of the patterns of conventional American society. Families divided tasks along gender lines: the men driving and, when necessary, repairing the wagons or hunting Trail game; the women cooking, washing clothes, and caring for children. Almost everyone, male or female, walked the great majority of the time, to lighten the load for the horses drawing the wagons; and so the women, many of whose chores came at the end of the day, generally worked much harder than the men, who usually rested when the caravan halted. Despite the traditional image of westward migrants as rugged individualists, most travelers found the journey a highly collective experience. That was partly because many expeditions consisted of groups of friends, neighbors, or relatives who had decided to pull up stakes and move west together. And it was partly because of the intensity of the experience: many weeks of difficult travel with no other human contacts except, occasionally, with Indians. Indeed, one of the most frequent causes of disaster for travelers was the breakdown of the necessarily communal character of the migratory companies. It was a rare expedition in which there were not some internal conflicts before the trip was over.

EXPANSION AND WAR

The growing number of white Americans in the lands west of the Mississippi put great pressure on the government in Washington to annex Texas, Oregon, and other territory. In the 1840s, these expansionist pressures helped push the United States into a war that—however dubious its origins—became a triumph for the advocates

of Manifest Destiny. The Democrats and Expansion In preparing for the presidential election of 1844, the two leading candidates-Henry Clay and former president Martin Van Buren-both tried to avoid taking a stand on the controversial issue of the annexation of Texas. Sentiment for expansion RUSSIAN POSSESSIONS " Fort Simpson Vancouver NORTHERN LIMIT OF AMERICAN CLAIM " a % BRITISH AMERICA "O" PACIFIC Fort Colville \*Spokane THE OREGON BOUNDARY, 1846 One of the last major boundary disputes between the United States and Great Britain involved the territory known as Oregon—the large region on the Pacific coast north of California (which in 1846 was still part of Mexico). For years, America and Britain had overlapping claims on the territory. The British claimed land as far south as the present state of Oregon, while the Americans claimed land extending well into what is now Canada. Tensions over the Oregon border at times rose to the point that many Americans were demanding war, some using the slogan "54-40 or fight," referring to the latitude of the northernmost point of the American claim. • How did President James K. Polk defuse the crisis?





THE IMPENDING CRISIS ■ 347 James K. Polk sion was mild within the Whig Party, and  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii iii i rr Clay had no difficulty securing the nomination despite his noncommittal position. But many southern Democrats supported annexation, and the party passed over Van Buren to nominate a strong supporter of annexation, the previously unheralded James K. Polk. Polk was not as obscure as his Whig critics claimed. He had represented Tennessee in the House of Representatives for fourteen years, four of them as Speaker, and had subsequently served as governor. But by 1844, he had been out of public office-and for the most part out of the public mind-for three years. What made his victory possible was his support for the position, expressed in the Democratic platform, "that the re-occupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures/' By combining the Oregon and Texas questions, the Democrats hoped to appeal to both northern and southern expansionists. Polk carried the election by 170 electoral votes to 105, although his popular majority was less than 40,000. Polk entered office with a clear set of goals and with plans for attaining them. John Tyler accomplished the first of Polk's goals for him. Interpreting the election returns as a mandate for the annexation of Texas, the outgoing president won congressional approval for it in February 1845. That December, Texas became a state. Polk himself resolved the Oregon question. The British minister in Washington brusquely rejected a compromise Compromise P'lk offered that would establish the over Oregon United States-Canadian border at the 49th parallel; he did not even refer the proposal to London. Incensed, Polk again asserted the American claim to all of Oregon. There was loose talk of war on both sides of the Atlantic-talk that in the United States often took the form of the bellicose slogan "54-40 or fight!" (a reference to where the Americans hoped to draw the northern boundary of their part of Oregon). But neither country really wanted war. Finally, the British government accepted Polk's original proposal. On June 15, 1846, the Senate approved a treaty that fixed the boundary at the 49th parallel, where it remains today. The Southwest and California One of the reasons the Senate and the president had agreed so readily to the British offer to settle the Oregon question was that new tensions were emerging in the

Southwest-tensions that ultimately led to a war with Mexico. As soon as the United States admitted Texas to statehood in 1845, the Mexican government broke diplomatic relations with Washington. Mexican- American relations grew still worse when a dispute developed over the boundary between Texas and Mexico. Texans claimed the Rio Grande as their western and southern border, a claim that would have added much of what is now New Mexico to Texas. Mexico, although still not conceding the loss of Texas, argued nevertheless that the border had always been the Nueces River, to the north of the Rio Grande. Polk accepted the Texas claim, and in the summer of 1845 he sent a small army under General Zachary Taylor to Texas to protect it against a possible Mexican invasion. Part of the area in dispute was New Mexico, whose Spanish and Indian residents lived in a multiracial society that by the 1840s had endured for nearly a century and a half. In the 1820s, the Mexican government had invited American traders into the region (just as it invited American settlers into Texas), hoping to speed development of the province. And New Mexico, like Texas, began to become more American than Mexican. A flourishing commerce soon developed between Santa Fe and Independence, Missouri. Americans were also increasing their interest in an even more distant province of Mexico: California. American \_r Interests in <sup>TM</sup>s vast regi<sup>o</sup>n lived members of several California western Indian tribes and perhaps 7,000 Mexicans, mostly descendants of Spanish colonists. Gradually, however, white Americans began to arrive: first maritime traders and captains of Pacific whaling ships, who stopped to barter goods or buy supplies; then merchants, who established stores, imported merchandise, and developed a profitable trade with the Mexicans and Indians; and finally pioneering farmers, who entered California from the east, by land, and settled in the Sacramento Valley. Some of these new settlers began to dream of bringing California into the United States. SACRAMENTO IN THE 1850S The busy river port of Sacramento served the growing agricultural and mining economies of north central California in the 1850s— years in which the new state began the dramatic population growth that a century later would make it the nation's largest. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC4-2853))

348 CHAPTER 13 v j Sutter's Fort San Francisco\* Bear Flag Revolt, June 1846 UNITED STATES Fort Leavenworth ILL. THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848 Shortly after the settlement of the Oregon border dispute with Britain, the United States entered a war with Mexico over another contested border. This map shows the movement of Mexican and American troops during the fighting, which extended from the area around Santa Fe south to Mexico City and west to the coast of California. Note the American use of its naval forces to facilitate a successful assault on Mexico City, and other attacks on the coast of California. Note, too, how unsuccessful the Mexican forces were in their battles with the United States. Mexico won only one battle— a minor one at San Pasqual near San Diego— in the war. • How did President Polk deal with the popular clamor for the United States to annex much of present-day Mexico? President Polk soon came to share their dream and committed himself to acquiring both New Mexico and California for the United States. At the same time that he dispatched troops to Texas, he sent secret instructions to the commander of the Pacific naval squadron to seize the California ports if Mexico declared war. Representatives of the president quietly informed Americans in California that the United States would respond sympathetically to a revolt against Mexican authority there. The Mexican War Having appeared to prepare for war, Polk turned to diplomacy and dispatched a special minister, John Slidell, to try to buy off the Mexicans. But Mexican leaders rejected Slidell's offer to purchase the disputed territories. On January 13, 1846, as soon as he heard the news, Polk ordered Taylor's army in Texas to Failure of move across the Nueces River, where it the Slidell had been stationed, to the Rio Grande. For . . . months, the Mexicans refused to fight. But finally, according to disputed American accounts, some Mexican troops crossed the Rio Grande and attacked a unit of American soldiers. Polk now told Congress: "War exists by the act of Mexico herself." On May 13, 1846, Congress declared war by votes of 40 to 2 in the Senate and 174 to 14 in the House. The war had many opponents in the United States. Whig critics charged from the beginning (and not without Justification) that Polk had deliberately maneuvered the country into the conflict and had staged the border incident that had precipitated the declaration. Many other critics argued that the hostilities with Mexico were draining resources and attention away

from the more important issue of the Pacific Northwest. Even when the United States finally reached its agreement



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Opposition to with Britain on the Oregon question, the War opponents claimed that Polk had settled for less than he should have because he was preoccupied with Mexico. Opposition intensified as the war continued and as the public became aware of the casualties and expense. To others, the war was a moral crime. Ulysses Grant, then an officer in the Mexican War, called it "one of the most unjust ever waged." Abraham Lincoln criticized the war on the grounds that it gave the president too much power. "Allow the President to invade a neighboring country whenever he shall deem it necessary . . .," he said, "and you allow him to make war at pleasure." Pacifists were particularly dismayed. Henry David Thoreau was so horrified by the war that he refused to pay taxes (which he said financed the conflict) and spent time in jail. American forces did well against the Mexicans, but victory did not come as quickly as Polk had hoped. The president ordered Taylor to cross the Rio Grande, seize parts of northeastern Mexico, beginning with the city of Monterrey, and then march on to Mexico City itself. Taylor captured Monterrey in September 1846, but he let the Mexican garrison evacuate without pursuit. Polk now began to fear that Taylor lacked the tactical skill for the planned advance against Mexico City. He also feared that, if successful, Taylor would become a powerful political rival (as, in fact, he did). In the meantime, Polk ordered other offensives against New Mexico and California. In the summer of 1846, a small army under Colonel Stephen W. Kearny captured Santa Fe Bear Flag with no opposition. Then Kearny proRevolution ceded to California, where he joined a conflict already in progress that was being staged jointly by American settlers, a well-armed exploring party led by John C. Fremont, and the United States Navy: the so-called Bear Flag Revolution. Kearny brought the disparate American forces together under his command, and THE BATTLE OF MONTERREY

The Battle of Monterrey in 1846 was one of the most important conflicts of the Mexican War. Troops under the command of General Zachary Taylor defeated the Mexican forces, but not without significant American casualties. The surrender of the Mexican army on September 26 was a result of the Americans surrounding the Mexican soldiers. It was an important step in the American victory in the Mexican War. (Historicus, Inc.)



**BATTLE OF MONTEREY.**

THE AMERICANS FORCING THEIR WAY TO THE MAIN PLAZA SEP. 23<sup>RD</sup> 1846.

350 CHAPTER 13 by the autumn of 1846 he had completed the conquest of California. The United States now controlled the two territories for which it had gone to war. But Mexico still refused to concede defeat. At this point, Polk and General Winfield Scott, the commanding general of the army and its finest soldier, launched a bold new campaign. Scott assembled an army at Tampico, which the navy transported down the Mexican coast to Veracruz. With an army that never numbered more than 14,000, Scott advanced 260 miles along the Mexican National Highway toward Mexico City, kept American casualties low, and never lost a battle before finally seizing the Mexican capital. A new Mexican government took power and announced its willingness to negotiate a peace treaty. President Polk was now unclear about his objectives. He continued to encourage those who demanded that the United States annex much of Mexico itself. At the same time, concerned about the approaching presidential election, he was growing anxious to finish the war quickly. Polk had sent a special presidential envoy, Nicholas Trist, to negotiate a Treaty of settlement. On February 2, 1848, Trist Guadalupe reached agreement with the new Mexican . . . government on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which Mexico agreed to cede California and New Mexico to the United States and acknowledge the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas. In return, the United States promised to assume any financial claims its new citizens had against Mexico and to pay the Mexicans \$15 million. Trist had obtained most of Polk's original demands, but he had not satisfied the new, more expansive dreams of acquiring additional territory in Mexico itself. Polk angrily claimed that Trist had violated his instructions, but he soon realized that he had no choice but to accept the treaty to silence a bitter battle growing between ardent expansionists demanding the annexation of "All Mexico!" and antislavery leaders charging that the expansionists were conspiring to extend slavery to new realms. The president submitted the Trist treaty to the Senate, which approved it by a vote of 38 to 14. The war was over, and America had gained a vast new territory. But it had also acquired a new set of troubling and divisive issues. OREGON COUNTRY WIS. San Francisco\* Mexican Cession 1848 UNITED STATES Independence • ILL PACIFIC OCEAN Los Angeles\* San Diego! Limit of Spanish territory established by Treaty of 1 81 9 Boundary established by Treaty of



Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848 Texas, annexed by United States, 1845  
Disputed by Texas and Mexico, later by United States and Mexico;  
ceded by Mexico, 1848 Additional territory ceded by Mexico to  
United States, 1848 Gadsden Purchase by United States from  
Mexico, 1853 Tucson #Taos \* Santa Fe Disputed Area (Claimed by  
Texas, 1836-1845; claimed by U.S., 1845-1848) MO. ARK. El Paso •  
El Paso del Norte GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853 Q 1 k \* MEXICO  
(Independent 1821) TEXAS Independent 1836; annexed by U.S.,  
1845 ' .Corpus Christi Gulf of Mexico T SOUTHWESTERN  
EXPANSION, 1845-1853 The annexation of much of what is now  
Texas in 1845, the much larger territorial gains won in the Mexican  
War in 1848, and the purchase of additional land from Mexico in  
1853 completed the present continental border of the United States.  
What great event shortly after the Mexican War contributed to a  
rapid settlement of California by migrants from the eastern United  
States?

## THE IMPENDING CRISIS 351 THE SECTIONAL DEBATE

The California Gold Rush James Polk tried to be a president whose policies transcended sectional divisions. But conciliating the sections was becoming an almost impossible task. Polk gradually earned the enmity of northerners and westerners alike, who believed his policies (particularly his enthusiasm for territorial expansion in the Southwest) favored the South at their expense. Slavery and the Territories In August 1846, while the Mexican War was still in progress, Polk asked Congress to appropriate \$2 million for purchasing peace with Mexico. Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, an antislavery Democrat, introduced an amendment to the appropriation bill prohibiting slavery in any territory acquired from Mexico. The so-called Wilmot Proviso Wilmot passed the House but failed in the Senate. Proviso It would be called up, debated, and voted on repeatedly for years. Southern militants, in the meantime, contended that all Americans had equal rights in the new territories, including the right to move their "property" (slaves) there. As the sectional debate intensified. President Polk supported a proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line through the new territories to the Pacific coast, banning ^ slavery north of the line and permitting it Plans south of the line. Other politicians supported a plan, originally known as "squatter sovereignty" and later by the more dignified phrase "popular sovereignty," which would allow the people of each territory (acting through their legislature) to decide the status of slavery there. The debate over these various proposals dragged on for many months, and the issue remained unresolved when Polk left office in 1849. The presidential campaign of 1848 dampened the controversy for a time as both Democrats and Whigs tried to avoid the slavery question. When Polk, in poor health, declined to run again, the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan, a dull, aging party regular. The Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, hero of the Mexican War but a man with no political experience. Opponents of slavery found the choice of candidates unsatisfying, and out of their discontent emerged the new Free-Soil Party, which drew from the existing Liberty Party and the antislavery wings of the Whig and Democratic Parties and which endorsed the Wilmot Proviso. Its candidate was former president Martin Van Buren. Taylor won a narrow victory. But while Van Buren failed to carry a single state, he polled an

impressive 291,000 votes (10 percent of the total), and the Free-Soilers elected ten members Free-Soil to Congress. The emergence of the Free-Soil Party as an important political force, like the emergence of the Know-Nothing and Liberty Parties before it, signaled the inability of the existing parties to contain the political passions slavery was creating. By the time Taylor took office, the pressure to resolve the question of slavery in the far western territories had become more urgent as a result of dramatic events in California. In January 1848, James Marshall, a carpenter working on one of rancher John Sutter's sawmills, found traces of gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada. Sutter tried to suppress the news, fearing a gold rush would destroy his own substantial empire in the region. But by May, word of the discovery had reached San Francisco; by late summer, it had reached the east coast of the United States and much of the rest of the world. Almost immediately, hundreds of thousands of people from around the world began flocking to California in a frantic search for gold. California's non-Indian population increased nearly twentyfold in four years: from 14,000 in 1848 to over 220,000 in 1852. The atmosphere in California at the peak of the gold rush was one of crazed excitement and greed. For a short time, San Francisco was almost completely depopulated as residents raced to the mountains to search for gold; the city's principal newspaper (which had been criticizing the gold mania) had to stop publication because it could no longer find either staff or readers. "Nothing but the introduction of insane asylums can effect a cure," one visitor remarked of the gold mania. Most pre-gold-rush migrants to the Far West had prepared carefully before making the journey. But the gold-rush forty-niners (known as "forty-niners") threw caution to the winds. They abandoned farms, jobs, homes, families; they piled onto ships and flooded the overland trails—many carrying only what they could pack on their backs. The overwhelming majority of the forty-niners (perhaps 95 percent) were men, and the society they created on their arrival in California was unusually volatile because of the absence of women, children, and families. The gold rush also attracted some of the first Chinese migrants to the western United States. News of the discoveries created great excitement in China, particularly in impoverished areas, where letters from Chinese already in California and reports from Americans visiting in China spread the word. It was, of course, extremely difficult for a poor

Chinese peasant to get to America; but many young, adventurous people (mostly men) decided to go anyway-believing that they could quickly become rich and then return to China. Emigration brokers loaned many migrants money for passage to California, which the migrants would pay off out of their earnings there. The migration was almost entirely voluntary (unlike the forced movement of kidnapped "coolies" to such places as Peru and Cuba at about the same time). The Chinese in California were, therefore, free laborers and merchants, looking for gold or, more often, hoping to profit from other economic opportunities the gold boom was creating. The gold rush created a serious labor shortage in California, as many male workers left their jobs and flocked to the gold fields. This shortage created opportunities for many people who needed work (including Chinese immigrants). It also led to an overt exploitation of Indians that resembled slavery in all

352 CHAPTER 13 LOOKING FOR GOLD Finding gold in California was not, for the most part, a task for lone prospectors. More common were teams of people who, together, built elaborate mining technologies. As this 1852 photograph shows, the mining teams were often interracial. The white miners on the left stand conspicuously apart from the Chinese workers on the right, but both groups were essential parts of the enterprise. (© The Granger Collection, New York) but name. White vigilantes, who called themselves "Indian hunters," were already hunting down and killing thousands of Indians before the gold rush (contributing to the process by Indian which the Native American population of Slavery California declined from 150,000 to 30,000 between the 1850s and 1870). Now a new state law permitted the arrest of "loitering" or orphaned Indians and their assignment to a term of "indentured" labor. The gold rush was of critical importance to the growth of California, but not for the reasons most of the migrants hoped. There was substantial gold in the hills of the Sierra Nevada, and many people got rich from it. But only a tiny fraction of the Forty-niners ever found gold, or even managed to stake a claim to land on which they could look for gold. Some disappointed migrants returned home after a while. But many stayed in California and swelled both the agricultural and urban populations of the territory. By 1856, for example, San Francisco- whose population had been 1,000 before the gold rush (and at one point declined to about 100 as people left for the mines)-was the home of over 50,000 people. By the early 1850s, California's population, which had always been diverse, had become even more so. The gold rush had attracted not just white Americans, but also Europeans, Chinese, South Americans, Mexicans, free blacks, and slaves who accompanied southern migrants. Conflicts over gold intersected with racial and ethnic tensions to make the territory an unusually turbulent place. As a result, pressure grew to create a stable and effective government. The gold rush, therefore, became another factor putting pressure on the United States to resolve the status not only of California, but of all territories-and of slavery within them-as well.



## THE IMPENDING CRISIS 353 Rising Sectional Tensions

Zachary Taylor believed statehood could become the solution to the issue of slavery in the territories. As long as the new lands remained territories, the federal government was responsible for deciding the fate of slavery within them. But once they became states, he thought, their own governments would be able to settle the slavery question. At Taylor's urging, California quickly adopted a constitution that prohibited slavery, and in December 1849 Taylor asked Congress to admit California as a free state. New Mexico, he added, should also be granted statehood as soon as it was ready and should, like California, be permitted to decide for itself what it wanted to do about slavery. Congress balked, in part because of several other controversies concerning slavery that were complicating the debate. One was the effort of antislavery forces to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, a movement bitterly resisted by southerners. Another was the emergence of personal liberty laws in northern states, which barred courts and police officers from helping to return runaway slaves to their owners. In response, southerners demanded a stringent law that would require northern states to return fugitive slaves to their owners. But the biggest obstacle to the president's program was the white South's fear that two new free states would be added to the northern majority. The number of free and slave states was equal in 1849-fifteen each. But the admission of California would upset the balance; and New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah might upset it further, leaving the South in a minority in the Senate, as it already was in the House. Tempers were now rising to dangerous levels. Even many otherwise moderate southern leaders were Conflict over be8inmn8 to talk about secession from the Slavery in the Union. In the North, every state legislature Territories but one adopted a resolution demanding , , l r i i the prohibition of slavery in the territories. The Compromise of 1850 Faced with this mounting crisis, moderates and unionists spent the winter of 1849-1850 trying to frame a great compromise. The aging Henry Clay, who was spearheading the effort, believed that no compromise could last unless it settled all the issues in dispute between the sections. As a result, he Clay's took severa^ measures that had been proProposed posed separately, combined them into a Solution single piece of legislation, and

presented it III II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II Mill Mill Mill llllll  
Mill II III to the Senate on January 29, 1850. Among the bill's provisions were the admission of California as a free state; the formation of territorial governments in the rest of the lands acquired from Mexico, without restrictions on slavery; the abolition of the slave trade, but not slavery itself, in the District of Columbia; and a new, more effective fugitive slave law. These resolutions launched a debate that raged for seven months-both in Congress and throughout the nation. The debate occurred in two phases, the differences between which revealed much about how American politics was changing in the 1850s. In the first phase of the debate, the dominant voices in Congress were those of old men-national leaders who still remembered Jefferson, Adams, and other founders-who argued for or against the compromise on the basis of broad ideals. Clay himself, seventy-three years old in 1850, appealed to shared national sentiments of nationalism. Early in March, another of the older leaders-John C. Calhoun, sixty-eight years old and so ill that he had to sit grimly in his seat while a colleague read his speech for him-joined the debate. He insisted that the North grant the South equal rights in the territories, that it agree to observe the laws concerning fugitive slaves, that it cease attacking slavery, and that it amend the Constitution to create dual presidents, one from the North and one from the South, each with a veto. Calhoun was making radical demands that had no chance of passage. But like Clay, he was offering what he considered a comprehensive, permanent solution to the sectional problem that would, he believed, save the Union. After Calhoun came the third of the elder statesmen, sixtyeight-year-old Daniel Webster, one of the great orators of his time. Still nourishing presidential ambitions, he delivered an eloquent address in the Senate, trying to rally northern moderates to support Clay's compromise. But in July, after six months of this impassioned, nationalistic debate. Congress defeated the Clay proposal. And with that, the controversy moved into its second phase, in which a very different cast of characters predominated. Clay, ill and tired, left Washington to spend the summer resting in the mountains. Calhoun had died even before the vote in July. And Webster accepted a new appointment as secretary of state, thus removing himself from the Senate and from the debate. In place of these leaders, a new, younger group now emerged. One spokesman was William H. Seward of New York, New



forty-nine years old, a wily political operator who staunchly opposed the proposed compromise. The ideals of union were to him less important than the issue of eliminating slavery. Another was Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, forty-two years old, a representative of the new, cotton South. To him, the slavery issue was less one of principles and ideals than one of economic self-interest. Most important of all, there was Stephen A. Douglas, a thirty-seven-year-old Democratic senator from Illinois. A westerner from a rapidly growing state, he was an open spokesman for the economic needs of his section especially for the construction of railroads. His was a career devoted not to any broad national goals but to sectional gain and personal self-promotion. The new leaders of the Senate were able, as the old leaders had not been, to produce a compromise. One spur to the compromise was the disappearance of the most powerful obstacle to it: the president. Zachary Taylor had been adamant that only after California and possibly New Mexico were admitted as states could other measures be discussed. But on July 9, 1850, Taylor suddenly died—the victim of a violent stomach disorder. He was succeeded by Millard Fillmore of New York—a dull, handsome.

354 CHAPTER 13 ME. OREGON TERRITORY MINNESOTA  
TERRITORY 1849 WISCONSIN 1848 MICHIGAN 1837  
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY IOWA 1946 OHIO INIA UTAH  
TERRITORY 1850 ILL. IND. CALIFORNIA 1850 PACIFIC OCEAN  
Missouri Compromise, 1820 MO. 12.8% KY. 21.4% NEW MEXICO  
TERRITORY 1850 INDIAN ARKANSAS TERR. 1836 TENN. 23.8%  
22.4% MISS. ALA. 51.0% 44.7% TEXAS 1845 27.3% LA. 47.2% VT.  
N.Y. N.H. MASS. PA. VA. 33.2% S.C. 57.5% GA. 42.1% Free states  
and territories, 1850 Slave states and territories, 1850 Decision left  
to territories 47.2% Slaves as percentage of total population  
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XCONN. — N.J. -DEL. 2.5% "MD. 15.5% sSlave trade prohibited in  
Washington, D.C. ATLANTIC OCEAN CUBA (Sp.) SLAVE AND FREE  
TERRITORIES UNDER THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 The acquisition  
of vast new western lands raised the question of the status of  
slavery in new territories organized for statehood by the United  
States. Tension between the North and the South on this question  
led in 1850 to a great compromise, forged in Congress, to settle this  
dispute. The compromise allowed California to join the Union as a  
free state and introduced the concept of "popular sovereignty" for  
other new territories. • How well did the Compromise of 1850  
work? dignified man who understood the political importance of  
flexibility. He supported the compromise and used his powers of  
persuasion to swing northern Whigs into line. The new leaders also  
benefited from their own pragmatic tactics. Douglas's first step,  
after the departure of Clay, was to break up the "omnibus bill" that  
Clay had envisioned as a great, comprehensive solution to the  
sectional crisis and to introduce instead a series of separate  
measures to be voted on one Temporary by one- Thus  
representatives of different Compromise sections could support  
those elements of the compromise they liked and oppose those they  
did not. Douglas also gained support with complicated backroom  
deals linking the compromise to such nonideological matters as the  
sale of government bonds and the construction of railroads. As a  
result of his efforts, by midSeptember Congress had enacted and the  
president had signed all the components of the compromise. The  
Compromise of 1850, unlike the Missouri Compromise thirty years  
before, was not a product of widespread agreement on common  
national ideals. It was, rather, a victory of bargaining and self-

interest. Still, members of Congress hailed the measure as a triumph of statesmanship; and Millard Fillmore, signing it, called it a Just settlement of the sectional problem, "in its character final and irrevocable." THE CRISES OF THE 1850s For a few years after the Compromise of 1850, the sectional conflict seemed briefly to have succeeded amid booming prosperity and growth. But the tensions between North and South remained, and the crisis continued to smolder until—in 1854—it once more burst into the open. The Uneasy Truce Both major parties endorsed the Compromise of 1850 in 1852, and both nominated presidential candidates unidentified with sectional passions. The Democrats chose the obscure New Hampshire politician Franklin Pierce, and the Whigs the military hero General Winfield Scott, a man of unknown political views. But the sectional question was a divisive influence in the election

THE IMPENDING CRISIS 355 anyway, and the Whigs were the principal victims. They suffered the massive defection of antislavery members angered by the party's evasiveness on the issue. Many of them flocked to the Free-Soil Party, whose antislavery presidential candidate, John P. Hale, repudiated the Compromise of 1850. The divisions among the Whigs helped produce a victory for the Democrats in 1852. Franklin Pierce, a charming, amiable man of no particular distinction, attempted to maintain party-and national-harmony by avoiding divisive issues, particularly by avoiding the issue of Opposition to slavery- But it was an unachievable goal. the Fugitive Northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act intensified quickly after 1850, when southerners began appearing in northern states to pursue people they claimed were fugitives. Mobs formed in some northern cities to prevent enforcement of the law, and several northern states also passed their own laws barring the deportation of fugitive slaves. White southerners watched with growing anger and alarm as the one element of the Compromise of 1850 that they had considered a victory seemed to become meaningless as a result of northern defiance. "Young America" One of the ways Franklin Pierce hoped to dampen sectional controversy was through his support of a movement in the Democratic Party known as "Young America." Its adherents saw the expansion of American democracy throughout the world as a way to divert attention from the controversies over slavery. The great liberal and nationalist revolutions of 1848 in Europe stirred them to dream of a republican Europe with governments based on the model of the United States. They dreamed as well of expanding American commerce in the Pacific and acquiring new territories in the Western Hemisphere. But efforts to extend the nation's domain could not avoid becoming entangled with the sectional crisis. Pierce had been pursuing unsuccessful diplomatic attempts to buy Cuba from Spain (efforts begun in 1848 by Polk). In 1854, however, a group Ostend of envoys sent him a private document Manifesto from Ostend, Belgium, making the case for seizing Cuba by force. When the Ostend Manifesto, as it became known, was leaked to the public, it enraged many antislavery northerners, who charged the administration with conspiring to bring a new slave state into the Union. The South, for its part, opposed all efforts to acquire new

territory that would not support a slave system. The kingdom of Hawaii agreed to join the United States in 1854, but the treaty died in the Senate because it contained a clause prohibiting slavery in the islands. A powerful movement to annex Canada to the United States—a movement that had the support of many Canadians eager for access to American markets—similarly foundered, at least in part because of slavery. Slavery, Railroads, and the West What fully revived the sectional crisis was the same issue that had produced it in the first place: slavery in the territories. By the mid- 1850s, the line of substantial white settlement had moved beyond the boundaries of Missouri, Iowa, and what became Minnesota into a great expanse of plains, which many white Americans had once believed was unfit for cultivation. Now it was becoming apparent that large sections of this region were, in fact, suitable for farming and ranching. In the states of the Old Northwest, therefore, prospective settlers urged the government to open the area to them, provide territorial governments, and despite the solemn assurance the United States had earlier given the Indians of the sanctity of their reservations—dislodge the tribes located there to make room for white settlers. There was relatively little opposition from any segment of white society to this proposed violation of Indian rights. But the interest in further settlement raised two divisive issues that gradually became entwined with each other: railroads and slavery. As the nation expanded westward, the problem of communication between the older states and the areas west of the Mississippi River became more and more critical. As a result, „ broad support began to emerge for Transcontinental „, „ , Railroad and building a transcontinental railroad. Slavery The problem was where to place it and in particular, where to locate the railroad’s eastern terminus, where the line could connect with the existing rail network east of the Mississippi. Northerners favored Chicago, the rapidly growing capital of the free states of the Northwest. Southerners supported St. Louis, Memphis, or New Orleans—all located in slave states. The transcontinental railroad, in other words, had become part of the struggle between the North and the South. Pierce’s secretary of war, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, removed one obstacle to a southern route. Surveys indicated that a railroad with a southern terminus would have to pass through an area in Mexican territory. But in 1853 Davis Gadsden sent James Gadsden, a southern railroad Purchase builder, to Mexico, where he persuaded the Mexican

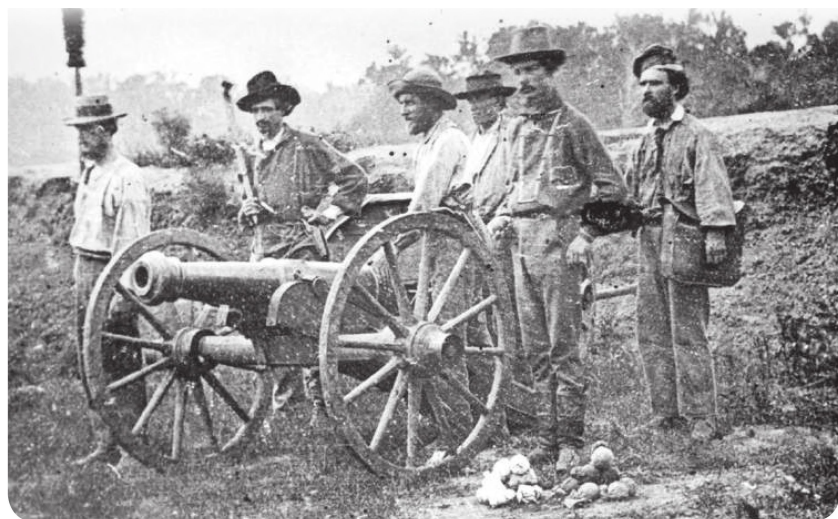
government to accept \$10 million in exchange for a strip of land that today comprises part of Arizona and New Mexico and that would have facilitated a southern route for the transcontinental railroad. The so-called Gadsden Purchase only accentuated the sectional rivalry. The Kansas-Nebraska Controversy As a senator from Illinois, a resident of Chicago, and the acknowledged leader of northwestern Democrats, Stephen A. Douglas naturally wanted the transcontinental railroad for his own city and section. He also realized the strength of the principal argument against the northern route west of the Mississippi: that it would run mostly through country with a substantial Indian population. As a result, he introduced a bill in January 1854 to organize (and thus open to white settlement) a huge new territory, known as Nebraska, west of Iowa and Missouri. Douglas knew the South would oppose his bill because it would prepare the way for a new free state; the proposed territory was in the area of the Louisiana Purchase north of the

356 CHAPTER 13 Missouri Compromise line (36°30') and hence closed to slavery. In an effort to make the measure acceptable to southerners, Douglas inserted a provision that the status of slavery in the territory would be determined by the territorial legislature that is, according to "popular sovereignty." In theory, the region could choose to open itself to slavery (although few believed it actually would). When southern Democrats demanded Kansas-  
more, Douglas agreed to an additional Nebraska Act clause explicitly repealing the Missouri

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Compromise. He also agreed to divide the area into two new territories-Nebraska and Kansas-instead of one. The new, second territory (Kansas) was more likely to become a slave state. In its final form the measure was known as the Kansas-Nebraska Act. President Pierce supported the bill, and after a strenuous debate, it became law in May 1854 with the unanimous support of the South and the partial support of northern Democrats. Perhaps no piece of legislation in American history produced so many immediate, sweeping, and ominous consequences. It divided and destroyed the Whig Party, which nearly disappeared by 1856. It divided the northern Democrats (many of whom were appalled at the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which they considered an almost sacred part of the fabric of the Union) and drove many of them from the party. Most important, it spurred the creation of a new party that was frankly sectional in composition and creed. People in \_ both major parties who opposed Douglas's Birth of the , n u i A ■ \*T u i Republican bill began to call themselves Anti-Nebraska Party Democrats and Anti-Nebraska Whigs. In 1854, they formed a new organization and named it the Republican Party. It instantly became a major force in American politics. In the elections of that year, the Republicans won enough seats in Congress to permit them, in combination with allies among the Know-Nothings, to organize the House of Representatives. "Bleeding Kansas" Events in Kansas in the next two years increased the political turmoil in the North. White settlers from both the North and the South began moving into the territory almost immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. In the spring of 1855, elections were held for a territorial legislature. There were only about 1,500 legal voters in Kansas by then, but thousands of Missourians, some traveling in

armed bands into Kansas, swelled the vote to over 6,000. The result was that pro-slavery forces elected a majority to the legislature, which immediately legalized slavery. Outraged free-staters elected their own delegates to a constitutional convention, which met at Topeka and adopted a constitution excluding slavery. They then chose their own governor and legislature and petitioned Congress for statehood. President Pierce denounced them as traitors and threw the full support of the federal government behind the pro-slavery territorial legislature. A few months later a pro-slavery federal marshal assembled a large posse, consisting mostly of Missourians, to arrest the free-state leaders, who had set up their headquarters in Lawrence. The posse sacked the town, burned the "governor's" house, and destroyed several printing presses. Retribution came quickly. Among the most fervent abolitionists in Kansas was John Brown, a fiercely committed foe of slavery who considered himself an instrument of God's will to destroy slavery. He had moved to Kansas with his sons so that they could fight to make it a free state. After the events in Lawrence, he gathered Potawatomie s\*x f'llowers (including four of his sons) Massacre and in one night murdered five pro-slavery settlers, leaving their mutilated bodies to discourage other supporters of slavery from entering Kansas. This bloody episode, known as the Potawatomie Massacre, led to more civil strife in Kansas-irregular, guerrilla warfare conducted by armed bands, some of them more interested in "BLEEDING KANSAS" During the bitter battles over slavery in 1856, the slave state of Missouri tried to prevent antislavery emigrants from passing through their territory en route to Kansas. Free-staters responded by organizing a large emigration through Iowa, circumventing Missouri. Those who entered Kansas by that route tended to arrive armed, some of them with large cannons—among them the one pictured here, which free-staters brought with them to Topeka that year. (© Kansas State Historical Society)



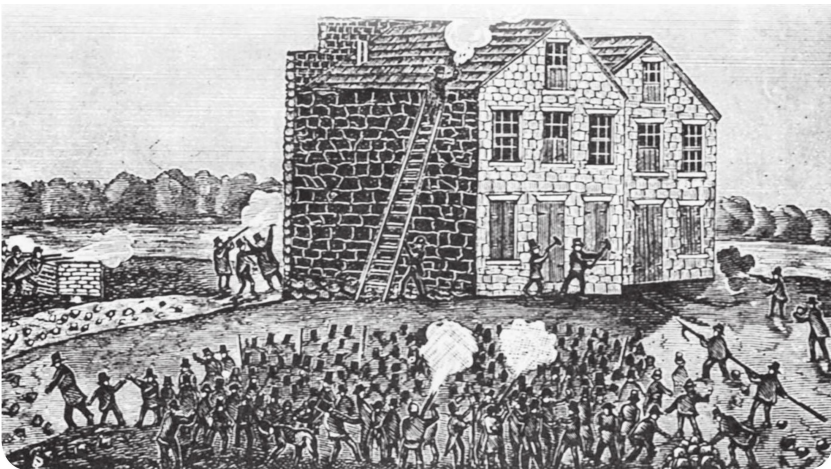


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land claims or loot than in ideologies. Northerners and southerners alike came to believe that the events in Kansas illustrated (and were caused by) the aggressive designs of the other section. "Bleeding Kansas" became a symbol of the sectional controversy. Another symbol soon appeared, in the United States Senate. In May 1856, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts—a militant and passionate opponent of slavery—rose to give a speech titled "The Crime Against Kansas." In it, he gave particular attention to Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina, an outspoken defender of slavery. The South Carolinian was, Sumner claimed, the "Don Quixote" of slavery, having "chosen a mistress . . . who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him, though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight . . . the harlot slavery." The pointedly sexual references and the viciousness of the speech enraged Butler's nephew, Preston Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina. Several days after the speech, Brooks approached Sumner at his desk in the Senate chamber. Brooks and Charles during a recess, raised a heavy cane, and Sumner began beating him repeatedly on the head and shoulders. Sumner, trapped in his chair, rose in agony with such strength that he tore the desk from the bolts holding it to the floor. Then he collapsed, bleeding and unconscious. So severe were his injuries that he was unable to return to the Senate for four years. Throughout the North, he became a hero—a martyr to the barbarism of the South. In the South, Preston Brooks became a hero, too. Censured by the House, he resigned his seat, returned to South Carolina, and stood successfully for reelection. The Free-Soil Ideology

What had happened to produce such deep hostility between the two sections? In part, the tensions were reflections of the two sections' differing economic and territorial interests. But they were also reflections of a hardening of ideas in both North and South. As the nation expanded and political power grew more dispersed, each section became concerned with ensuring that its vision of America's future would be the dominant one. In the North, assumptions about the proper structure of society came to center on the belief in "free soil" and "free labor." Although abolitionists generated some support for their argument that slavery was a moral evil and must be eliminated, most white northerners came to believe that the existing "Free-Soil" stance of slavery was dangerous not

because Ideology of what it did to blacks but because of what it threatened to do to whites. At the heart of American democracy, they argued, was the right of all citizens to own property, to control their own labor, and to have access to opportunities for advancement. According to this northern vision, the South was the an"Slave Power tithesis of democracy-a closed, static soConspiracy" ciety, in which slavery preserved an entrenched aristocracy and in which common whites had no opportunity to improve themselves. While the North was growing and prospering, the South was stagnating, rejecting the values of individualism and progress. The South was, northern free-laborites further maintained, engaged in a conspiracy to extend slavery throughout the nation and thus to destroy the openness of northern capitalism and replace it with the closed, aristocratic system of the South. The only solution to this "slave power conspiracy" was to fight the spread of slavery and extend the nation's democratic, free-labor ideals to all sections of the country. This ideology, which lay at the heart of the new Republican Party, also strengthened the commitment of Republicans to the Union. Since the idea of continued growth and progress was central to the free-labor vision, the prospect of dismemberment of the nation-a diminution of America's size and economic power-was unthinkable. ANTI-ABOLITIONIST VIOLENCE This 1838 woodcut depicts the anti-abolitionist riot in Alton, Illinois, in which Elijah P. Lovejoy, publisher of an abolitionist newspaper, was slain on November 7, 1837. The death of Lovejoy aroused the antislavery movement throughout the United States. (The Library of Congress)



The Pro-Slavery Argument In the South, in the meantime, a very different ideology-entirely incompatible with the free-labor ideology-was emerging among southern whites on the issue of slavery. It was a result of many things: the Nat Turner uprising in 1831, which terrified southern whites and made them more determined than ever to make slavery secure; the expansion of the cotton economy into the Deep South, which made slavery unprecedentedly lucrative; and the growth of the Garrisonian abolitionist movement, with its strident attacks on southern society. The popularity of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was perhaps the most glaring evidence of the success of those attacks, but other abolitionist writings had been antagonizing white southerners for years. In response to these pressures, a number of white southerners produced a new intellectual defense of slavery. Professor Thomas R. Dew of the College of William and Mary helped begin that effort in 1832. Twenty years later, supporters of slavery summarized their views in an anthology titled *The Pro-Slavery Argument*. John C. Calhoun stated the essence of the case in 1837: Southerners should stop apologizing for slavery as a necessary evil and defend it as "a good-a positive good." It was good for the slaves, white southerners argued, because they enjoyed better conditions than industrial workers in the North. Slavery was good for southern society as a whole because it was the only way the two races could live together in peace. It was good for the entire country because the southern economy, based on slavery, was the key to the prosperity of the nation. Above all, southern apologists argued, slavery was good because it served as the basis for the southern way of life-a way of life superior to any other in the United States, perhaps in the world. White southerners looking at the North saw a spirit of greed, debauchery, and instability. "The masses of the North are venal, corrupt, covetous, mean and selfish," wrote one southerner. Others wrote with horror of the factory system and the crowded, pestilential cities filled with unruly immigrants. The South, by contrast, was a stable, orderly society, operating at a slow and human pace. It was free from the feuds between capital and labor plaguing the North. It protected the welfare of its workers. And it allowed the aristocracy to enjoy a refined and accomplished

cultural life. It was, in short, an ideal social order in which all elements of the population were secure and content. The defense of slavery rested, too, on increasingly elaborate arguments about the biological inferiority of African Americans, who were, many white Southerners claimed, inherently unfit to take care of themselves, let alone exercise the rights of citizenship. And just as abolitionist arguments drew strength from Protestant theology in the North, the pro-slavery defense mobilized the Protestant clergy in the South to give the institution a religious and biblical justification. Buchanan and Depression In this unpromising climate, the presidential campaign of 1856 began. Democratic Party leaders wanted a candidate who. Election of unlike President Pierce, was not closely 1856 associated with the explosive question of "Bleeding Kansas." They chose James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, a reliable Democratic stalwart who as minister to England had been safely out of the country during the recent controversies. The Republicans, participating in their first presidential contest, denounced the KansasNebraska Act and the expansion of slavery but also endorsed a Whiggish program of internal improvements, thus combining the idealism of antislavery with the economic aspirations of the North. As eager as the Democrats to present a safe candidate, the Republicans nominated John C. Fremont, who had made a national reputation as an explorer of the Far West and who had no political record. The Native American, or KnowNothing, Party was beginning to break apart, but it nominated former president Millard Fillmore, who also received the endorsement of a small remnant of the Whig Party. After a heated, even frenzied campaign, Buchanan won a narrow victory over Fremont and Fillmore. A slight shift of votes in Pennsylvania and Illinois would have elected the Republican candidate. Particularly significant was that Fremont had attracted virtually no votes in the South while outpolling all other candidates in the North. At the time of his inauguration, Buchanan was, at age sixty-five, the oldest president, except for William Henry Harrison, ever to have taken office. Whether because of age and physical infirmities or because of a fundamental weakness of character, he was a painfully timid and indecisive president at a critical moment in history. In the year Buchanan took office, a financial panic struck the country, followed by a depression that lasted several years. In the North, the depression strengthened the Republican Party because distressed manufacturers, workers, and farmers came to

believe that the hard times were the result of the unsound policies of southern-controlled Democratic administrations. They expressed their frustrations by moving into an alliance with antislavery elements and thus into the Republican Party. The Dred Scott Decision On March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States projected itself into the sectional controversy with one of the most controversial and notorious decisions in its history-its ruling in the case of Dred Scott v. Sandford, handed down two days after Buchanan was inaugurated. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave, once owned by an army surgeon who had taken Scott with him into Illinois and Wisconsin, where slavery was forbidden. In 1846, after the surgeon died, Scott sued his master's widow for freedom on the grounds that his residence in free territory had liberated him from slavery. The claim was well grounded in Missouri law, and in 1850 the circuit court in which Scott filed the suit declared him free. By now, John Sanford, the brother of the surgeon's widow, was claiming ownership of Scott, and he appealed the circuit court ruling to the state supreme court, which reversed the earlier decision. When Scott appealed to the federal courts, Sanford's

THE IMPENDING CRISIS 359 attorneys claimed that Scott had no standing to sue because he was not a citizen, but private property. The Supreme Court (which misspelled Sanford's name in its decision) was so divided that it was unable to issue a single ruling on the case. The thrust of the various rulings, however, was a stunning defeat for the antislavery movement. Chief Justice Roger Taney, who wrote one of the majority opinions, „, declared that Scott could not bring a suit Sweeping federal courts because he was not a Opinion citizen. African Americans had no claim to citizenship, Taney argued, and virtually no rights under the Constitution. Slaves were property, and the Fifth Amendment prohibited Congress from taking property without "due process of law." Consequently, Taney concluded. Congress possessed no authority to pass a law depriving persons of their slave property in the territories. The Missouri Compromise, therefore, had always been unconstitutional. The ruling did nothing to challenge the right of an individual state to prohibit slavery within its borders, but the statement that the federal government was powerless to act on the issue was drastic and startling. Few judicial opinions have ever created as much controversy. Southern whites were elated: the highest tribunal in the land had sanctioned some of the most extreme southern arguments. In the North, the decision produced widespread fury and dismay. The decision, the New York Tribune wrote, "is entitled to just so much moral weight as would be the judgment of a majority of those congregated in any Washington bar-room." Republicans threatened that when they won control of the national government, they would reverse the decision-by "packing" the Court with new members. Deadlock over Kansas President Buchanan timidly endorsed the Dred Scott decision. At the same time, he tried to resolve the controversy over Kansas by supporting its admission to the Union as a slave state. In response, the pro-slavery territorial legislature called an election for delegates to a constitutional convention. The free-state residents refused to participate, claiming that the legislature had discriminated against them in drawing district lines. As a result, the pro-slavery forces won control of the convention, which met in 1857 at Lecompton, framed a constitution legalizing slavery, and refused to give voters a chance to reject it. When an election for a new territorial legislature was called, the antislavery groups turned out to vote and won a

majority. The new legislature promptly submitted the Lecompton constitution to the voters, who rejected it by more than 10,000 votes. Both sides had resorted to fraud and violence, but it was clear nevertheless that a majority of the people of Kansas opposed slavery. Buchanan, however, pressured Congress to admit Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. Stephen A. Douglas and other western Democrats refused to support the president's proposal, which died in the House of Representatives. Finally, in April 1858, Congress approved a compromise: The Lecompton constitution would be submitted to the voters of Kansas again. If it was approved, Kansas would be admitted to the Union; if it was rejected, statehood would be postponed. Again, Kansas voters decisively rejected the Lecompton constitution. Not until the closing months of Buchanan's administration in early 1861, after several southern states had already withdrawn from the Union, did Kansas enter the Union as a free state.

The Emergence of Lincoln Given the gravity of the sectional crisis, the congressional elections of 1858 took on a special importance. Of particular note was the United States Senate election in Illinois, which pitted Stephen A. Douglas, the most prominent northern Democrat, against Abraham Lincoln, who was largely unknown outside Illinois but who quickly emerged as one of the most skillful politicians in the Republican Party. Lincoln was a successful lawyer who had long been involved in state politics. He had served several terms in the Illinois legislature and one undistinguished term in Congress. He was not a national figure like Douglas, Lincoln sought to increase his visibility by engaging Douglas in a series of debates. The Lincoln-Douglas debates attracted enormous crowds and received wide attention in newspapers across the country. By the time the debates ended, Lincoln's increasingly eloquent and passionate attacks on slavery had made him nationally prominent. At the heart of the debates was a basic difference on the issue of slavery. Douglas appeared to have no moral position on the issue. "One of the reserved rights of the states," he said, "was the right to regulate the relations between master and servant, on the slavery question." But Douglas went further, endorsing what was still the dominant sentiment among whites (both North and South) of his time: "I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made on the white basis. I believe it was made by white men for the benefit of white men and

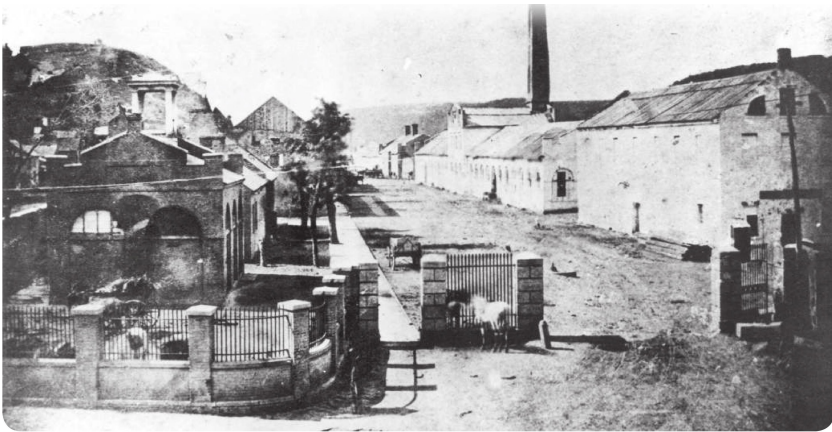


their posterity forever.” Lincoln’s opposition to slavery was different. If the nation could accept that African Americans were not entitled to basic human rights, he argued, then it could accept that other groupsimmigrant laborers, for example-could be deprived of rights, too. And if slavery were to extend into the western territories, he claimed, opportunities for poor white laborers to better their lots in life would be lost. The nation’s future, he argued (reflecting the central idea of the Republican Party), rested on the spread of free labor. Lincoln believed slavery was morally wrong, but he was not an abolitionist. That was in part because he could not envision an easy alternative to slavery in the areas where it already existed. He shared the prevailing view among northern whites that African Americans were not prepared (and perhaps never would be) to live on equal terms with whites. But even while Lincoln

Lincoln’s Position

360 CHAPTER 13 THE HARPERS FERRY ARSENAL John Brown's famous raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859 centered on this arsenal, from which he and his followers tried, in vain, to foment slave rebellion throughout the South. (National Park Service, Harper's Ferry. U.S. Department of the Interior/National Archives and Records Administration) accepted the inferiority of black people, he continued to believe that they were entitled to basic rights. "I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. . . . But I hold that . . . there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man." Lincoln and his party wanted to "arrest the further spread" of slavery-that is, prevent its expansion into the territories; but they would not directly challenge it where it already existed and would instead trust that the institution would gradually die there of its own accord. Douglas's position satisfied his followers sufficiently to win him reelection to the Senate in 1858, but it aroused little enthusiasm and did nothing to enhance his national political ambitions. Lincoln, by contrast, lost the election but emerged with a growing following both in and beyond the state. And outside Illinois, the elections went heavily against the Democrats, who lost ground in almost every northern state. The Democratic Party retained control of the Senate but lost its majority in the House, with the result that the congressional sessions of 1858 and 1859 were bitterly deadlocked. John Brown's Raid The battles in Congress, however, were overshadowed by a spectacular event that enraged and horrified the entire South and greatly hastened the rush toward disunion. In the fall of John Brown's 1859, John Brown, the antislavery zealot whose bloody actions in Kansas had inflamed the crisis there, staged an even more dramatic episode, this time in the South itself. With private encouragement and financial aid from some prominent eastern abolitionists, he made elaborate plans to seize a mountain fortress in Virginia from which, he believed, he could foment a slave insurrection in the South. On October 16, he and a group of eighteen followers attacked and seized control of a U.S. arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia. But the slave uprising Brown hoped to inspire did not occur, and he quickly found himself besieged by

citizens, local militia companies, and, before long, U.S. troops under the command of Robert E. Lee. After ten of his men were killed. Brown surrendered. He was promptly tried in a Virginia court for treason against the state, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He and six of his followers were hanged. No other single event did more than the Harpers Ferry raid to convince white southerners that they could not live safely in the Union. John Brown's raid, many southerners believed (incorrectly) had the support of the Republican Party, and it suggested to them that the North was now committed to producing a slave insurrection. The Election of Lincoln The presidential election of 1860 had the most momentous consequences of any in American history. It was also among the most complex.



THE IMPENDING CRISIS 361  
 Candidate (Party) Electoral  
 Vote Popular Vote (%) Abraham Lincoln (Republican) 180  
 1,865,593 (39.9) J. C. Breckinridge (Southern Democratic) 72  
 848,356 (18.1) John Bell (Constitutional Union) 39 592,906 (12.6)  
 Stephen A. Douglas (Northern Democratic) Nonvoting territories  
 81 .2% of electorate voting 12 1,382,713 (29.4)

### THE ELECTION OF 1860

The stark sectional divisions that helped produce the Civil War were clearly visible in the results of the 1860 presidential election. Abraham Lincoln, the antislavery Republican candidate, won almost all of the free states. Stephen Douglas, a northern Democrat with no strong position on the issue of slavery, won only one border and one free state, and John Bell, a supporter of both slavery and union, won three border states. John Breckinridge, a strong pro-slavery southern Democrat, carried the entire Deep South. Lincoln won less than 40 percent of the popular vote but, because of the four-way division in the race, managed to win a clear majority of the electoral vote.

- What impact did the election of Lincoln have on the sectional crisis?

The Democratic Party was torn apart by a battle between southerners, who demanded a strong endorsement of slavery, and westerners, who supported the idea of popular sovereignty. The party convention met in April in Charleston, South Carolina. Divided When the convention endorsed popular sovereignty, delegates from eight states in the lower South walked out. The remaining delegates could not agree on a presidential candidate and finally adjourned after agreeing to meet again in Baltimore in June. The decimated convention at Baltimore nominated Stephen Douglas for president. In the meantime, disenchanted southern Democrats met in Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Later, a group of conservative ex-Whigs met in Baltimore to form the Constitutional Union Party, with John Bell of Tennessee as their presidential candidate. They endorsed the Union and remained silent on slavery. The Republican leaders, in the meantime, were trying to broaden their appeal so as to attract every major interest group in the North. They warned that the South was blocking the North's economic aspirations. The platform endorsed such traditional Whig measures as a high tariff, internal improvements, a homestead bill, and a Pacific railroad to be built with federal financial assistance. It supported the right of each state to decide the status of slavery

within its borders. But it also insisted that neither Congress nor territorial legislatures could legalize slavery in the territories. The Republican convention chose Abraham Lincoln as the party's presidential nominee. Lincoln was appealing because of his growing reputation for eloquence, because of his firm but moderate position on slavery, and because his relative obscurity ensured that he would have none of the drawbacks of other, more prominent (and therefore more controversial) Republicans. He was a representative of the West, a considerable asset in a race against Douglas. In the November election, Lincoln won the presidency with a majority of the electoral votes but only about two-fifths of the fragmented popular vote. The Republicans, moreover, failed to win a majority in Congress. Even so, the election of Lincoln became the final signal to many white southerners that their position in the Union was hopeless. And within a few weeks of Lincoln's victory, the process of disunion began—a Disunion process that would quickly lead to a prolonged and bloody war between two groups of Americans, each heir to more than a century of struggling toward nationhood, each now convinced that it shared no common ground with the other.

LOOKING BACK In the decades following the War of 1812, a vigorous sense of nationalism pervaded much of American life, helping to smooth over the growing differences among the very different societies emerging in the regions of the United States. By the 1850s, however, the forces that had worked to hold the nation together in the past were falling victim to new and much more divisive pressures that were working to split the nation apart. Driving the sectional tensions of the 1850s was a battle over national policy toward the western territories, which were clamoring to become states of the Union—and over the

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MINIMA place of slavery within them. Should slavery be permitted in the new states? And who should decide whether to permit it or not? There were strenuous efforts to craft compromises and solutions to this dilemma: the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and others. But despite these efforts, positions on slavery continued to harden in both the North and the South until ultimately each region came to consider the other its enemy. Bitter battles in the territory of Kansas over whether to permit slavery there; growing agitation by

abolitionists in the North and pro-slavery advocates in

362 CHAPTER 13 the South; the Supreme Court's controversial Dred Scott decision in 1857; the popularity of Uncle Tom's Cabin; and the emergence of the new Republican Party openly and centrally opposed to slavery: all worked to destroy the hopes for compromise and push the South toward secession. In 1860, all pretense of common sentiment collapsed when no political party presented a presidential candidate capable of attracting national support. The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, a little-known politician recognized for his eloquent condemnations of slavery in a Senate race two years earlier. The Democratic Party split apart, with its northern and southern wings each nominating different candidates. A third party, devoted to the Constitution and the Union, forlornly nominated a candidate of its own who found almost no constituency. Lincoln won the election easily, but with less than 40 percent of the vote. And almost immediately after his victory, the states of the South began preparing to secede from the Union.

Key Terms/People/ Places/ Events Abraham Lincoln 359 Compromise of 1850 353 Dred Scott decision 358 "Forty-niners" 351 Free-Soil Party 351 Gadsden Purchase 355 General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna 342 Harpers Ferry 360 James K. Polk 346 John Brown 356 Kansas-Nebraska Act 356 Manifest Destiny 340 Oregon Trail 344 Popular sovereignty 351 Sam Houston 342 Stephen A. Douglas 353 Stephen F. Austin 342 Tejanos 342 The Alamo 342 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo 350 Wilmot Proviso 351 Winfield Scott 350 "Young America" 355 Zachary Taylor 347

RECALL AND REFLECT 1. How were the boundary disputes over Oregon and Texas resolved? Why were the resolutions in the two cases so different? 2. How did Polk's decisions and actions as president intensify the sectional conflict? 3. What was the issue at stake in "Bleeding Kansas," and how did events in Kansas reflect the growing sectional division between North and South? 4. What was the Dred Scott decision? What was the decision's impact on the sectional crisis? 5. How did the growing sectional crisis affect the nation's major political parties?

## SIGNIFICANT EVENTS THE IMPENDING CRISIS 363 1836

Texas declares independence from Mexico 1845 Texas admitted to Union 1848 Gold discovered in Sacramento Valley, California, sparking gold rush Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo settles Mexican War 1852 Franklin Pierce elected president Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes Uncle Tom's Cabin \_ 1844 James K. Polk elected president ^ 1846 O Oregon boundary dispute settled United States declares war O on Mexico Wilmot Proviso introduced in Congress ^ 1850 Compromise of 1850 enacted California admitted to Union 1853 O Gadsden Purchase 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act passed Republican Party formed 1856 James Buchanan elected president 1858 Pro-slavery Lecompton constitution defeated by popular referendum in Kansas Lincoln and Douglas debate 1860 Democratic Party splits Lincoln elected president 1855-1856 Violence breaks out in "Bleeding Kansas" 1857 Supreme Court hands down Dred Scott decision 1859 John Brown raids Harpers Ferry



## I THE CIVIL WAR LOOKING AHEAD

1. How did the North's mobilization for war differ from mobilization in the South? What accounts for these differences? 2. What were the differences between the impact of the war in the North and the South? 3. What were the military strategies employed by the North and the South from the opening clashes in 1861 through the Union victory in 1865, and how did these strategies differ? UNION SOLDIERS AT REST The Civil War was one of the bloodiest conflicts in American history. But there were many times at which the armies were not in battle. This photograph of Union soldiers was taken at a large supply base in northern Virginia in 1862— one of many sites in which soldiers spent long, idle periods. (The Library of Congress)



SETTING THE STAGE BY THE END OF 1860, the cords that had once bound the Union together seemed to have snapped. The romantic vision of America's great national destiny had ceased to be a unifying force; North and South now defined that destiny in different and apparently irreconcilable terms. The stable two-party system could not dampen sectional conflict any longer; that system had collapsed in the 1850s, to be replaced by a new one that accentuated, rather than muted, regional controversy. Above all, the federal government was no longer the remote, unthreatening presence it once had been; the need to resolve the status of the territories had made it necessary for Washington to deal with sectional issues in a direct and forceful way. The divisive forces that had always existed within the United States could no longer be counterbalanced by unifying forces. The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860— the result of a four-way race in which no candidate achieved close to a majority of the popular vote— was itself evidence of the growing divisions within the nation. That the victor was a man who was clearly from the antislavery camp made his election a powerful factor in the movement toward war. In the aftermath of Lincoln's victory, Southern states began to proclaim their secession from the Union, and the new administration was faced with the fateful choice between letting the Union dissolve or engaging in war. The conflict that followed was one of the most savage in the history of warfare to that point. At least 618,000 Americans died in the Civil War— a level of casualties almost equal to the total number of American deaths in all the nation's other wars combined prior to Vietnam. But the war had many other effects on the character of the nation. Perhaps most important, it led to the end of slavery in the United States. Yet the abolition of slavery did not lead to equality or justice for African Americans. It did, however, mark a major turning point in their— and the nation's— history. THE SECESSION CRISIS

Almost as soon as the news of Abraham Lincoln's election reached the South, the militant leaders "Southern re<sup>^</sup>ion t<sup>^</sup>e champions of the new concept of "Southern nationalism," Nationalism" men known both to their contemporaries and to history as the "fire-eaters" began to demand an end to the Union. The Withdrawal of the South South

Carolina, long the hotbed of Southern separatism, seceded first. It called a special convention, which voted unanimously on December 20, 1860, to withdraw the state from the Union. Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune wrote three days before secession, "We fully realize that the dilemma of the incoming administration will be a critical one. It must endeavor to uphold and enforce laws, as well against rebellious slaveholders as fugitives." By the time Lincoln took office, six other states from the lower South-Mississippi (January 9, Establishment of 1861), Florida (January 10), Alabama (January 11), Georgia (January 19), the Confederacy Louisiana (January 26), and Texas (February 1)-had seceded. In February 1861, representatives of the seven seceded states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and announced the formation of a new nation: the Confederate States of America. The response from the North was confused and indecisive. President James Buchanan told Congress in December 1860 that no state had the right to secede from the Union but suggested that the federal government had no authority to stop a state if it did. The seceding states immediately seized the federal property-forts, arsenals, government offices-within their boundaries. Robert Toombs, a Confederate cabinet member and general, said, "Our property has been stolen, our people murdered; felons and assassins have found sanctuary in the arms of the party which elected Mr. Lincoln. The Executive power, the last bulwark of the Constitution to defend us against these enemies of the Constitution, has been swept away, and 365

366 CHAPTER 14 we now stand without a shield, with bare bosoms presented to our enemies.” At first they did not have sufficient military power to seize two fortified offshore military installations: Fort Sumter, on an island in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, garrisoned by a small force under Major Robert Anderson; and Fort Pickens, in the harbor of Pensacola, Florida. South Carolina sent commissioners to Washington to ask for the surrender of Sumter; but Buchanan, timid though he was, refused to yield it. Indeed, in January 1861 he ordered an unarmed merchant ship to proceed to Fort Sumter with additional troops and supplies. Confederate guns on shore fired at the vessel-the first shots between North and Southland turned it back. Still, neither section was yet ready to concede that war had begun. And in Washington, efforts began once more to forge a compromise. The Failure of Compromise Gradually, compromise forces gathered behind a proposal first submitted by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky and known Crittenden as Crittenden Compromise. It called for Compromise several constitutional amendments, which I Mill HIM II Mill Mill II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II HIM Mill II -■ would guarantee the permanent existence of slavery in the slave states and would satisfy Southern demands on such issues as fugitive slaves and slavery in the District of Columbia. But the heart of Crittenden’s plan was a proposal to reestablish the Missouri Compromise line in all present and future territory of the United States: Slavery would be prohibited north of the line and permitted south of it. The remaining Southerners in the Senate seemed willing to accept the plan, but the Republicans were not. The compromise would have required the Republicans to abandon their most fundamental position: that slavery not be allowed to expand. And so nothing had been resolved when Abraham Lincoln arrived in Washington for his inauguration-sneaking into the city in disguise on a night train to avoid assassination as he passed through the slave state of Maryland. In his inaugural address, which dealt directly with the secession crisis, Lincoln laid down several basic principles. Since the Union was older than the Constitution, no state could leave it. Acts of force or violence to support secession were insurrectionary. And the government would “hold, occupy, and possess” federal property in the seceded states-a clear reference to Fort Sumter. Fort Sumter Conditions at Fort Sumter were deteriorating quickly. Union forces

were running short of supplies; unless they received fresh provisions, the fort would have to be evacuated. Lincoln believed that if he surrendered Sumter, his commitment to maintaining the Union would no longer be credible. So he sent a relief expedition to the fort, carefully informing the South Carolina authorities that there would be no attempt to send troops or munitions unless the supply ships met with resistance. The new Confederate government now faced a dilemma. Permitting the expedition to land would seem to be a tame submission to federal authority. Firing on the ships or the fort would seem (to the North at least) to be aggression. But Confederate leaders finally decided that to appear cowardly would be worse than to appear belligerent, and they ordered The War General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of Begins Confederate forces at Charleston, to take 11 1 11 1 1111111 the island by force if necessary When Anderson refused to surrender the fort, the Confederates bombarded it for two days, April 12-13, 1861. On April 14, Anderson surrendered. The Civil War had begun. As the southern states began to secede, Abraham Lincoln spoke of American liberty: "It was not the mere matter of the separation of the Colonies from the motherland; but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved, upon that principle, it will be truly awful." Almost immediately, Lincoln began mobilizing the North for war. And equally promptly, four more slave states seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy: Virginia (April 17, 1861), Arkansas (May 6), North Carolina (May 20), and Tennessee (June 8). The four remaining slave states-Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri-cast their lot with the Union (under heavy political and even military pressure from Washington). Was there anything that Lincoln (or those before him) could have done to settle the sectional conflict peaceably? That question has preoccupied historians for more than a century without resolution. (See "Debating the Past," pp. 372-373.) There were, of course, actions that might have prevented a war: if, for example. Northern leaders

had decided to let the South withdraw in peace. The real question, however, is not what hypothetical situations might have reversed the trend toward war but whether the preponderance of forces in the nation were acting to hold the nation together or to drive it apart. And by 1861, it seems clear that in both the North and the South, sectional antagonisms-whether justified or not-had risen to such a point that the existing terms of union had become untenable. People in both regions had come to believe that two distinct and incompatible civilizations had developed in the United States and that those civilizations were incapable of living together in peace. Ralph Waldo Emerson, speaking for much of the North, said at the time: "I do not see how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute one state." And a slaveowner, expressing the sentiments of much of the South, said shortly after the election of Lincoln: "These [Northern] people hate us, annoy us, and would have us

THE CIVIL WAR 367 FORT SUMTER DURING THE  
 BOMBARDMENT This graphic drawing shows the interior of Fort  
 Sumter during its bombardment by Confederate forces in April  
 1861. Union forces faced the dual problem of heavy Confederate  
 artillery and cannon fire, and dwindling supplies— since the  
 Confederates had blockaded the Charleston harbor to prevent the  
 North from resupplying the fort. (© The Granger Collection, New  
 York) COLORADO TERRITORY NEBRASKA TERRITORY KANSAS  
 INDIAN TERRITORY TEXAS Feb. 1, 1861 7 IOWA ILLINOIS  
 MISSOURI ARKANSAS iMay 6, 1861 9 MISSISSIPPI Jan. 9, 1861  
 LOUISIANA 2 Jan. 26, 1861 6 PA. OHIO INDIANA KENTUCKY MD.  
 N.J. DEL WEST VIRGINIA VIRGINIA April 17, 1861 8 TENNESSEE  
 June 8, 1861 11 ALABAMA Jan. 11, 1861 4 T NORTH CAROLINA  
 May 20, 1861 10 SOUTH CAROLINA Dec. 20, 1860 1 GEORGIA  
 Jan. 19, 1861 ATLANTIC OCEAN FLORIDA Jan. 10, 1861 3 Border  
 states (slave states that did not secede) States that seceded before  
 the fall of Fort Sumter States that seceded after the fall of Fort  
 Sumter 5 Order in which states seceded (dates) Gulf of Mexico THE  
 PROCESS OF SECESSION The election of Lincoln, the candidate of  
 the antislavery Republican Party, to the presidency had the  
 immediate result of inspiring many of the states in the Deep South  
 to secede from the Union, beginning with South Carolina only a  
 little more than a month after the November election. Other states  
 nearer the northern border of the slaveholding region remained in  
 the Union for a time, but the U.S. attempt to resupply Fort Sumter  
 (and the bombardment of the fort by the new Confederate army)  
 mobilized the upper South to secede as well. Only enormous  
 pressure from the federal government kept the slaveholding states  
 of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri in the Union. What  
 accounted for the creation of the state of West Virginia in 1861?

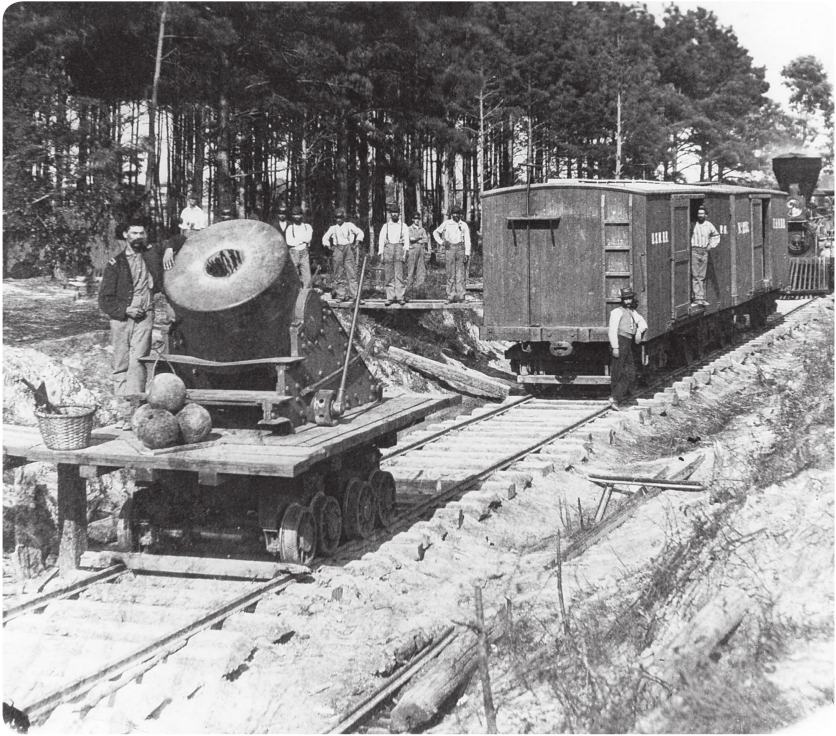




368 CHAPTER 14 assassinated by our slaves if they dared. They are a different people from us, whether better or worse, and there is no love between us. Why then continue together?" That the North and the South had come to believe these things helped lead to secession and war. Whether these things were actually true—whether the North and the South were really as different and incompatible as they thought—is another question, one that the preparations for and conduct of the war help to answer. The Opposing Sides As the war began, only one thing was clear: all the important material advantages lay with the North. Its population was more than twice as large as that of the South (and its advantages nearly four times as large as the nonslave population of the South), so the Union had a much greater manpower reserve for both its armies and its workforce. The North had an advanced industrial system and was able by 1862 to manufacture almost all its own war materials. The South had almost no industry at all and, despite impressive efforts to increase its manufacturing capacity, had to rely on imports from Europe throughout the war. In addition, the North had a much better transportation system than did the South and, in particular, more and better railroads: twice as much trackage as the Confederacy and a much better integrated system of lines. During the war, moreover, the already inferior Confederate railroad system steadily deteriorated and by the beginning of 1864 had almost collapsed. But in the beginning the North's material advantages were not as decisive as they appear in retrospect. The South was, for the most part, fighting a defensive war on its own land. South 39% 34% Population Railroad Mileage Farms Wealth Produced North 61% 66% 67% Factories UNION AND CONFEDERATE RESOURCES Virtually all the material advantages—population, manufacturing, railroads, wealth, even agriculture—lay with the North during the Civil War, as this chart shows. • What advantages did the South have in the conflict? and thus had the advantage of local support and familiarity with the territory. The Northern armies, on the other hand, were fighting mostly within the South, with long lines of communications, amid hostile local populations, and with access only to the South's own inadequate transportation system. The commitment of the white population of the Southern South to the war was, with limited exceptions, clear and firm. In the North, opinion about

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THE CIVIL WAR 369 WAR BY RAILROAD Union soldiers pose beside a mortar mounted on a railroad car in July 1864, during the siege of Petersburg, Virginia. Railroads played a critical role in the Civil War, and the superiority of the North's rail system was an important factor in its victory. It was appropriate, perhaps, that the battle for Petersburg, the last great struggle of the war, was over control of critical railroad lines. (National Archives and Records Administration) National invest one-third of it in government securiBank Acts ties. In return, they could issue U.S. Treasury notes as currency. The new system eliminated much of the chaos and uncertainty in the nation's currency and created a uniform system of national bank notes. More difficult than promoting economic growth was financing the war. The government tried to do so in three ways: by levying taxes, issuing paper currency, and borrowing. Congress levied new taxes on almost all goods and services; and in 1861 the government levied an income tax for the first „ time, with rates that eventually rose to 10 War percent on incomes above \$5,000. But tax. ation raised only a small proportion of the funds necessary for financing the war, and strong popular resistance prevented the government from raising the rates. At least equally controversial was the printing of paper currency, or "greenbacks." The new currency was backed not by gold or silver, but simply by the good faith and credit of the government (much like today's currency). The value of the greenbacks fluctuated according to the fortunes of the Northern armies. Early in 1864, with the war effort bogged down, a greenback dollar was worth only 39 percent of a gold dollar. Even at the close of the war, it was worth only 67 percent of a gold dollar. Because of the difficulty of making purchases with this uncertain currency, the government used greenbacks sparingly. The Treasury issued only \$450 million worth of paper currency-a small proportion of the cost of the war but enough to produce significant inflation.



370 CHAPTER 14 By far the largest source of financing for the war was loans from the American people. In previous wars, the government had sold bonds only to banks and to a few wealthy investors. Now, however, the Treasury persuaded ordinary citizens to buy over \$400 million worth of bonds—the first example of mass financing of a war in American history. Still, bond purchases by individuals constituted only a small part of the government's borrowing, which in the end totaled \$2.6 billion. Most of the loans to finance the war came from banks and large financial interests.

Raising the Union Armies Over 2 million men served in the Union armed forces during the course of the Civil War. But at the beginning of 1861, the regular army of the United States consisted of only 16,000 troops, many of them stationed in the West to protect white settlers from Indians. So the Union, like the Confederacy, had to raise its army mostly from scratch. Lincoln called for an increase of 23,000 in the regular army, but the bulk of the fighting, he knew, would have to be done by volunteers in state militias. When Congress convened in July 1861, it authorized enlisting 500,000 volunteers for three-year terms (as opposed to the customary three-month terms). This voluntary system of recruitment produced adequate forces only briefly. After the first flush of enthusiasm for the war, enlistments declined. By March 1863, Congress was forced to pass a national draft law. Virtually all young adult males were eligible to be drafted; but a man could escape service by hiring someone to go in his place or by paying the government a fee of \$300. Only about 46,000 men were ever actually conscripted, but the draft greatly increased voluntary enlistments. To a people accustomed to a remote and inactive national government, conscription was strange and threatening. Opposition to the law was widespread, particularly among laDraft Riots borers, immigrants, and Democrats opposed . to the war (known as "Peace Democrats" or "Copperheads" by their opponents). Occasionally, opposition to the draft erupted into violence. Demonstrators against the draft rioted in New York City for four days in July 1863, after the first names were selected for conscription. It was among the most violent urban uprisings in American history. More than 100 people died. Irish workers were at the center of the violence. They were angry because black strikebreakers had been used against them in a recent

longshoremen's strike; and they blamed African Americans generally for the war, which they thought was being fought for the benefit of slaves who would soon be competing with white workers for jobs. The rioters lynched a number of African Americans, burned down homes and businesses (mostly those of free blacks), and even destroyed an orphanage for African American children. Only the arrival of federal troops subdued the rioters.

**Wartime Politics** When Abraham Lincoln arrived in Washington early in 1861, many politicians-noting his lack of national experience and his folksy, unpretentious manner-considered him a minor politician from the prairies, a man whom the real leaders of his party would easily control. But the new president moved quickly to establish his own authority. He assembled a cabinet representing every faction of the Republican Party and every segment of Northern opinion-men of exceptional prestige and influence and in some cases arrogance, several of whom believed that they, not Lincoln, should be president. Lincoln moved boldly as well to use the war powers of the presidency, ignoring what he considered inconvenient parts of the Constitution.

**SENDING THE BOYS OFF TO WAR** In this painting, *The Departure of the Seventh Regiment to the War*, by Thomas Nast, New York's Seventh Regiment parades down Broadway in April 1861, to the cheers of exuberant, patriotic throngs, shortly before departing to fight in what most people then assumed would be a brief war. Thomas Nast is better known for his famous political cartoons of the 1870s. (© The Granger Collection, New York)

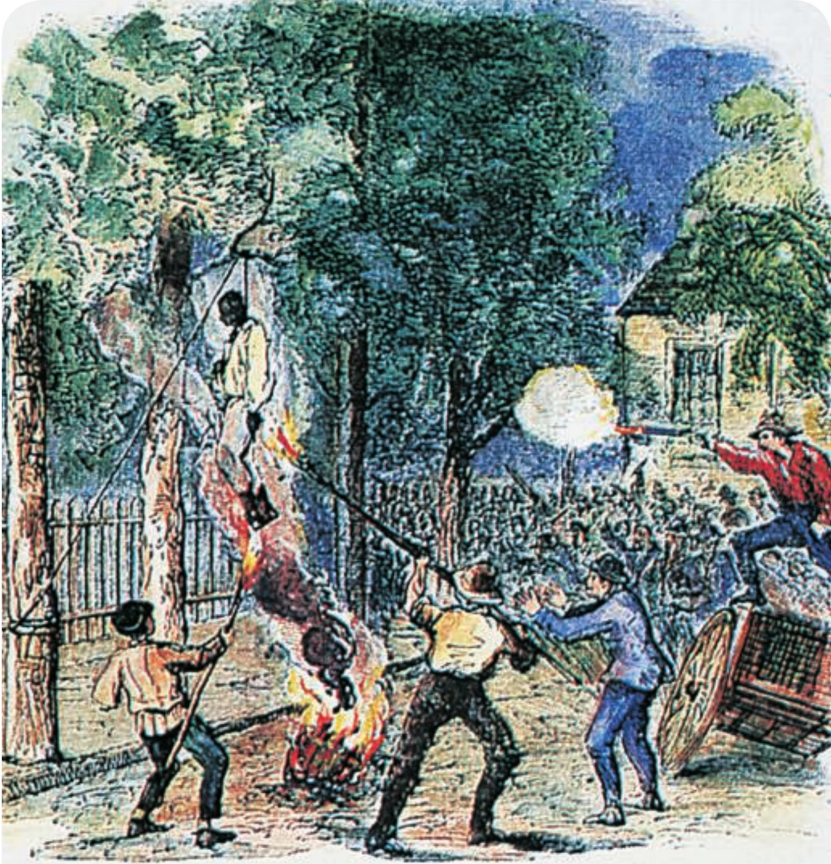


THE CIVIL WAR 371 because, he said, it would be foolish to lose the whole by being afraid to disregard a part. He sent troops into battle without asking Congress for a declaration of war. (Lincoln insisted on calling the conflict a domestic insurrection, which required no formal declaration of war; to ask for a declaration would, he believed, constitute implicit recognition of the Confederacy as an independent nation.) He increased the size of the regular army without receiving legislative authority to do so. He unilaterally proclaimed a naval blockade of the South. Lincoln's greatest political problem was the widespread popular opposition to the war, mobilized by factions in the Democratic Party. The Peace Democrats feared that the agricultural Northwest was losing influence to the industrial East. Wartime and that Republican nationalism was eroding states' rights. Lincoln used extraordinary methods to suppress them. He ordered military arrests of civilian dissenters and suspended the right of habeas corpus (the right of a person to be released by a judge or court from unlawful detention, as in the case of insufficient evidence). At first, Lincoln used these methods only in sensitive areas such as the border states; but in 1862, he did so in Maryland. Cf. *AltviOM STHEF.r.* THE NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOT, 1863 Opposition to the Civil War draft was widespread in the North and in July 1863 produced a violent four-day uprising in New York City in which as many as 100 people died. The riot began on July 13 with a march by 4,000 men, mostly poor Irish laborers, who were protesting the provisions by which some wealthy people could be exempted from conscription. "Rich man's war, poor man's fight," the demonstrators cried (just as some critics of the war chanted at times in the South). Many New Yorkers also feared that the war would drive black workers north to compete for their jobs. The demonstration turned violent when officials began drawing names for the draft. The crowd burned the draft building and then split into factions. Some rioters attacked symbols of wealth such as exclusive shops and mansions. Others terrorized black neighborhoods and lynched some residents. This contemporary engraving depicts one such lynching. Only by transferring five regiments to the city from Gettysburg (less than two weeks after the great battle there) was the government able to restore order. (© The Granger Collection, New York) proclaimed that all persons who discouraged enlistments or



engaged in disloyal practices were subject to martial law. In all, more than 13,000 persons were arrested and imprisoned for varying periods. The most prominent Copperhead in the country-Ohio Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham-was seized by military authorities and exiled to the Confederacy after he made a speech claiming that the purpose of the war was to free the blacks and enslave the whites. Lincoln defied all efforts to curb his authority to suppress opposition, even those of the Supreme Court. When Chief Justice Taney issued a writ (*Ex parte Merryman*) requiring him to release an imprisoned Maryland secessionist leader, Lincoln simply ignored it. (After the war, in 1866, the Supreme Court ruled in *Ex parte Milligan* that military trials in areas where the civil courts existed were unconstitutional.) Repression was not the only tool the North used to strengthen support for the war. In addition to arresting "disloyal" Northerners, Lincoln's administration used new tools of persuasion to build popular opinion in favor of the war. In addition to pro-war pamphlets, posters, speeches, and songs, the war mobilized a significant corps of photographers organized by the renowned Mathew Brady, one of the first important photographers in American history-to take pictures of the war. The photographs that resulted from this effort-new to warfare-were among the grimmest ever made to that point, many of them displaying the vast numbers of dead on the Civil War battlefields. For some Americans, the images of death contributed to a revulsion from the war. But for most Northerners, they gave evidence of the level of sacrifice that had been made for the preservation of the Union and thus spurred the nation on to victory. (Southerners used similar propaganda in the Confederacy, although less effectively.) The presidential election of 1864 occurred, therefore, in the midst of considerable political dissension. The Republicans had suffered heavy losses in the congressional elections of 1862, and in response leaders of the party tried to create a broad coalition of all the groups that supported the war. They called the new organization the Union Party, but in reality it was little more than the Republican Party and a small faction of War Democrats. The Union Party nominated Lincoln for another term as president and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, a War Democrat who had opposed his state's decision to secede, for the vice presidency. The Democrats nominated George B. McClellan, a celebrated former Union general who had been relieved of his command by Lincoln. The party adopted a platform

denouncing the war and calling for a truce. McClellan repudiated that demand, but the Democrats were clearly the peace party in the campaign, trying to profit from growing war weariness and from the Union's discouraging military position in the summer of 1864. At this crucial moment, however, several Northern military victories, particularly the capture of Atlanta, Georgia, early in 1864 Election September, rejuvenated Northern morale and . boosted Republican prospects. Lincoln won



The Causes of the Civil War

In his second inaugural address in March 1865, Abraham Lincoln looked back at the beginning of the Civil War four years earlier. "All knew," he said, that slavery "was somehow the cause of the war." Few historians doubt the basic truth of Lincoln's statement, but they have disagreed ON TO LIBERTY This painting by Theodore Kaufmann shows a group of fugitive slaves escaping from the South in the late years of the Civil War. Thousands of former slaves crossed the Union lines, where they were given their freedom. Many of them joined the Union army. (© The Granger Collection, New York) sharply about whether slavery was the only, or even the principal, cause of the war. This debate began even before the war itself. In 1858, Senator William H. Seward of New York took note of two competing explanations of the sectional tensions that were then inflaming the nation. On one side, he claimed, stood those who believed the sectional hostility to be "accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators." Opposing them stood those (like Seward himself) who believed there to be "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces." The "irrepressible conflict" argument dominated historical discussion of the war from the 1860s to the 1920s. Because the North and the South had reached positions on the issue of slavery that were both irreconcilable and seemingly unalterable, some historians claimed, the conflict had become "inevitable." James Rhodes, in his seven-volume History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 . . . (1893-1900), placed greatest emphasis on the moral conflict over slavery, but he suggested as well that the struggle also reflected fundamental differences between the Northern and Southern economic systems. Charles and Mary Beard, in The Rise of American Civilization (2 vols., 1927), also viewed the war as an irrepressible economic, rather than moral, conflict. Ultimately, however, reelection comfortably, with 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21; the president carried every state except Kentucky, New Jersey, and Delaware. But Lincoln's lead in the popular vote was a modest 10 percent. Had Union victories not occurred when they did, and had Lincoln not made special arrangements to allow Union troops to vote, McClellan might have won. The Politics of Emancipation Despite their surface unity in 1864 and their general agreement on most economic matters, the Republicans disagreed sharply on the issue of slavery.

Radicals-led in Congress by such men as Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senators Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Benjamin Wade of Ohio-wanted to use the war to abolish slavery immediately and completely. Conservatives favored a slower, more gradual, and, they believed, less disruptive process for ending slavery. In the beginning, at least, they had the support of the president. 372 • Despite Lincoln's cautious view of emancipation, momentum began to gather behind it early in the war. In 1861, Congress passed the Confiscation Act, which declared that all Confiscation slaves used for "insurrectionary" purposes Acts (that is, in support of the Confederate military effort) would be considered freed. Subsequent laws in the spring of 1862 abolished slavery in Washington, D.C., and in the western territories, and compensated owners. In July 1862, the Radicals pushed through Congress the second Confiscation Act, which again declared free the slaves of persons aiding and supporting the insurrection (whether or not the slaves themselves were doing so) and which also authorized the president to employ African Americans, including freed slaves, as soldiers. As the war progressed, much of the North seemed slowly to accept emancipation as a central war aim; nothing less would justify the enormous sacrifices of the struggle, many Northerners believed. As a result, the Radicals increased their influence within the Republican Party-a development that did not go iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimim



most of those who believed the Civil War to have been "irrepressible" returned to an emphasis on social and cultural factors. Allan Nevins, in *The Ordeal of the Union* (8 vols., 1947-1971), argued that the "problem of slavery" lay at the root of the cultural differences between the North and the South, but that the "fundamental assumptions, tastes, and cultural aims" of the two regions were diverging in other ways as well. More-recent proponents of the "irrepressible conflict" argument have taken different views of the Northern and Southern positions on the conflict but have been equally insistent on the role of culture and ideology in creating them. Eric Foner, in *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (1970) and other writings, emphasized the importance of the "free-labor ideology" to Northern opponents of slavery. Most Northerners (including Abraham Lincoln), Foner claimed, opposed slavery largely because they feared it might spread to the North and threaten the position of free white laborers. Eugene Genovese, writing of Southern slaveholders in *The Political Economy of Slavery* (1965), argued that just as Northerners were becoming convinced of a Southern threat to their economic system, so Southerners believed that the North had aggressive and hostile designs on the Southern way of life. Like Foner, therefore, Genovese saw cultural differences as the source of an all but inevitable conflict. Other historians have argued that the Civil War might have been avoided, that the differences between North and South were not so fundamental as to have necessitated war. The idea of the war as avoidable gained wide recognition among historians in the 1920s and 1930s, when a group known as the "revisionists" began to offer new accounts of the origins of the conflict. One of the leading revisionists was James G. Randall, who saw in the social and economic systems of the North and the South no differences so fundamental as to require a war. Avery Craven, another leading revisionist, argued similarly in *The Coming of the Civil War* (1942) that slave laborers were not much worse off than Northern industrial workers, that the institution was already on the road to "ultimate extinction," and that war could therefore have been averted had skillful and responsible leaders worked to produce compromise. More-recent students of the Civil War have emphasized the role of political agitation and ethnocultural conflicts in the coming of the war. Michael Holt, in *The Political*

Crisis of the 1850s (1978), emphasized the role of political parties and especially the collapse of the Second Party System, rather than the irreconcilable differences between sections, in explaining the conflict, although he avoided placing blame on any one group. Along with Paul Kleppner, Joel Silbey, and William Gienapp, Holt was one of the creators of an "ethnocultural" interpretation of the war. These scholars argue that the Civil War began in large part because the party system—the most effective instrument for containing and mediating sectional differences—collapsed in the 1850s and produced a new Republican Party that aggravated, rather than calmed, the divisions in the nation. William Gienapp, in *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* (1987), argued that the disintegration of the party system in the early 1850s was less a result of the debate over slavery in the territories than of such ethnocultural issues as temperance and nativism. Gienapp and the other ethnoculturalists would not entirely dispute Lincoln's claim that slavery was "somehow the cause of the war." But they do challenge the arguments of Eric Foner and others that the "free labor ideal" of the North—and the challenge slavery, and its possible expansion into the territories, posed to that ideal—was the principal reason for the conflict. Slavery became important, they suggest, less because of irreconcilable differences of attitude than because of the collapse of parties and other structures that might have contained the conflict.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Some arguments regarding the Civil War as inevitable focus on economic differences between the North and the South. What were these differences and how might they have led — inevitably — to war?
2. Some revisionist scholars attribute the Civil War to a "blundering generation" of political leaders. Who were these leaders and what blunders did they make? Could better decisions have avoided war?
3. According to the ethnoculturalists, what was the role of political parties in the coming of the Civil War? unnoticed by the president, who decided to seize the leadership of the rising antislavery sentiment himself. On September 22, 1862, after the Union victory at the Battle of Antietam, the president announced his intention to use his war powers to issue an executive order freeing all slaves ^ in the Confederacy. And on January 1, Emancipation Proclamation 1863, he formally signed the Emancipation . Proclamation, which declared forever free slaves in all areas of the Confederacy except

those already under Union control: Tennessee, western Virginia, and southern Louisiana. The proclamation did not apply to the border slave states, which had never seceded from the Union and therefore were not subject to the president's war powers. On the day of Emancipation, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote a "Boston Hymn": Today unbind the captive So only are ye unbound; Lift up a people from the dust. Trump of their rescue sound . . . Pay ransom to the owner. And fill the bag to the brim. Who is the owner? The slave is owner. And ever was. Pay him. Source: English Poetry III: From Tennyson to Whitman. Vol. XLII. The Harvard Classics, edited by Charles W. Eliot (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909-1914). The immediate effect of the proclamation was limited, since it applied only to slaves still under Confederate control. But the document was of great importance nevertheless, because it clearly and irrevocably established that the war was being fought not only to preserve the Union but also to eliminate slavery. Eventually, as federal armies occupied much of the South, the proclamation became a practical reality and led directly to the freeing of thousands of slaves. Even in areas not directly affected by the proclamation, the antislavery impulse gained strength. The U.S. government's tentative measures against slavery were not, at first, a major factor in the liberation of slaves. Instead, the . 373 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

WARTIME ORATORY CONSIDER THE SOURCE THE CAUSES OF WARS are rather different from their meanings. Presidents often use wartime speeches to shape public understanding of those meanings-to articulate their visions of what wars are really about. They tend to emphasize broad principles and cherished ideals rather than more-narrow economic concerns or even national security arguments. More than four months after the pivotal battle at Gettysburg, President Abraham Lincoln traveled there to dedicate a military cemetery. A crowd of 15,000 listened first to the famed orator Edward Everett's two-hour account of the battle. Then came Lincoln. His speech was much shorter-just over two minutes. The President touched briefly on American history before turning to the Civil War and what it meant. The Gettysburg Address is reproduced here in its entirety (the "1863" document). Almost a hundred and fifty years later. President George W. Bush also appealed to the past in explaining the conflict of his time, the war on terrorism of the early twenty-first century. The occasion was Bush's second inaugural address, delivered in January 2005 after his victory over the Democratic nominee, John Kerry. His speech came in the middle of the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that had been prompted by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Though the context couldn't have been more different. Bush devoted part of his address to themes similar to Lincoln's so many years before. That excerpt is included here as the "2005" document.

LINCOLN-1863 The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863 Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate-we can not consecrate-we can not hallow-this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the



unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us-that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion-that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vainthat this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom-and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. Source: [abrahamlincolnonline.org](http://abrahamlincolnonline.org) v \_ J 374 imiimimiiiiiiiiim

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concerned about? 3. How does Bush's understanding of the role of religion in American policy compare with Lincoln's? 375  
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376 CHAPTER 14 war helped African Americans to liberate themselves, and they did so in increasing numbers as the war progressed. Many slaves were taken from their plantations and put to work building defenses and other chores. Once transported to the front, many of them found ways to escape across Northern lines, where they were treated as "contraband"-goods seized from people who had no right to them. They could not be returned to their masters. By 1862, the Union army often penetrated deep into the Confederacy. Almost everywhere they went, escaped slaves, often whole families, flocked to join them by the thousands. Some of them joined the Union army, others simply stayed with the troops until they could find their way to free states. When the Union captured New Orleans and much of southern Louisiana, slaves refused to work for their former masters, even though the Union occupiers had not made any provisions for liberating African Americans. By the end of the war, slavery had been abolished in two Union slave states-Maryland and Missouri-and in three Confederate states occupied by Union forces-Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The final step came in 1865, when Congress approved and the necessary states ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery as an institution in all parts of the United States. After more than two centuries, legalized slavery finally ceased to exist in the United States. African Americans and the Union Cause About 186,000 emancipated African Americans served as soldiers, sailors, and laborers for the Union forces, joining a significant number of free blacks from the North. The services of African Americans to the Union military were significant in many ways, not least because of the substantial obstacles many black men had to surmount in order to enlist. In the first months of the war, African Americans were largely excluded from the military. A few black regiments Black eventually took shape in some of the Enlistment Union-occupied areas of the Confederacy, . mainly because they were a ready source of manpower in these defeated regions. But once Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, black enlistment increased rapidly and the Union military began actively to recruit African American soldiers and sailors in both the North and, where possible, the South. Some of these men were organized into fighting units. The best known was probably the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, which (like most black

regiments) had a white commander: Robert Gould Shaw, a member of an aristocratic Boston family. Shaw and more than half his regiment died during a battle near Charleston, South Carolina, in the summer of 1863. Most black soldiers, however, were assigned menial tasks behind the lines, such as digging trenches and transporting water. Even though fewer African Americans than whites died \_ in combat, the black mortality rate was Mtstrfatmfnt j of Black higher than the rate for white soldiers beSoldiers cause so many died of disease from working long, arduous hours in unsanitary conditions. Conditions for blacks and whites were unequal in other ways as well. African American soldiers were paid a third less than were white soldiers (until Congress changed the law in mid- 1864). But however dangerous, onerous, or AFRICAN AMERICAN TROOPS Although most of the black soldiers who enlisted in the Union army during the Civil War performed noncombat jobs behind the lines, there were also black combat regiments— members of one of which are pictured here— who fought with great success and valor in critical battles. (The Library of Congress)



THE CIVIL WAR 377

menial the tasks black soldiers were given, most of them felt enormous pride in their service-pride they retained throughout their lives and often through the lives of their descendants. Many moved from the army into politics and other forms of leadership (in both the North and, after the war, the Reconstruction South). Black fighting men captured by the Confederates were, unlike white prisoners, not returned to the North in exchange for Southern soldiers being returned to the South. They were sent back to their masters (if they were escaped slaves) or often executed. In 1864, Confederate soldiers killed more than 260 African Americans after capturing them in Tennessee. The War and Economic Development The Civil War did not, as some historians used to claim, transform the North from an agrarian to an industrial society. Industrialization was already far advanced when the war began, and in some areas, the war retarded growth-by cutting manufacturers off from their Southern markets and sources of raw material, and by diverting labor and resources to military purposes. On the whole, however, the war sped the economic development of the North. That was in part a result of the political dominance of the Republican Party and its promotion of nationalistic economic legislation. But it was also because the war itself required the expansion of certain sectors of the economy. Coal production increased by nearly 20 percent during the war. Railroad facilities improved-mainly through the adoption of a standard gauge (track width) on new lines. The loss of farm labor to the military forced many farmers to increase the mechanization of agriculture. The war was a difficult experience for many American workers. For industrial workers, there was a substantial loss of purchasing power, as prices in the North rose by more than 70 percent during the war, while wages rose only about 40 percent. That was partly because liberalized immigration laws permitted a flood of new workers into the labor market and helped keep wages low. Hard Times 1°w- ^ was a^so t)ecause increasing mechfor Workers anization of production eliminated the jobs of many skilled workers. One result of these changes was a substantial increase in union membership in many industries and the creation of several national unions, for coal miners, railroad engineers, and others-organizations bitterly opposed and rigorously suppressed by

employers. Women, Nursing, and the War Responding not only to the needs of employers for additional labor, but to their own, often desperate, need for money, women found themselves, by either choice or necessity, thrust into new and often unfamiliar roles during the war. They took over positions vacated by men and worked as teachers, retail salesclerks, office workers, and mill and factory hands. Above all, women entered nursing, a field previously dominated by men. The U.S. Sanitary Commission, an organization U S Sanitary civ^an volunteers led by social reformer Commission Dorothea Dix, mobilized large numbers of female nurses to serve in held hospitals. By the end of the war, women were the dominant force in nursing; by 1900, nursing had become an almost entirely female profession. Female nurses not only cared for patients but also performed other tasks considered appropriate for women: cooking, cleaning, and laundering. Female nurses encountered considerable resistance from male doctors, many of whom considered women too weak for medical work and who, in any case. Gender Roles thought it inappropriate that women Reinforced were taking care of men who were strangers to them. The Sanitary Commission tried to counter such arguments by attributing to nursing THE U.S. SANITARY COMMISSION Mathew Brady took this photograph of female nurses and Union soldiers standing before an infirmary at Brandy Station, Virginia, near Petersburg, in 1864. The infirmary was run by the U.S. Sanitary Commission, the government-supported nursing corps that became important to the medical care of wounded soldiers during the Civil War. (National Archives and Records Administration)





378 CHAPTER 14 many of the domestic ideals that American society attributed to women's work in the home: women as nurses would play the same maternal, nurturing, instructive role they played as wives and mothers. "The right of woman to her sphere, which includes housekeeping, cooking, and nursing, has never been disputed," one Sanitary Commission official insisted. But not all women who worked for the commission were content with a purely maternal role; some challenged the dominance of men in the organization and even stood up against doctors whom they considered incompetent, increasing the resentment felt toward them by many men. In the end, though, the work of female nurses was so indispensable to the military that the complaints of male doctors were irrelevant. Nurses, and many other women, found the war a liberating experience, in which (as one Sanitary Commission nurse later wrote) the American woman "had developed potencies and possibilities of which she had been unaware and which surprised her, as it did those who witnessed her marvelous achievement." Some women, especially those who had been committed to feminist causes earlier, came to see the war as an opportunity to win support for their own goals. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who together founded the National Woman's Loyal League in 1863, worked simultaneously for the abolition of slavery and the awarding of suffrage to women. Clara Barton, who was active during the war in collecting and distributing medical supplies and who later became an important figure in the nursing profession (and a founder of the American Red Cross), said in 1888: "At the war's end, woman was at least fifty years in advance of the normal position which continued peace would have assigned her." That may have been an exaggeration; but it captured the degree to which many women looked back on the war as a crucial moment in the redefinition of female roles and in the awakening of a sense of independence and new possibilities. Whatever nursing may have done for the status of women, it had an enormous impact on the medical profession and on Nursing and treatment of wounded soldiers during Medicine the war. The U.S. Sanitary Commission not only organized women to serve at the front; it also funneled medicine and supplies to badly overtaxed field hospitals. The commission also (as its name suggests) helped spread ideas about the importance of sanitary conditions in hospitals and clinics and

probably contributed to the relative decline of death by disease in the Civil War. Nevertheless, twice as many soldiers died of diseases-malaria, dysentery, typhoid, gangrene, and others-as died in combat during the war. Even minor injuries could lead to fatal infections.

the Union and the Confederacy, which became clear as the two sides mobilized for war: similarities in their political systems, in the methods they used for financing the war and conscripting troops, and in the way they fought. The Confederate Government

The Confederate constitution was largely identical to the Constitution of the United States, but with several significant exceptions: it explicitly acknowledged the sovereignty of the individual states (although not the right of secession), and it specifically sanctioned slavery and made its abolition (even by one of the states) practically impossible. The constitutional convention at Montgomery named a provisional president and vice president: Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, who were later chosen by the general electorate, without opposition, for six-year terms. Davis had been a moderate secessionist before the war; Stephens had argued against secession. The Confederate government, like the Union government, was dominated throughout the war by moderate leaders. Also like the Union's, it was dominated less by the old aristocracy of the East than by the newer aristocrats of the West, of whom Davis was the most prominent example. Davis was, in the end, an unsuccessful president. He was a reasonably able administrator and the dominating figure in his government, encountering little interference from the Davis's generally tame members of his unstable Leadership cabinet and serving as his own secretary of war. But he rarely provided genuinely national leadership. One shrewd Confederate official wrote: "All the revolutionary vigor is with the enemy. ... With us timidity-hair splitting." There were no formal political parties in the Confederacy, but its congressional and popular politics were rife with dissension nevertheless. Some white Southerners (and of course most African Americans who were aware of the course of events) opposed secession and war. Many white people in poorer "backcountry" and "upcountry" regions, where slavery was limited, refused to recognize the Southern ^ c , Divisions new Confederate government or to serve . in the Southern army; some worked or even fought for the Union. Most white Southerners supported the war; but as in the North, many were openly critical of the



THE CIVIL WAR 379 the Confederacy's only gold-seized from U.S. mints located in the South-was worth only about \$ 1 million. The Confederate congress tried at first not to tax the people directly but to requisition funds from the individual states. Most of the states, however, were also unwilling to tax their Funding citizens and paid their shares, when they Problems paid them at all, with bonds or notes of . dubious worth. In 1863, the congress enacted an income tax-which planters could pay "in kind" (as a percentage of their produce). But taxation never provided the Confederacy with much revenue; it produced only about 1 percent of the government's total income. Borrowing was not much more successful. The Confederate government issued bonds in such vast amounts that the public lost faith in them and stopped buying them. Efforts to borrow money in Europe using cotton as collateral fared no better. As a result, the Confederacy had to pay for the war through the least stable, most destructive form of financing: paper currency, which it began issuing in 1 86 1 . By 1 864, the Confederacy had issued the staggering total of \$1.5 billion in paper money, more than twice what the Union had produced. And unlike CONFEDERATE VOLUNTEERS Young Southern soldiers posed for this photograph in 1861, shortly before the First Battle of Bull Run. The Civil War was the first major military conflict in the age of photography, and it launched the careers of many of America's early photographers. (Cook Collection, © Valentine Richmond History Center) the Union, the Confederacy did not establish a uniform currency system; the national government, states, cities, and private banks all issued their own notes, producing widespread chaos and confusion. The result was a disastrous inflation, far worse than anything the North experienced. Prices in the North rose 80 percent in the course of the war; in the South they rose 9,000 percent, with devastating effects on the South's morale. Like the United States, the Confederacy first raised a military by calling for volunteers. And as in the North, by the end of 1861 voluntary enlistments were declining. In April 1862, therefore, the congress enacted a Conscription Confederate Act, subjected all white males beArmy tween the ages of eighteen and thirty-five . to military service for three years. As in the North, a draftee could avoid service if he furnished a substitute. But since the price of substitutes was high, the provision aroused such opposition from poorer whites

that it was repealed in 1863. Even more controversial was the exemption from the draft of one white man on each plantation with twenty or more slaves, a provision that caused smaller farmers to make the same complaint some Northerners made: "It's a rich man's war but a poor man's fight." Many more white Southerners were exempted from military service than were Northerners. Even so, conscription worked for a time. At the end of 1862, about 500,000 men were in the Confederate military. (A total of approximately 900,000 served in the course of the entire war.) That number did not include the many slave men and slave women recruited by the military to perform such services as cooking, laundry, and manual labor, hence freeing additional white manpower for fighting. After 1862, however, conscription began producing fewer men in part because the Union had by then begun to seize large areas of the Confederacy and thus had cut off much of the population from conscription or recruitment. Early in 1864, the government faced a critical manpower shortage. In a desperate move, the Confederate congress began trying to draft men as young as seven and as old as 70. But in a nation suffering from intense war weariness, where many had concluded that defeat was inevitable, nothing could attract or retain an adequate army any longer. In 1864-1865 there were 100,000 desertions. In a frantic final attempt to raise men, the Confederate congress authorized the conscription of 300,000 slaves, but the war ended before the government could attempt this incongruous experiment.

### States' Rights versus Centralization

The greatest sources of division in the South, however, were differences of opinion over the doctrine of states'



380 CHAPTER 14 rights. States' rights had become such a cult among many white Southerners that they resisted all efforts to exert national authority, even those necessary to win the war. They restricted Davis's ability to impose martial law and suspend habeas corpus. They obstructed conscription. Recalcitrant governors such as Joseph Brown of Georgia and Zebulon M. Vance of North Carolina tried at times to keep their own troops apart from the Confederate forces and insisted on hoarding surplus supplies for their own states' militias. Even so, the Confederate government did make substantial strides in centralizing power in the South. By the Centralization end of war the Confederate bureaucracy was larger than its counterpart in Washington. The central government experimented, successfully for a time, with a "food draft"—which permitted soldiers to feed themselves by seizing crops from farms in their path. The government impressed slaves, often over the objections of their owners, to work as laborers on military projects. The Confederacy seized control of the railroads and shipping; it imposed regulations on industry; it limited corporate profits. States' rights sentiment was a significant handicap, but the South nevertheless took important steps in the direction of centralization—becoming in the process increasingly like the region whose institutions it was fighting to escape.

**Economic and Social Effects of the War** The war had a devastating effect on the economy of the South. It cut off Southern planters and producers from the markets in the North on which they had depended; it made the sale of cotton overseas much more difficult; it robbed farms and industries that did not have large slave populations of a male workforce, leaving some of them unable to function effectively. While in the North production of all goods, agricultural and industrial, increased somewhat during the war, in the South production declined by more than a third. Most of all, perhaps, the fighting itself wreaked havoc on the Southern economy. Almost all the major battles of the war occurred within the Confederacy; both armies spent most of their time on Southern soil. As a result of the savage fighting, the South's already inadequate railroad system was nearly destroyed; much of its most valuable farmland and many of its most successful plantations were ruined by Union troops (especially in the last year of the war). Once the Northern naval blockade became effective in 1862, the South experienced massive shortages of almost

everything. The region was overwhelmingly agricultural, but since it had concentrated so single-mindedly on producing cotton and other export crops, it did not grow enough food Economic to meet its own needs- And despite the Woes efforts of women and slaves to keep farms . functioning, the departure of white male workers seriously diminished the region's ability to keep up what food production there had been. Large numbers of doctors were conscripted to serve the needs of the military, leaving many communities without any medical care. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and other craftsmen were similarly in short supply. As the war continued, the shortages, the inflation, and the suffering created increasing instability in Southern society. There were major food riots, some led by women, in Georgia, North Carolina, and Alabama in 1863, as well as a large demonstration in Richmond that quickly turned violent. Resistance to conscription, food impressment, and taxation increased throughout the Confederacy, as did hoarding and black-market commerce. Despite the economic woes of the South, the war transformed Confederate society in many of the same ways that it was changing the society of the Union. The changes were particularly significant for Southern women. New Roles , 7 & . for Women Because so many men left the farms and . plantations to fight, the task of keeping families together and maintaining agricultural production fell increasingly to women. Slaveowners' wives often became responsible for managing large slave workforces; the wives of modest farmers learned to plow fields and harvest crops. Substantial numbers of females worked as schoolteachers or in government agencies in Richmond. Even larger numbers chose nursing, both in hospitals and in temporary facilities set up to care for wounded soldiers. The long-range results of the war for Southern women are more difficult to measure but equally profound. The experience of the 1860s forced many women to question the prevailing Southern assumption that females were unsuited for certain activities, that they were not fit to participate actively in the public sphere. A more concrete legacy was the decimation of the male population and the creation of a major gender imbalance in the region. After the war, there were many thousands more women in the South than there were men. In Georgia, for example, women outnumbered men by 36,000 in 1870; in North Carolina by 25,000. The result, of course, was a large number of unmarried or widowed women who, both during and



after the war, had to find employment-thus, by necessity rather than choice, expanding the number of acceptable roles for women in Southern society. Even before emancipation, the war had far-reaching effects on the lives of slaves. Confederate leaders, who were more terrified of slave revolts during the war than they had been in peacetime, enforced slave codes and other regulations with particular severity. Even so, many slaves-especially those near the front-found ways to escape their masters and cross behind Union lines in search of freedom. Those who had no realistic avenue for escape seemed, to their owners at least, to be particularly resistant to authority during the war. That was in part because on many plantations, the masters and overseers for whom they were accustomed to working were away at war; they found it easier to resist the authority of the women and boys left behind to manage the farms.

General Sherman captured Atlanta on September 2, 1864, evacuated most of the population, and set fire to the city. This photograph shows the extent of the devastation. The destruction of Atlanta was the beginning of Sherman's famous "March to the Sea." It also signaled the beginning of a new kind of warfare, waged not just against opposing armies but also against the economies and even the populations of the enemy. (© Corbis) STRATEGY AND

DIPLOMACY I III III MINIM III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III Mill III  
 Militarily, the initiative in the Civil War lay mainly with the North, since it needed to destroy the Confederacy, while the South needed only to avoid defeat. Diplomatically, however, the initiative lay with the South. It needed to enlist the recognition and support of foreign governments; the Union wanted to preserve the status quo prior to the war. The Commanders The most important Union military commander was Abraham Lincoln, whose previous military experience consisted only Lincoln's f ^rie^ service in his state militia during Leadership the Black Hawk War. Lincoln was a suc. cessful commander in chief because he realized that numbers and resources were on his side, and because he took advantage of the North's material advantages. He realized, too, that the proper objective of his armies was the destruction of the Confederate armies, not the occupation of Southern territory. It was important that Lincoln had a good grasp of strategy, because many of his generals did not. The problem of finding adequate commanders for the troops in the field plagued him throughout the first three years of the war. From 1861 to 1864, Lincoln tried time and again to find a chief of staff capable of orchestrating the Union war effort. He turned first to General Winfield Scott, the aging hero of the Mexican War. But Scott was unprepared for the magnitude of the new conflict and retired on November 1, 1861. Lincoln replaced him with the young George B. McClellan, commander of the Union armies in the East, the Army of the Potomac; but the proud, arrogant McClellan had a wholly inadequate grasp of strategy and returned to the field in March 1862. For most of the rest of the year, Lincoln had no chief of staff. And when he finally appointed General Henry W. Halleck to the

post, he found him an ineffectual strategist who left all substantive decision making to the president. Not until March 1864 did Lincoln finally find a general he trusted to command the war effort: Ulysses S. Grant, who shared Lincoln's belief in making enemy armies and resources, not enemy territory, the target of military efforts. Lincoln gave Grant a relatively free hand, but the general always submitted at least the broad outlines of his plans to the president for advance approval. Lincoln's (and later Grant's) handling of the war effort faced constant scrutiny from the Committee on the Conduct of the War, a Joint investigative committee of the two houses of Congress and the most powerful voice the legislative branch has ever had in formulating war policies. Established in December 1861 and chaired by Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, it complained constantly of the insufficient ruthlessness of Northern generals, which Radicals on the committee attributed (largely inaccurately) to a secret sympathy among the officers for slavery. The committee's efforts often seriously interfered with the conduct of the war. Southern command arrangements centered on President Davis, who, unlike Lincoln, was a trained professional soldier. Nevertheless, he failed to create an effective command system.



382 CHAPTER 14 ULYSSES S. GRANT One observer said of Grant (seen here posing for a photograph during the Wilderness campaign of 1864): "He habitually wears an expression as if he had determined to drive his head through a brick wall, and was about to do it." It was an apt metaphor for Grant's military philosophy, which relied on constant, unrelenting assault. One result was that Grant was willing to fight when other Northern generals held back. Another was that Grant presided over some of the worst carnage of the Civil War. (The Library of Congress) ROBERT E. LEE Lee, who was a moderate by the standards of Southern politics in the 1850s, opposed secession and was ambivalent about slavery. But he could not bring himself to break with his region, and he left the U.S. Army to lead Confederate forces beginning in 1861. He was (and remains) the most revered of all the white Southern leaders of the Civil War. For decades after his surrender at Appomattox, Lee was a symbol to white Southerners of the "Lost Cause." (© Corbis) Early in 1862, Davis named General Robert E. Lee as his principal military adviser. But in fact, Davis had no intention of sharing Robert E Lee contr'l of strategy with anyone. After a few . months, Lee left Richmond to command forces in the field, and for the next two years Davis planned strategy alone. In February 1864, he named General Braxton Bragg as a military adviser; but Bragg never provided much more than technical advice. Not until February 1865 did the Confederate Congress create the formal position of general in chief. Davis named Lee to the post but made clear that he expected to continue to make all basic decisions. In any case, the war ended before this last command structure had time to take shape. At lower levels of command, men of markedly similar backgrounds controlled the war in both the North and the South. Many of the professional officers on both sides were graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, and thus had been trained in similar ways. Many were closely acquainted, even friendly, with their counterparts on the other side. And all were imbued with the classic, eighteenth-century models of warfare that the service academies still taught. The most successful officers were those who, like Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman, were able to see beyond their academic training and envision a new kind of warfare in which destruction of resources was as important as battlefield

tactics. Amateur officers played an important role in both armies as commanders of volunteer regiments. In both North and South, such men were usually economic or social leaders in their communities who appointed themselves officers and rounded up troops to lead. This system was responsible for recruiting considerable numbers of men into the armies of the two nations. Only occasionally, however, did it produce officers of real ability. The Role of Sea Power The Union had an overwhelming advantage in naval power, and it gave its navy two important roles in the war. One was enforcing a blockade of the Southern coast, which the president ordered on April 19, 1861. The other was assisting the Union armies in field operations.



THE CIVIL WAR 383 The blockade of the South was never fully effective, but it had a major impact on the Confederacy nevertheless. The U.S. The Union Navy could Senerally keepP oceangoing Blockade ships out of Confederate ports. For a time, . small blockade runners continued to slip through. But gradually, federal forces tightened the blockade by seizing the ports themselves. The last important port in Confederate hands- Wilmington, North Carolina-fell to the Union early in 1865. The Confederates made bold attempts to break the blockade with new weapons. Foremost among them was an ironclad warship, constructed by plating with iron a former U.S. frigate, the Merrimac, which the Yankees had scuttled in Ironclads Norfolk harbor when Virginia seceded. On . March 8, 1862, the refitted Merrimac, renamed the Virginia, left Norfolk to attack a blockading squadron of wooden ships at nearby Hampton Roads. It destroyed two of the ships and scattered the rest. But the Union government had already built ironclads of its own. And one of them, the Monitor, arrived off the coast of Virginia only a few hours after the Virginia's dramatic foray. The next day, it met the Virginia in the first battle between ironclad ships. Neither vessel was able to sink the other, but the Monitor put an end to the Virginia's raids and preserved the blockade. The Confederacy experimented as well with other naval innovations, such as small torpedo boats and hand-powered submarines. But despite occasional small successes with these new weapons, the South never managed to overcome the Union's naval advantages. As a supporter of land operations, the Union's navy was particularly important in the western theater of war-the vast region between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River- where the major rivers were navigable by large vessels. The navy transported supplies and troops and joined in attacking Confederate strong points. With no significant navy of its own, the South could defend only with fixed land fortifications, which proved no match for the mobile land-and-water forces of the Union. Europe and the Disunited States Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate secretary of state for most of the war, was a clever and intelligent man, but he confined most of his energy to routine administrative tasks. William Seward, his counterpart in Washington, gradually became one of the great American secretaries of state. He had invaluable assistance from Charles

Francis Adams, the American minister to London, who had inherited the considerable diplomatic talents of his father, John Quincy Adams, and his grandfather, John Adams. At the beginning of the war, the ruling classes of England and France, the two nations whose support was most crucial to both sides, were generally sympathetic to the Confederacy, for several reasons. The two nations imported much Southern cotton for their textile industries; they were eager to weaken the United States, an increasingly powerful commercial rival; and some British and French citizens admired the supposedly aristocratic social order of the South, which they believed resembled the hierarchical structures of their own societies. But France was unwilling to take sides in the conflict unless England did so first. And in England, the government was reluctant to act because there was powerful popular support for the Union. Important English liberals such as John Bright and Richard Cobden considered the war a struggle between free and slave labor and urged their followers to support the Union cause. The politically conscious but largely unenfranchised workers in Britain expressed their sympathy for the North frequently and unmistakably-in mass meetings, in resolutions, and through their champions in Parliament. After Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, these groups worked particularly avidly for the Union. Southern leaders hoped to counter the strength of the British antislavery forces by arguing that access to Southern King Cotton c<sup>o</sup>tt<sup>o</sup>n was vital to the English and French Diplomacy textile industries. But this "King Cotton di. plomacy," on which the Confederacy had staked so many of its hopes, failed. English manufacturers had a surplus of both raw cotton and finished goods on hand in 1861 and could withstand a temporary loss of access to American cotton. Later, as the supply of American cotton began to diminish, both England and France managed to keep some of their mills open by importing cotton from Egypt, India, and other sources. Equally important, English workers, the people most seriously threatened by the cotton shortage, did not clamor to have the blockade broken. Even most of the 500,000 English textile workers thrown out of jobs as a result of mill closings continued to support the North. In the end, therefore, no European nation offered diplomatic recognition to the Confederacy or intervened in the war. No nation wanted to antagonize the United States unless the Confederacy seemed likely to win, and the

South never came close enough to victory to convince its potential allies to support it. Even so, there was considerable tension, and on occasion near hostilities, between the United States and Britain, beginning in the first days of the war. Great Britain declared itself neutral as soon as the fighting began, followed by France and other nations. The Union government was furious: neutrality implied that the two sides to the conflict had equal stature. Leaders in Washington were insisting that the conflict was simply a domestic insurrection, not a war between two legitimate governments. A more serious crisis, the so-called Trent affair, began in late 1861. Two Confederate diplomats, James M. Mason and John Trent Affair Slidell, had slipped through the then-ineffective . Union blockade to Havana, Cuba, where they boarded an English steamer, the Trent, for England. Waiting in Cuban waters was the American frigate San Jacinto, commanded by the impetuous Charles Wilkes. Acting without authorization, Wilkes stopped the British vessel, arrested the diplomats, and carried them in triumph to Boston. The British government demanded the release of the prisoners, reparations, and an apology. Lincoln and Seward, aware that Wilkes had violated



Baseball and the Civil War t |yj f ■\*! before the great urban stadiums, long before the lights and the cameras and the Jj \J IN U multimillion-dollar salaries, long before the Little Leagues and the high school and college teams, baseball was the most popular game in America. And during the Civil War, it was a treasured pastime for soldiers, and for thousands of men (and some women) behind the lines, in both North and South. The legend that baseball was invented by Abner Doubleday, who probably never even saw the game, came from Albert G. Spalding, a patriotic sporting-goods manufacturer eager to prove that the game had purely American origins and to dispel the notion that it came from England. In fact, baseball was derived from a variety of earlier games, especially the English pastimes of cricket and rounders. American baseball took its own distinctive form beginning in the 1840s, when Alexander Cartwright, a shipping clerk, formed the New York Knickerbockers, laid out a diamond-shaped field with four bases, and declared that batters with three strikes were out and that teams with three outs were retired. Cartwright moved west in search of gold in 1849, ultimately grew rich, and settled finally in Hawaii (where he brought the game to Americans in the Pacific). But the game did not languish in his absence. Henry Chadwick, an English-born journalist, spent much of the 1850s popularizing the game (and regularizing its rules). By 1860, baseball was being played by college students and Irish workers, by urban elites and provincial farmers, by people of all classes and ethnic groups from New England to Louisiana. It was also attracting the attention of women. Students at Vassar College formed "ladies" teams in the 1860s, and in Philadelphia, free black men formed the first of what would become a great network of African American baseball teams, the Pythians. From the beginning, they were barred from playing against most white teams. When young men marched off to war in 1861, some took their bats and balls with them. Almost from the start of the fighting, soldiers in both armies took advantage of idle moments to lay out baseball diamonds and organize games. There were games in prison camps; games on the White House lawn (where Union soldiers were sometimes billeted); and games on battlefields that were sometimes interrupted by gunfire and cannonfire. "It is astonishing how indifferent a person can become to danger," a soldier wrote home to Ohio in 1862. "The report of

musketry is heard but a very little distance from us, . . . yet over there on the other side of the road is most of our company, playing Bat Ball." After a skirmish in Texas, another Union soldier lamented that, in addition to casualties, his company had lost "the only baseball in Alexandria, Texas." Far from discouraging baseball, military commanders— and the U.S. Sanitary Commission, the Union army's medical arm— actively encouraged the game during the war. It would, they believed, help keep up the soldiers' morale. Away from the battlefield, baseball continued to flourish. In New York City, games between local teams drew crowds of ten or twenty thousand. The National Association of Baseball Players (founded in 1859) had recruited ninety-one clubs in ten northern states by maritime law and unwilling to risk war with England, stalled the negotiations until American public opinion had cooled off, then released the diplomats with an indirect apology. A second diplomatic crisis lasted for years. Unable to construct large vessels itself, the Confederacy bought six ships, known as commerce destroyers, from British shipyards. The best known of them were the Alabama , the Florida , and the Shenandoah. The United States protested that this sale of military equipment to a belligerent violated the laws of neutrality, and the protests became the basis, after the war, of damage claims by the United States against Great Britain. The American West and the War Except for Texas, which Joined the Confederacy, all the western states and territories remained officially loyal to the Unionbut not without controversy and conflict. Southerners and Southern sympathizers were active throughout the West. And, in some places, there was actual combat between Unionists and secessionists. There was particularly vicious fighting in Kansas and Missouri, the scene of so much bitterness before the war. The same pro-slavery and free-state forces who had fought one another in the 1850s continued to do so, with even more deadly results. William C. Quantrill, an Ohio native who had spent 384 . much of his youth in the West, became a captain in the \_ Confederate army after he organized a band War in the of guerrilla fighters (mostly teenage boys) West with which he terrorized areas around the . Kansas-Missouri border. Quantrill and his band were an exceptionally murderous group, notorious for killing almost everyone in their path. Their most infamous act was a siege of Lawrence, Kansas, during which they slaughtered 150 civilians, adults and children alike. Union troops killed Quantrill shortly after

the end of the war. Union sympathizers in Kansas, organized in bands known as the Jayhawkers, were only marginally less savage, as they moved across western Missouri exacting reprisals for the actions of Quantrill and other Confederate guerrillas. One Jayhawk unit was Jointly commanded by the son of John Brown and the brother of Susan B. Anthony, men who brought the fervor of abolitionists to their work. Even without a major battle, the border areas of Kansas and Missouri were among the bloodiest and most terrorized places in the United States during the Civil War. Not long after the war began. Confederate agents tried to negotiate alliances with the Five Civilized Tribes living in Indian Territory (later Oklahoma), in hopes of recruiting their support against Union forces in the West. The Indians themselves were divided. Some wanted to support the South, both because they resented the way the U.S. government had treated them and iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

1865; a North Western Association of Baseball Players, organized in Chicago in 1865, indicated that the game was becoming well established in the West as well. In Brooklyn, William Cammeyer drained a skating pond on his property, built a board fence around it, and created the first enclosed baseball field in America—the Union grounds. He charged 10 cents admission. The professionalization of the game was under way. Despite the commercialization and spectacle that became associated with baseball in the years after the Civil War, the game remained for many Americans what it was to millions of young men fighting in the most savage war in the nation's history — an American passion that at times, even if briefly, erased the barriers dividing groups from one another. "Officers and men forget, for a time, the differences in rank," a Massachusetts private wrote in 1863, "and indulge in the invigorating sport with a schoolboy's ardor." •

**UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE** 1. How could a competitive game of baseball erase "the barriers dividing groups from one another"? 2. The United States today is engaged in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Are the cultural pastimes or recreations available to the men and women fighting these wars to help relieve the stress of war and bridge the differences between the opposing sides as successful in these aims as was baseball during the Civil War? Why or why not? 3. Baseball during the Civil War crossed the lines of cultural differences between the North and the South. Does baseball today— professional or amateur— continue to cross lines of cultural differences? **BATS BEHIND BARS** Baseball was a popular recreation for troops on both sides of the Civil War. This image depicts Union prisoners playing the game while incarcerated in a prison camp at Salisbury, North Carolina, in about 1863. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) because some tribal leaders were themselves slaveholders. But other Indians supported the North out of a general hostility to slavery (in both the South and their own nation). One result of these divisions was a civil war within Indian Territory. Another was that Indian regiments fought for both the Union and the Confederacy during the war. But the tribes themselves never formally allied themselves with either side. **THE COURSE OF BATTLE** In the absence of direct intervention by the European powers, the two contestants in America were left to resolve the conflict between themselves. They did so in four

Casualties long years of bloody combat that produced more carnage than any war in American history, before or since. More than 618,000 Americans died in the Civil War, far more than the 115,000 who perished in World War I or the 318,000 who died in World War II-more, indeed, than died in all other American wars combined prior to Vietnam. There were nearly 2,000 deaths for every 100,000 of population during the Civil War. In World War I, the comparable figure was 109 deaths; in World War II, 241 deaths. Massive death, and along with it massive grief, shadowed both North and South during and after the war. Despite the gruesome cost, the Civil War has become the most romanticized and the most intently studied of all American wars. In part, that is because the conflict produced in addition to terrible fatalities-a series of military campaigns of classic strategic interest and a series of military leaders who displayed unusual brilliance and daring. The Technology of Battle Much of what happened on the battlefield in the Civil War was a result of new technologies that transformed the nature of combat. The Civil War has often been called the first "modern" war and the first "total" war. The great conflict between the North and the South was unlike any war fought before it, and it suggested what warfare would be like in the future. The most obvious change in the character of warfare in the 1860s was the nature of the armaments that both sides used, in battle. Among the most important was Repeating Weapons the introduction of repeating weapons. Samuel Colt had patented a repeating pistol (the revolver) in 1835, but more important for military purposes was the repeating rifle, introduced in 1860 by Oliver Winchester. Also important were greatly improved cannons and artillery, a result of advances in iron and steel technology of the previous decades.

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AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Consolidation of Nations  
The American Civil War was an event largely rooted in conditions particular to the United States. But it was also a part of a worldwide movement in the nineteenth century to create large, consolidated nations. A commitment to preserving the Union—to consolidating, rather than dismantling, the nation—was one of the principal motives for the North's commitment to fighting a war against the seceding states. Similar efforts at expansion, consolidation, and unification were occurring in many other nations around the same time. The consolidation of nation-states was, of course, not new to the nineteenth century. The revolutions in America and France in the late eighteenth century—and the subsequent strengthening of the French concept of nationhood under Napoleon in the early nineteenth century—inspired new nationalist enthusiasms in other parts of Europe. Nationalist sentiment also grew among peoples who

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY This engraving shows the Battle of Volturno, which was really a series of skirmishes that took place in September and October 1860. The main battle, between Garibaldi's volunteers and the troops of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, occurred on October 1. Although the immediate aftermath of the battle left Garibaldi's forces exhausted, they did go on to successfully unify Italy under King Victor Emmanuel II. (Italy © Tarker Archive/The Image Works)

shared language, culture, ethnicity, and tradition and who came to believe that a consolidated nation was the best vehicle for strengthening their common bonds. In 1848, a wave of nationalist revolutions erupted in Italy, France, and Austria, challenging the imperial powers that many Europeans believed were subjugating national cultures. Those revolutions failed, but they helped lay the groundwork for the two most important national consolidations of nineteenth-century Europe. One of these consolidations occurred in Germany, which was divided into numerous small, independent states in the early nineteenth century but where popular sentiment for German unification had been growing for decades. It was spurred in part by new histories of the German Volk (people) and by newly constructed images of German traditions, visible in such literature as the Grimms' fairy tales—an effort to record and popularize German folk traditions and make them the basis of a shared sense of a common past. In 1862, King Wilhelm I of Prussia

— the leader of one of the most powerful of the scattered German states— appointed an aristocratic landowner, Otto von Bismarck, as his prime minister. Bismarck exploited the growing nationalism throughout the various German states and helped develop a strong popular base for unification. He did so in part by launching Prussian wars against Denmark, Austria, and France— wars Prussia easily won, inspiring pride in German power that extended well beyond Prussia. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was particularly important, because Prussia fought it to take possession of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine— provinces the Prussians claimed were part of the German "national community" because its people, although legally French citizens, were ethnically and linguistically German. In 1871, capitalizing on the widespread nationalist sentiment the war had created throughout the German-speaking states, Bismarck persuaded the German king to proclaim himself emperor (or Kaiser ) of a new empire that united all German peoples except those in Austria and Switzerland. These devastating advances in the effectiveness of arms and artillery changed the way soldiers in the field fought. It was now impossibly deadly to fight battles as they had been fought for centuries, with lines of infantry soldiers standing erect in the field firing volleys at their opponents until one side withdrew. Fighting in that way now produced almost inconceivable slaughter, and soldiers quickly learned that the proper position for combat was staying low to the ground and behind cover. For the first time in the history of organized warfare infantry did not fight in formation, and the battlefield became a more chaotic place. Gradually, the deadliness of the new weapons encouraged armies on both sides to spend a great deal of time building elaborate fortifications and trenches to protect themselves from enemy fire. The sieges of Vicksburg and Petersburg, the defense of Richmond, and many other sieges led to the construction of vast fortifications around





**THE CIVIL WAR 387** The second great European movement for national unification occurred in Italy, which had long been divided into small kingdoms, citystates, and regions controlled by the Vatican. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Italian nationalists formed what became known as the "Young Italy" movement, under the leadership of Giuseppe Mazzini. The movement demanded an end to foreign control in Italy and the unification of the Italian people into a single nation. Peoples with common language, culture, and tradition, Mazzini believed, should be free to unite and govern themselves. More important than this growing popular nationalism as a cause of Italian unification were the efforts of powerful and ambitious leaders. The most powerful Italian state in the mid-nineteenth century was the kingdom of the Piedmont and Sardinia, in the northwestern part of the peninsula. Its king, Victor Emmanuel II, appointed his own version of Bismarck — Camillo di Cavour — as prime minister in 1852. Cavour joined forces with nationalists in other areas of Italy to drive the Spanish and the Austrians out of Italian territory. Having first won independence for northern Italy, Cavour joined forces with the southern nationalist leader Giuseppe Garibaldi, who helped win independence in the south and then agreed to a unification of the entire Italian nation under Victor Emmanuel II in 1860. Other nations in these years were also trying to create, preserve, and strengthen nation-states. Some failed to do so— Russia, for example, despite the reform efforts of several tsars, never managed to create a stable nation-state from among its broad and diverse peoples. But others succeeded— Meiji Japan, for example, instituted a series of reforms in the 1880s and 1890s that created a powerful new Japanese nation-state. In fighting and winning the Civil War, the nationalists of the Northern parts of the United States not only preserved the unity of their nation. They also became part of a movement toward the consolidation of national cultures and national territories that extended through many areas of the globe. •

**UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE** 1. How did the problems facing Bismarck differ from those facing Lincoln? 2. Which man— Mazzini, Cavour, or Garibaldi— in the struggle to achieve the unification of Italy most closely parallels Lincoln and the fight to preserve the Union? 3. Does Mazzini's argument— that peoples with common language, culture, and tradition should be

free to unite and govern themselves— apply to the North's attempt to preserve the Union, or does it better fit the South's attempt to secede and form a separate nation? cities and attacking armies. (They were the predecessors to the great network of trenches that became so central a part of World War I.) Other weapons technologies were less central to the fighting of the war, but important nevertheless. There was sporadic use of the relatively new technology of hot-air balloons, employed intermittently to provide a view of enemy formations in the field. (During one battle, a Union balloonist took a telegraph line aloft with him in his balloon and tapped out messages about troop movements to the commanders below.) Ironclad ships such as the Merrimac (or Virginia) and the Monitor, torpedoes, and submarine technology all suggested the dramatic changes that would soon overtake naval warfare, although none played a major role in the Civil War. Critical to the conduct of the war, however, were two other relatively new technologies: the railroad and the telegraph. The railroad was particularly important in a war in Importance of which millions of soldiers were being mothe Railroad bilized and transferred to the front, and in which a single held army could number as many as 250,000 men. Transporting such enormous numbers of soldiers, and the supplies necessary to sustain them, would have been almost impossible without railroads. But they also limited mobility. Railroad lines and stations are, of course, in fixed positions. Commanders, therefore, were forced to organize their campaigns around the location of the railroads whether the location was optimal or not. The impact of the telegraph on the war was limited both by the scarcity of qualified telegraph operators and by the difhThe culty of bringing telegraph wires into the Telegraph fields where battles were being fought. The .1 2 3 \* \* \* \* \* 11 . situation improved somewhat after the new U.S. Military Telegraph Corps, headed by Thomas Scott and Andrew Carnegie, trained and employed over 1,200 operators. Gradually, too, both the Union and Confederate armies learned to string telegraph wires along the routes of their troops so that field commanders were able to stay in close touch with one another during battles. Both the North and the South sent spies behind enemy lines who tried to tap the telegraph lines of their opponents and send important information back about troop movements and formations. The Opening Clashes, 1861 The Union and the Confederacy fought their first major battle of the war

in northern Virginia. A Union army of over 30,000 men under the command of General Irvin McDowell was stationed just outside Washington. About thirty miles away, at the town of Manassas, was a slightly smaller Confederate army under General P. G. T. Beauregard. If the Northern army could destroy the Southern one, Union leaders believed, the war might end at once. In mid-July, McDowell marched his inexperienced troops toward Manassas. Beauregard moved his troops behind Bull Run, a small stream north of Manassas, and called for reinforcements, which reached him the day before the battle. The two armies were now approximately the same size. On July 21, in the First Battle of Bull Run, or First Battle of Manassas, McDowell almost succeeded in dispersing the Confederate forces. But the Southerners stopped a last strong Union assault and then began a savage counterattack. The Union troops, exhausted after hours of hot, of "Bull" Run hard fighting, suddenly panicked. They . broke ranks and retreated chaotically.

388 CHAPTER 14 McDowell was unable to reorganize them, and he had to order a retreat to Washington—a disorderly withdrawal complicated by the presence along the route of many civilians who had ridden down from the capital, picnic baskets in hand, to watch the battle from nearby hills. The Confederates, as disorganized by victory as the Union forces were by defeat, and short of supplies and transportation, did not pursue. The battle was a severe blow to Union morale and to President Lincoln's confidence in his officers. It also dispelled the illusion that the war would be a brief one. Elsewhere in 1861, Union forces were achieving some small but significant victories. In Missouri, rebel forces gathered Wilson's behind Governor Claiborne Jackson and Creek other state officials who wanted to secede from the Union. Nathaniel Lyon, who commanded a small regular army force in St. Louis, moved his troops into southern Missouri to face the secessionists. On August 10, at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, Lyon was defeated and killed—but not before he had seriously weakened the striking power of the Confederates. Union forces were subsequently able to hold most of the state. Meanwhile, a Union force under George B. McClellan moved east from Ohio into western Virginia. By the end of 1861, it had "liberated" the anti-secession mountain people of the region. They created their own state government loyal to the Union and were admitted to the Union as West Virginia in 1863. The occupation of western Virginia was of limited military value, since the mountains cut the area off from the rest of Virginia. It was, however, an important symbolic victory for the North. The Western Theater After the First Battle of Bull Run, military operations in the East settled into a long and frustrating stalemate. The first decisive operations in 1862 occurred in the West. Union forces were trying to seize control of the southern Mississippi River, which would divide the Confederacy and give the North easy transportation into the heart of the South. Northern soldiers advanced on the river from both the north and south, moving downriver from Kentucky and upriver from the Gulf of Mexico toward New Orleans. In April, a Union squadron of ironclads and wooden vessels commanded by David G. Farragut gathered in the Gulf of Mexico, then smashed past weak Confederate forts near the mouth of the Mississippi, and from there sailed up to New Orleans, which was defenseless because the

Confederate high command had expected the attack to come from the north. The city surrendered on April 25-the first major Union victory and an important turning point in the war. From then on, the mouth of the Mississippi was closed to Confederate trade; and the South's largest city and most important banking center was in Union hands. Farther north in the western theater, Confederate troops under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston were stretched New Orleans Captured

[illegible]

Chattanooga. The two armies maneuvered for advantage inconclusively in northern Tennessee and southern Kentucky for several months until they finally met, December 31-January 2, in the Battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone's River. Bragg was forced to withdraw to the south, his campaign a failure. By the end of 1862, Union forces had made considerable progress in the West. But the major conflict remained in the East, where they were having much less success. The Virginia Front, 1862 Union operations were being directed in 1862 by George B. McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac and the most controversial general of the war. McClellan was a superb trainer of men, but he often appeared reluctant to commit his troops to battle. Opportunities for important engagements came and went, and McClellan seemed never to George take advantage of them-claiming always McClellan that preparations were not yet complete or that the moment was not right.

THE CIVIL WAR 389 200 mi 400 km ILLINOIS OHIO  
INDIANA MISSOURI St. Louis Louisville Springfield TEXAS Wilson's  
Creek August 10, 1861 c \ March 7-8, 1862 ARKANSAS Perryville  
October 8, 1862 Island No. 10 April 8, 1862 r Vicksburg bombarded  
June 26, 1862 T LOUISIANA New Orleans April 25, 1862 THE WAR  
IN THE WEST, 1861-1863 While the Union armies in Virginia were  
meeting with repeated frustrations, the Union armies in the West  
were scoring notable successes in the first two years of the war.  
This map shows a series of Union drives in the western  
Confederacy. Admiral David Farragut's ironclads led to the capture  
of New Orleans— a critical Confederate port— in April 1862, while  
forces farther north under the command of Ulysses S. Grant drove  
the Confederate army out led to Union control of the upper  
Mississippi River. • Why was control of the Mississippi so important  
to both sides? During the winter of 1861-1862, McClellan  
concentrated on training his army of 150,000 men near  
Washington. Finally, he designed a spring campaign whose purpose  
was to capture the Confederate capital at Richmond. But instead of  
heading overland directly toward Richmond, McClellan chose a  
complicated, roundabout route that he thought would circumvent  
the Confederate defenses. The navy would carry his troops down  
the Potomac to a peninsula east of Richmond, between the York  
and James Rivers. The army would approach the city from there. It  
became known as the Peninsular campaign. Kentucky and western  
Tennessee. These battles culminated in the Union victory at Shiloh,  
which McClellan began the campaign with only part of his army.  
Approximately 100,000 men accompanied him down the Potomac.  
Another 30,000—under General Irvin McDowell—remained behind to  
protect Washington. McClellan insisted that Washington was safe as  
long as he was threatening Richmond, and finally persuaded  
Lincoln to promise to send him the additional men. But before the  
president could do so, a Confederate army under Thomas J.  
("Stonewall") Jackson changed his plans. Jackson staged a rapid  
march north through the Shenandoah Valley, as if he were planning  
to cross the Potomac and attack Washington. Alarmed, Lincoln  
dispatched





390 CHAPTER 14 MARYLAND Kernstown / Winchester  
 March 23, 1862 25' 1862 First Battle of Bull Run Ty k (Manassas) /  
 f Ju,y2- 'Front Royal May 23, 1862 a / July 21, 1861 ®  
 Washington VIRGINIA July 1861-July 1862 Fair Oaks May 31-June  
 1,1862 Richmond® Battle of the Seven Days June 25-July 1,1862  
 McClellan forced to retreat by Lee, reinforced by Jackson  
 Williamsburg V^J°rkt0Wr' May 5, 1862 Jf Siege of Yorktown April  
 5-May 4, 1862 — ► Confederate forces — ► Union forces &  
 Confederate victories & Union victories \* Inconclusive Union-held  
 territory at start of war Confederate states August-December 1862 0  
 25 mi PENNSYLVANIA Carlisle WEST VIRGINIA Admitted to Union  
 in 1863 1863 THE VIRGINIA THEATER, 1861-1863 Much of the  
 fighting during the first two years of the Civil War took place in  
 what became known as the Virginia theater— although the  
 campaigns in this region eventually extended north into Maryland  
 and Pennsylvania. The Union hoped for a quick victory over the  
 newly created Confederate army. But as these maps show, the  
 Southern forces consistently thwarted such hopes. The map at top  
 left shows the battles of 1861 and the first half of 1862, almost all  
 of them won by the Confederates. The map at lower left shows the  
 last months of 1862, during which the Southerners again defeated  
 the Union in most of their engagements— although Northern forces  
 drove the Confederates back from Maryland in September. The map  
 on the right shows the troop movements that led to the climactic  
 battle of Gettysburg in 1863. • Why were the Union forces unable to  
 profit more from their material advantages during these first years  
 of the war?

THE CIVIL WAR 391 McDowell's corps to head off Jackson. In the brilliant Valley campaign of May 4-June 9, 1862, Jackson defeated two separate Union forces and slipped away before McDowell could catch him. Meanwhile, Confederate troops under Joseph E. Johnston at Seven Pines were attacking McClellan's advancing army outside Richmond. But in the two-day Battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines (May 31-June 1), they could not repel the Union forces. Johnston, badly wounded, was replaced by Robert E. Lee, who then recalled Stonewall Jackson from the Shenandoah Valley. With a combined force of 85,000 to face McClellan's 100,000, Lee launched a new offensive, known as the Battle of the Seven Days (June 25-July 1). Lee wanted to cut McClellan off from his base on the York River and then destroy the isolated Union army. But McClellan fought his way across the peninsula and set up a new base on the James. There, with naval support, the Army of the Potomac was safe. McClellan was now only twenty-five miles from Richmond, with a secure line of water communications, and thus in a good position to renew the campaign. Time and again, however, he found reasons for delay. Instead of replacing McClellan with a more aggressive commander, Lincoln finally ordered the army to move to northern Virginia and join a smaller force under John Pope. The president hoped to begin a new offensive against Richmond on the direct overland route that he himself had always preferred. As the Army of the Potomac left the peninsula by water, Lee moved north with the Army of Northern Virginia to strike Pope before McClellan could join him. Pope was as rash as McClellan was cautious, and he attacked the approaching Confederates without waiting for the arrival of all of McClellan's troops. In the ensuing Second Battle of Bull Run, or Second Battle of Manassas (August 29-30), Lee threw back the assault and routed Pope's army, which fled to Washington. With hopes for an overland campaign against Richmond now in disarray, Lincoln removed Pope from command and put McClellan in charge of all the Union forces in the region. Lee soon went on the offensive again, heading north through western Maryland, and McClellan moved out to meet him. McClellan had the good luck to get a copy of Antietam Lee's orders, which revealed that a part of the Confederate army, under Stonewall Jackson, had separated from the rest to attack Harpers Ferry. But instead of attacking quickly before the Confederates

could recombine, McClellan delayed and gave Lee time to pull most of his forces together behind Antietam Creek, near the town of Sharpsburg. There, on September 17, in the bloodiest single-day engagement of the war, McClellan's 87,000-man army repeatedly attacked Lee's force of 50,000, with enormous casualties on both sides. Six thousand soldiers died, and 17,000 sustained injuries. Late in the day, just as the Confederate line seemed ready to break, the last of Jackson's troops arrived from Harpers Ferry to reinforce it. McClellan might have broken through with one more assault. Instead, he allowed Lee to retreat into Virginia. Technically, Antietam was a Union victory, but in reality, it was an opportunity squandered. In November, Lincoln finally removed McClellan from command for good. McClellan's replacement, Ambrose E. Burnside, was a shortlived mediocrity. He tried to move toward Richmond by crossing the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, the strongest defensive point on the river. There, on December 13, he launched a series of attacks against Lee, all of them bloody, all of them hopeless. After losing a large part of his army, Burnside withdrew to the north bank of the Rappahannock. He was relieved at his own request. The Progress of the War

Why did the Union—with its much larger population and its much better transportation and technology than the Confederacy—make so little progress in the first two years of the war? Had there been a decisive and dramatic victory by either side early in the war—for example, a major victory by the Union at the First Battle of Bull Run—the conflict might have ended quickly by destroying the Confederacy's morale. But no such decisive victory occurred in the first two years of the war. Many Northerners blamed the military stalemate on timid or incompetent Union generals, and there was some truth to that view. But the more important reason for the drawn-out conflict was that it was not a traditional war of tactics and military strategy. It was, even if the leaders of both sides were not yet fully aware of it, a war of attrition. Winning or losing battles here and there would not determine the outcome of the war. What would bring the war to a conclusion was the steady destruction of the resources that were necessary for victory. More than two bloody years of fighting was still to

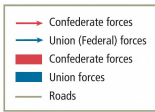
THE FIRST CONNECTICUT ARTILLERY Mathew Brady's photograph shows the First Connecticut Artillery at Fort Richardson, Virginia. (The Library of Congress (LC-B8184-10601))



392 CHAPTER 14 come. But those last years were a testimony to the slow, steady deterioration of the Confederacy's ability to maintain the war and to the consistent growth of the resources that allowed the Union armies to grow steadily stronger. With the federal blockade growing tighter and tighter, the Confederacy found it difficult to secure food. On April 2, 1863, a Confederate soldier received a letter from Richmond from a friend. "Something very sad has just happened in Richmond," she said, "something that makes me ashamed of all my . . . hats, bonnets, gowns, stationery, books, magazines, dainty food." She saw hundreds of young women and men looking for food. "The crowd now rapidly increased and numbered, I am sure, more than a thousand women and children. It grew and grew until it reached the dignity of a mob-a bread riot. . . . While I write women and children are still standing in the streets, demanding food." 1863: Year of Decision At the beginning of 1863, General Joseph Hooker was in command of the still formidable Army of the Potomac, whose 120,000 troops remained north of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg. But despite his reputation as a fighter (his popular nickname was "Fighting Joe"), Hooker showed little resolve as he launched his own campaign in the spring. Taking part of his army, Hooker crossed the river above Fredericksburg and moved toward the town and Lee's army. But at the last minute, he apparently lost his nerve and drew back to a defensive position in a desolate area of brush and scrub trees known as "the Wilderness." Lee had only half as many men as Battle of Hooker did, but he boldly divided his Chancellorsville forces for a dual assault on the Union army. In the Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1-5, Stonewall Jackson attacked the Union right and Lee himself charged the front. Hooker barely managed to escape with his army. Lee had defeated the Union objectives, but he had not destroyed the Union army. And his ablest officer, Jackson, was wounded during the battle and subsequently died of pneumonia. While the Union forces were suffering repeated frustrations in the East, they were continuing to achieve important Vicksburg victories in the West. In the spring of . 1863, Ulysses S. Grant was driving at Vicksburg, Mississippi, one of the Confederacy's two remaining strongholds on the southern Mississippi River. Vicksburg was well protected, surrounded by rough country on the north and low, marshy ground on the west,

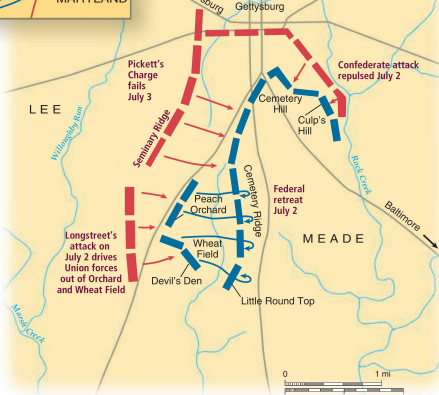
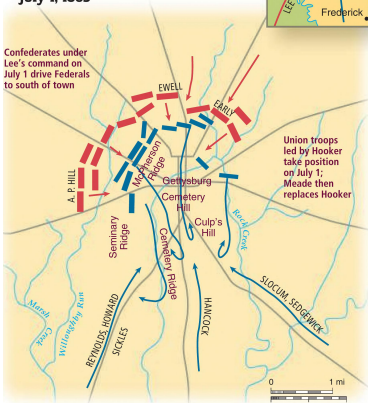
and with good artillery coverage of the river itself. But in May, Grant boldly moved men and supplies overland and by water to an area south of the city, where the terrain was better. He then attacked Vicksburg from the rear. Six weeks later, on July 4, Vicksburg—whose residents were by then literally starving as a result of a prolonged siege—surrendered. At almost the same time, the other Confederate strong point on the river, Port Hudson, Louisiana, also surrendered to a Union force that had moved north from New Orleans. The Union had achieved one 25 50 km \ Fort Pemberton Lx ii Union attempt to outflank Vicksburg blocked by impenetrable waterways Six-week siege of Vicksburg, surrenders to Grant July 4 Chickasaw Bluffs Dec. 29, O Jr Champions Hill May 16, 1863 icksburgVp^ — FFARRAGUT (1862) Port Gibson ^ May 1, 1863 Grant captures Jackson, Miss., May 14, 1863 MISSISSIPPI Union ships steam upriver, bombard Vicksburg June 1862 Natchez LOUISIANA > Union forces Union victory Proposed Union drive - i\_n\_n\_ Confederate defenses Confederate victory THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG, MAY-JULY 1863 In the spring of 1863, Grant began a campaign to win control of the final piece of the Mississippi River still controlled by the Confederacy. To do that required capturing the Southern stronghold at Vicksburg—a well-defended city sitting above the river. Vicksburg's main defenses were in the North, so Grant boldly moved men and supplies around the city and attacked it from the south. Eventually, he cut off the city's access to the outside world, and after a six-week siege, its residents finally surrendered. • What impact did the combined victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg have on Northern commitment to the war? of its basic military aims: control of the whole length of the Mississippi. The Confederacy was split in two, with Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas cut off from the other seceded states. The victories on the Mississippi were among the great turning points of the war. During the siege of Vicksburg, Lee proposed an invasion of Pennsylvania, which would, he argued, divert Union troops north and remove the pressure on the lower Mississippi.

THE CIVIL WAR 393 Pickett's Charge fails July 3  
Confederate attack repulsed July 2 © Federal % retreat Peach  
Orchard Longstreet's attack on July 2 drives | Union forces out of  
Orchard and Wheat Field Wheat k Field Little Round Top  
PENNSYLVANIA^ Gettysb Chambersb Fred erick # Carlisle \*  
Harrisburg Wrightsville ranover MARYLAND July 2-3, 1863 July 1,  
1863 Confederates Lee's command on July 1 drive Federals  
Confederate forces Union (Federal) forces Confederate forces Union  
forces Roads GETTYSBURG, JULY 1-3, 1863 Gettysburg was the  
most important single battle of the Civil War. The map on the left  
shows the distribution of Union and Confederate forces at the  
beginning of the battle, July 1, after Lee had driven the Northern  
forces south of town. The map on the right reveals the pattern of  
the attacks on July 2 and 3. Note, in particular, Pickett's bold and  
costly charge, whose failure on July 3 was the turning point in the  
battle and, some chroniclers have argued, the war. • Why did  
Robert E. Lee believe that an invasion of Pennsylvania would  
advance the Confederate cause? Further, he argued, if he could win  
a major victory on Northern soil, England and France might come  
to the Confederacy's aid. The war-weary North might even quit the  
war before Vicksburg fell. In June 1863, Lee moved up the  
Shenandoah Valley into Maryland and then entered Pennsylvania.  
The Union Army of the Potomac, commanded first by Hooker and  
then by George C. Meade, also moved north, parallel with the  
Confederates' movement, staying between Lee and Washington. The  
two armies finally encountered each other at the small town of  
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. There, on July 1-3, 1863, they fought the  
most celebrated battle of the war. Meade's army established a  
strong, well-protected position on the hills south of the town. The  
confident and combative Gettysburg Lee attacke



# July 1, 1863

Confederates under Lee's command on July 1 drive Federals to south of town



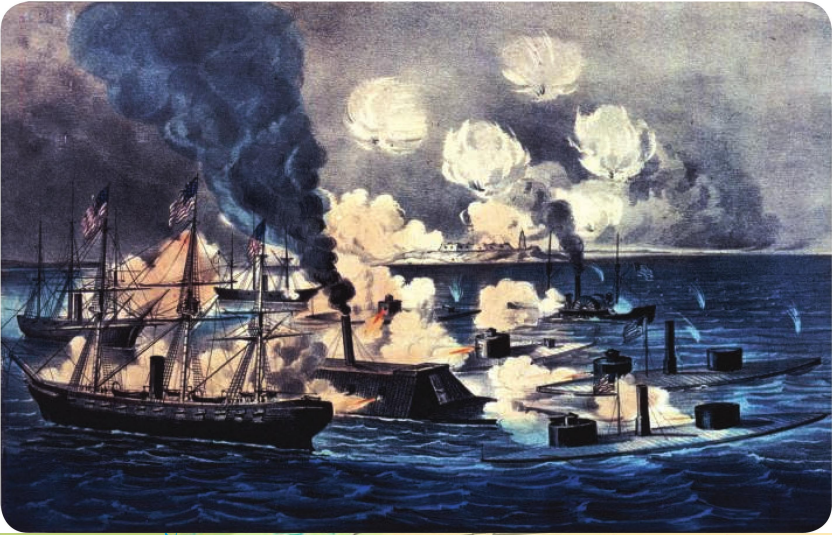


394 CHAPTER 14 Union forces. Grant came to the rescue. In the Battle of Chattanooga (November 23-25), the reinforced Union army drove the Confederates back into Chattanooga. Georgia- Northern troops then occupied most of eastern Tennessee. Union forces had now achieved a second important objective: control of the Tennessee River. Four of the eleven Confederate states were now effectively cut off from the Southern nation. No longer could the Confederacy hope to win independence through a decisive military victory. They could hope to win only by holding on and exhausting the Northern will to fight. The Last Stage, 1864-1865 By the beginning of 1864, Ulysses S. Grant had become general in chief of all the Union armies. At long last, President Lincoln had found a commander whom he could rely on to pursue the war doggedly and tenaciously. Grant was not a subtle strategic or tactical general; he believed in using the North's overwhelming advantage in troops and material resources to overwhelm the South. He was not afraid to absorb massive casualties as long as he was inflicting similar casualties on his opponents. Grant planned two great offensives for 1864. In Virginia, the Army of the Potomac (technically under Meade's command, but really now under Grant's) would advance toward Richmond and Grant's force Lee into a decisive battle. In Georgia, Strategy the western army, under William Tecumseh Sherman, would advance east toward Atlanta and destroy the remaining Confederate force farther south, which was now under the command of Joseph E. Johnston. The northern campaign began when the Army of the Potomac, 115,000 strong, plunged into the rough, wooded Wilderness area of northwestern Virginia in pursuit of Lee's 75,000-man army. After avoiding an engagement for several weeks, Lee turned Grant back in the Battle of the Wilderness (May 5-7). But Grant was undeterred. Without stopping to rest or reorganize, he resumed his march toward Richmond. He met Lee again in the bloody, five-day Battle of Spotsylvania Court House WEST VIRGINIA Rockville MARYLAND Baltimore# Confederates raid Spotsylvania May 8-19, 1864 VIRGINIA North May 23-26, 1864 Lee surrenders to Grant Appomattox Court House April 9, 1865 Cold Harbor 1-3, 1864 April 1, 1865 Petersburg siege June 1 1864— April 1865 Amelia Court House Richmond's capture April 3, 1865 Railroad > Union forces > Confederate forces -r-l-r-i- Confederate

defense line Confederate victory Union victory



THE CIVIL WAR 395 MOBILE BAY, 1864 This image by Currier and Ives portrays a famous naval battle at the entrance to Mobile Bay between a Union sloop-of-war, the USS Richmond, part of a fleet commanded by Admiral David Farragut, and a Confederate ironclad, the CSS Tennessee. Although Confederate mines were scattered across the entrance to the harbor, Farragut ordered his ships into battle with the memorable command "Damn the torpedoes! Full speed ahead!" The Union forces defeated the Confederate flotilla and three weeks later captured the forts defending the harbor— thus removing from Confederate control the last port on the Gulf Coast available to the blockade runners who were attempting to supply the South's war needs. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) ILL •Cairo TENNESSEE: KENTUCKY Nashville December 15-16, 1864 kyQ Franklin November 30, 1864 VIRGINIA Johnston surrenders April 18, 1865 Raleigh MISSISSIPPI Bentonville March 19, 1865 Wilmington # February 22, 1865 Fort Fisher January 15, 1865 Charleston February 18, 1865 Montgomery Savannah December 21, 1864 1 Mobile Mobile Bay \* August 5, 1864 l| / s & AO \_ VTroop movements > Union Pensacola FLORIDA Jacksonville Victories & > Confederate Extent of Union control 1862 1864 1863 1865 Gulf of Mexico SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA, 1864-1865 While Grant was wearing Lee down in Virginia, General William Tecumseh Sherman was moving east across Georgia. After a series of battles in Tennessee and northwest Georgia, Sherman captured Atlanta and then marched unimpeded to Savannah, on the Georgia coast— deliberately devastating the towns and plantations through which his troops marched. Note that after capturing Savannah by Christmas 1864, Sherman began moving north through the Carolinas. A few days after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Confederate forces farther south surrendered to Sherman. What did Sherman believe his devastating March to the Sea would accomplish?



396 CHAPTER 14 House, in which 12,000 Union troops and a large but unknown number of Confederates died or were wounded. Despite the enormous losses. Grant kept moving. But victory continued to elude him. Lee kept his army between Grant and the Confederate capital and on June 1-3 repulsed the Union forces again, just northeast of Richmond, at Cold Harbor. The month-long Wilderness campaign had cost Grant 55,000 men (killed, wounded, and captured) to Lee's 31,000. And Richmond still had not fallen. Grant now changed his strategy. He moved his army east of Richmond, bypassing the capital altogether, and headed south toward the railroad center at Petersburg. If he could seize Petersburg, he could cut off the capital's communications with the rest of the Confederacy. But Petersburg had strong defenses; and once Lee came to the city's relief, the assault became a prolonged siege, which lasted nine months. In Georgia, meanwhile, Sherman was facing less ferocious resistance. With 90,000 men, he confronted Confederate forces of 60,000 under Johnston, who was unwilling to risk a direct engagement. As Sherman advanced, Johnston tried to delay him by maneuvering. The two armies fought only one real battle-at Kennesaw Mountain, northwest of Atlanta, on June 27-where Johnston scored an impressive victory. Even so, he was unable to stop the Union advance toward Atlanta. Capture of President Davis replaced Johnston with Atlanta the combative John B. Hood, who twice . daringly attacked Sherman's army but accomplished nothing except seriously weakening his own forces. Sherman took Atlanta on September 2. News of the victory electrified the North and helped unite the previously divided Republican Party behind President Lincoln. A young Union drummer boy, William Bircher, left an account of the burning of Atlanta. "At night we destroyed the city by fire," he wrote. "A grand and awful spectacle it presented to the beholder. . . . The heaven was one expanse of lurid fire; the air was filled with flying, burning cinders. Buildings, covering two hundred acres, were in ruins or in flames; every instant there was the sharp detonation of the smothered booming sound of exploding shells and powder concealed in the buildings, and then the sparks and flames would shoot up into the black and red roof. ... I heard the real fine band of the Thirty-third Massachusetts playing, 'John Brown's soul goes marching on.'" Hood now tried unsuccessfully to draw Sherman out

of Atlanta by moving back up through Tennessee and threatening an invasion of the North. Sherman did not take the bait. But he did send Union troops to reinforce Nashville. In the Battle of Nashville, on December 15-16, 1864, Northern forces practically destroyed what was left of Hood's army. Meanwhile, Sherman had left Atlanta to begin his soon-to-be-famous March to the Sea. Living off the land, destroying supplies it could not use, his army cut a sixty-mile-wide swath of desolation across Georgia. "War is all hell," Sherman had once said. By that he meant not that war is a terrible thing to V) X WwJL Tt l) vs iws, 3 ^ Vr A v\m jAji ( ^ vrw) vvvvy A LETTER FROM THE FRONT Charles Wellington Reed, a nineteen-year-old Union soldier who was also a talented artist, sent illustrated letters to the members of his family throughout the war. In this 1863 letter to his mother, he portrays the Ninth Massachusetts Battery leaving Centreville, Virginia, on its way to Gettysburg. Two weeks later, Reed fought in the famous battle and eventually received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery there. "Such a shrieking, hissing, seething I never dreamed was imaginable," he wrote of the fighting at the time. (Manuscript Division, The Library of Congress) March to be avoided, but that it should be made as the Sea horrible and costly as possible for the oppomini 1 111 1 1 mi 1 1 in 1 1 1 1 1 1 in 1 1 iff 1 1 ill 1 1 1 1 1 1 hi 1 1 m 1 1 in 1 1 ii nent. He sought not only to deprive the Confederate army of war materials and railroad communications but also to break the will of the Southern people, by burning towns and plantations along his route. By December 20, he had reached Savannah, which surrendered two days later. Sherman offered it to President Lincoln as a Christmas gift. Early in 1865, having left Savannah largely undamaged, Sherman continued his destructive march northward through South Carolina. He was virtually unopposed until he was well inside North Carolina, where a small force under Johnston could do no more than cause a brief delay. In April 1865, Grant's Army of the Potomac-still engaged in the prolonged siege at Petersburg-finally captured

THE CIVIL WAR 397 Appomattox a vital railroad junction southwest of the Court House town. Without rail access to the South, Lee could no longer hope to defend Richmond. With the remnant of his army, now about 25,000 men, Lee began moving west in the forlorn hope of finding a way around the Union forces so that he could head south and link up with Johnston in North Carolina. But the Union army pursued him and blocked his escape route. Finally recognizing that further bloodshed was futile, Lee arranged to meet Grant at a private home in the small town of Appomattox Court House, Virginia. There, on April 9, he surrendered what was left of his forces. Nine days later, near Durham, North Carolina, Johnston surrendered to Sherman. In military terms, at least, the long war was now effectively over, even though Jefferson Davis refused to accept defeat. He fled south from Richmond and was finally captured in Georgia. A few Southern diehards continued to fight, but even their resistance collapsed before long. Well before the last shot was fired, the difficult process of reuniting the shattered nation had begun. The war ensured the permanence of the Union, but many other issues remained far from settled. What would happen to the freedmen (the term used for slaves who were now liberated)? Could the South and the North reconcile? Would the massive industrial growth in the North during the Civil War spread to the South, or would the South remain an agrarian region with much less wealth than in the North? The end of the war was the beginning of more than a generation of struggle to determine the legacy of the Civil War. LOOKING BACK

The American Civil War began with high hopes and high ideals on both sides. In both the North and the South, thousands of men enthusiastically enlisted in local regiments; marched down the streets of their towns and cities dressed in uniforms of blue or gray to the cheers of family, friends, and neighbors; and went off to war. Four years later, more than 600,000 of them were dead and many more maimed and traumatized for life. A fight for "principles" and "ideals"-a fight few people had thought would last more than a few months-had become one of the longest wars, and by far the bloodiest war, in American history, before or since. During the first

two years of fighting, the Confederate forces seemed to have all the advantages. They were fighting on their own soil. Their troops seemed more committed to the cause than those of the North. Their commanders were exceptionally talented, while Union forces were for a time erratically led. Gradually, however, the Union's advantages began to assert themselves. The Union had a stabler political system led by one of the greatest leaders in the nation's history (as opposed to the Confederacy's untested government led by a relatively weak president). It had a much larger population, a far more developed industrial economy, superior financial institutions, and a better railroad system. By the middle of 1863, the tide of war had changed; and over the next two years. Union forces gradually wore down the Confederate armies before finally triumphing in 1865. The North's victory was not just a military one. The war strengthened the North's economy, giving a spur to industry and railroad development. It greatly weakened the South's, by deImpact of stroying millions of dollars of property and the North's depleting the region's young male populaVictory tion. Southerners had gone to war in part

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii , r i r r , because of their fears of growing Northern dominance. The war itself, ironically, confirmed and strengthened that dominance. There was no doubt by 1865 that the future of the United States lay in the growth of industry and commerce, which would occur for many years primarily outside the South. But most of all, the Civil War was a victory for the millions of African American slaves, over whose plight the conflict had largely begun in the first place. The war produced Abraham Lincoln's epochal Emancipation Proclamation and, later, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery. It also encouraged hundreds of thousands of slaves to free themselves, to desert their masters and seek refuge behind Union lines-at times to fight in the Union armies. The future of the freed slaves was not to be without challenges and hardships, but 3.5 million people who had once lived in bondage emerged from the war as free men and women.



## 398 CHAPTER 14 Key Terms/People/Places/Events

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS Abraham Lincoln 375 Antietam 391  
Appomattox Court House 397 First Battle of Bull Run 387 Clara  
Barton 378 Emancipation Proclamation 373 Fort Sumter 366  
George B. McClellan 371 Gettysburg 393 Greenbacks 369  
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396 Morrill Land Grant Act 368 Robert E. Lee 382 Shiloh 388  
Thomas ("Stonewall") Jackson 389 Ulysses S. Grant 381 U.S.  
Sanitary Commission 377 William Tecumseh Sherman 394 1860  
South Carolina secedes from Union 1862 Battles of Shiloh, Second  
Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg Robert E. Lee named  
commander of Confederate armies Homestead Act and Morrill Land  
Grant Act passed Confederacy enacts military draft 1864 Sherman  
captures Atlanta (September 2) Grant named commander of Union  
armies Battle of the Wilderness (May 5-7) Sherman's "March to the  
Sea" begins Lincoln reelected president - 1861 • Confederate States  
of America formed Jefferson Davis named president of Confederacy  
® Conflict at Fort Sumter, South Carolina (April 12-14), begins Civil  
War First Battle of Bull Run 1863 O Battles of Chancellorsville,  
Gettysburg, Chattanooga Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation  
(January 1) • Vicksburg surrenders (July 4) Union enacts military  
draft Antidraft riots break out in New York City West Virginia  
admitted to Union 1865 O Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox  
Court House (April 9) RECALL AND REFLECT

[illegible]

1. Assess the advantages of the North and those of the South at the beginning of the Civil War. How did the advantages of each side change over the course of the war?
2. How did the Confederate government differ from the federal government of the United States?
3. How did the Civil War affect the West?
4. How did the war affect the lives of women in the North and in the South?
5. Compare Lincoln and Davis as heads of government and commanders in chief.
6. Why did Lincoln issue the Emancipation Proclamation, and what were its effects? Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, ratified

[illegible]



had invested in now-worthless Confederate bonds South and currency, had almost no personal property. Many families had to rebuild their fortunes without the help of adult males, massive numbers of whom had died in the war. Some white Southerners faced starvation and homelessness. The more than 258,000 Confederate soldiers who had died in the war constituted over 20 percent of the adult white male population of the region; thousands more returned home wounded or sick. Almost all surviving white Southerners had lost people close to them in the fighting. A cult Myth of the ritua<sup>l</sup>ize<sup>d</sup> mourning developed throughout the region in the late 1860s, "Lost Cause" particularly among white women-many of whom wore mourning clothes (and jewelry) for two years or longer. At the same time, white Southerners began to romanticize the "Lost Cause" and its leaders, and to look back nostalgically at the South as it had existed before the terrible disruptions of war. Such Confederate heroes as Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and (later) Jefferson Davis were treated with extraordinary reverence, almost as religious figures. Communities throughout the South built elaborate monuments in town squares to commemorate their war dead. The tremendous sense of loss that pervaded the white South reinforced the determination of many whites to protect what remained of their now-vanished world. If conditions were bad for many Southern whites, they were worse for most Southern blacks-the 4 million men and women emerging from bondage. Some of them had also seen service during the war-as servants to Confederate officers or as teamsters and laborers for the Southern armies. 400

## RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 401

RICHMOND, 1865 By the time Union forces captured Richmond in early 1865, the Confederate capital had been under siege for months and much of the city lay in ruins, as this photograph reveals. On April 4, President Lincoln, accompanied by his son Tad, visited Richmond. As he walked through the streets of the shattered city, hundreds of former slaves emerged from the rubble to watch him pass. "No triumphal march of a conqueror could have equalled in moral sublimity the humble manner in which he entered Richmond," a black soldier serving with the Union army wrote. "It was a great deliverer among the delivered. No wonder tears came to his eyes." (The Library of Congress) Nearly 200,000 had fought for the Union, and 38,000 had died. Others had worked as spies or scouts for Union forces in the South. Many more had flocked to the Union lines to escape slavery. Even before Emancipation, thousands of slaves in many parts of the South had taken advantage of wartime disruptions to leave their owners and move off in search of freedom. As soon as the war ended, hundreds of thousands more former slaves—young and old, healthy and sick—left their plantations. Some went in search of family members who had been sold by their former masters. But many others had nowhere to go. Some trudged to the nearest town or city, roamed the countryside camping at night on the bare ground, or gathered around Union occupation forces, hoping for assistance. Virtually none owned any land or property. Most had no possessions except the clothes they wore. In 1865, in short, Southern society was in vast disarray. Blacks and whites, men and women faced a future of great uncertainty. Yet all Southerners faced this future with some very clear aspirations. For both blacks and whites, Reconstruction became a struggle to define the meaning of freedom. But the former slaves and the defeated whites had very different conceptions of what freedom meant. Competing Notions of Freedom For African Americans, freedom meant above all an end to slavery and to all the injustices and humiliation they associated with it. But it also meant the acquisition of rights and protections that would allow them to live as free men and women in the same way white people did. "If I cannot do like a white man," one African American man told his former master, "I am not free." African Americans differed with one another on how to achieve that freedom. Some demanded a

redistribution of economic resources, especially land, because, as a convention of Alabama freedmen put it in a formal resolution, "The Freedom for property which they hold was nearly all the Ex-Slaves earned by the sweat of our brows." Others asked simply for legal equality, confident that given the same opportunities as white citizens they



## 402 CHAPTER 15 A MONUMENT TO THE "LOST CAUSE"

This monument in the town square of Monroe, Georgia, was typical of many such memorials erected all across the South after the Civil War. They served both to commemorate the Confederate dead and to remind white Southerners of what was by the 1870s already widely known and romanticized as the "Lost Cause." (© Lee Snider/Photo Images/Corbis) could advance successfully in American society. But whatever their particular demands, virtually all former slaves were united in their desire for independence from white control. Freed from slavery, blacks throughout the South began almost immediately to create autonomous African American communities. They pulled out of white-controlled churches and established their own. They created fraternal, benevolent, and mutual-aid societies. When they could, they began their own schools. For most white Southerners, freedom meant something very different. It meant the ability to control their own destinies without interference from the North or the federal government. And in the immediate aftermath of the war, they attempted to exercise this version of freedom by trying to restore their society to its antebellum form. Slavery had been abolished in the former Confederacy by the Emancipation Proclamation, and everywhere else (as of December 1865) by A FREEDMEN'S BUREAU SCHOOL African American students and teachers stand outside a school for former slaves, one of many run by the Freedmen's Bureau throughout the defeated Confederacy in the first years after the war. (© Corbis) the Thirteenth Amendment. But many white planters continued a kind of slavery in an altered form by keeping black workers legally tied to the plantations. When many white Southerners fought for what they considered freedom, they were fighting above all to preserve local and regional autonomy and white supremacy. The federal government kept troops in the South after the war to preserve order and protect the freedmen. In March 1865, Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau, an agency of the army directed by General Oliver O. Howard. The Freedmen's Bureau distributed food to milFreedmen's lions of former slaves. It established schools Bureau staffed by missionaries and teachers who . had been sent to the South by Freedmen's Aid Societies and other private and church groups in the North. It made modest efforts to settle blacks on lands of their own. (The bureau also offered

considerable assistance to poor whites, many of whom were similarly destitute and homeless after the war.) But the Freedmen's Bureau was not a permanent solution. It had authority to operate for only one year; and in any case it was far too small to deal effectively with the enormous problems facing Southern society. By the time the war ended, other proposals for reconstructing the defeated South were emerging. Issues of Reconstruction Reconstruction was determined not Just by social realities or ideals. It was also determined by partisan politics. The terms by which the Southern states rejoined the Union had important implications for both major political parties. The Republican victories in 1860 and 1864 had been a result in large part of the division of the Democratic Party and, later, the removal of the South from the electorate. Readmitting the South, leaders of both parties believed, would reunite the Democrats and weaken the Republicans. In addition, the Republican Party had taken advantage of the South's absence from Congress to pass a program of nationalistic economic legislation-railroad subsidies, protective tariffs, banking and currency reforms, and other measures to benefit Northern business leaders and industrialists. Should the Democratic





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Party regain power with heavy Southern support, these programs would be in jeopardy. Complicating these practical questions were emotional concerns. Many Northerners believed the South should be punished in some way for the suffering and sacrifice its rebellion had caused. Many Northerners believed, too, that the South should be transformed, made over in the North's urbanized image-its supposedly backward, feudal, undemocratic society civilized and modernized. Even among the Republicans in Congress, there was considerable disagreement about the proper approach to Reconstruction-disagreement that reflected the same factional divisions that had created disputes and Radical over emancipation during the war. Republicans Conservatives insisted that the South accept the abolition of slavery, but proposed few other conditions for the readmission of the seceded states. The Radicals, led by Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, urged that the civil and military leaders of the Confederacy be punished, that large numbers of Southern whites be disenfranchised, that the legal rights of former slaves be protected, and that the property of wealthy white Southerners who had aided the Confederacy be confiscated and distributed among the freedmen. Some Radicals favored granting suffrage to the former slaves. Others hesitated, since few Northern states permitted blacks to vote. Between the Radicals and the Conservatives stood a faction of uncommitted Republicans, the Moderates, who rejected the punitive goals of the Radicals but supported extracting at least some concessions from the South on African American rights. Plans for Reconstruction President Lincoln's sympathies lay with the Moderates and Conservatives of his party. He believed that a lenient Reconstruction policy would encourage Southern unionists and other former Whigs to join the Republican Party and would thus prevent the readmission of the South from strengthening the Democrats. More immediately, the Southern unionists could become the nucleus of new, loyal state governments in the South. Lincoln was not uninterested in the fate of the freedmen, but he was willing to defer questions about their future for the sake of rapid reunification. Lincoln's Reconstruction plan, which he announced in December 1863, offered a general amnesty to white Southerners-

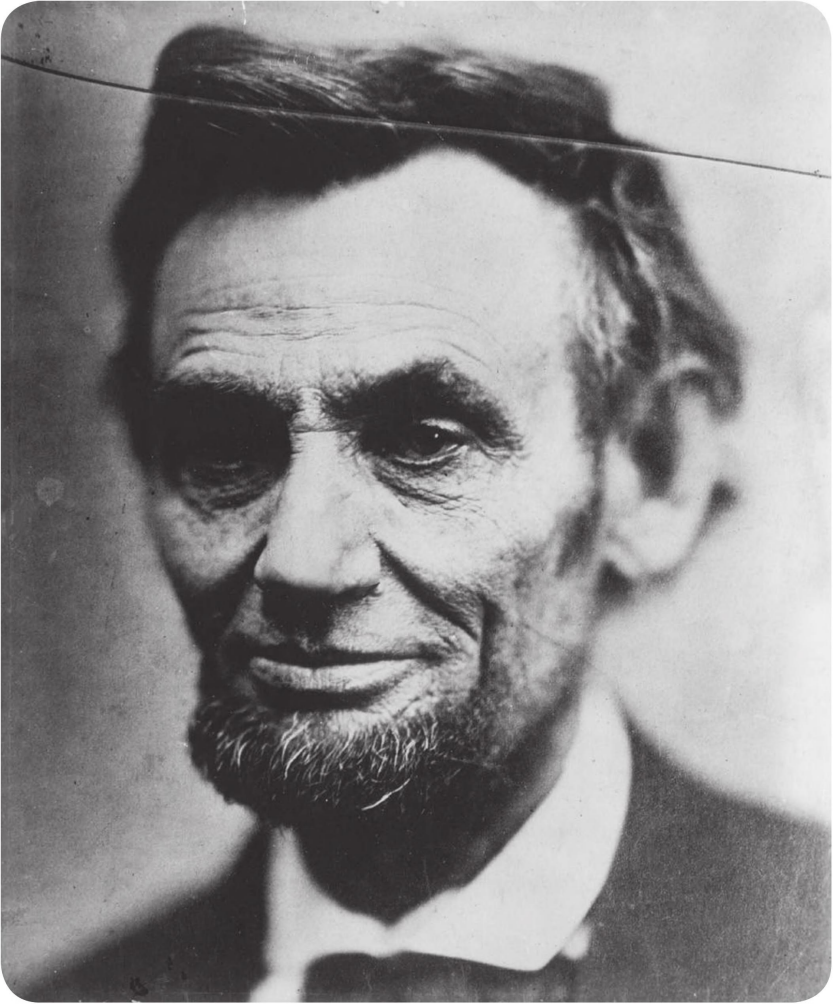
other than high officials of the Confederacy who would pledge loyalty to the government and accept the elimination of slavery. Whenever 10 percent of the number of voters in 1860 took the oath in any state, those loyal voters could set up a state government. Lincoln also hoped to extend suffrage to African Americans who were educated, owned property. Lincoln's 10% Plan  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii and had served in the Union army. Three Southern states Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, all under Union occupation reestablished loyal governments under the Lincoln formula in 1864. The Radical Republicans were astonished at the mildness of Lincoln's program. They persuaded Congress to deny seats to representatives from the three "reconstructed" states and refused to count the electoral vote of those states in the election of 1864. But for the moment, the Radicals were uncertain about what form their own Reconstruction plan should ~ take. Their first effort to resolve that quesWade-Davis 1 1 „ \ 1 Bill tion was Wade-Davis Bill, passed by . Congress in July 1864. It authorized the president to appoint a provisional governor for each conquered state. When a majority (not Lincoln's 10 percent) of the white males of the state pledged their allegiance to the Union, the governor could summon a state constitutional convention, whose delegates were to be elected by those who would swear (through the so-called Ironclad Oath) that they had never borne arms against the United States-another departure from Lincoln's plan. The new state constitutions would have to abolish slavery, disenfranchise Confederate civil and military leaders, and repudiate debts accumulated by the state governments during the war. After a state had met these conditions. Congress would readmit it to the Union. Like the president's proposal, the Wade-Davis Bill left up to the states the question of political rights for blacks. Congress passed the bill a few days before it adjourned in 1864, and Lincoln disposed of it with a pocket veto. His action enraged the Radical leaders, and the pragmatic Lincoln became convinced he would have to accept at least some of the Radical demands. He began to move toward a new approach to Reconstruction. The Death of Lincoln What plan Lincoln might have produced no one can say. On the night of April 14, 1865, the president and his wife attended a play at Ford's Theater in Washington. As they sat in the presidential box, John Wilkes Booth, a member of a distinguished family of actors and a zealous advocate of the Southern cause,

entered the box from the rear and shot Lincoln in the head. The president was carried unconscious to a house across the street, where early the next morning, surrounded by family, friends, and political associates (among them a tearful Charles Sumner), he died. The circumstances of Lincoln's death earned him immediate martyrdom. It also produced something close to hysteria throughout the North. There were accusations that Booth had acted as part of a great conspiracy—accusations that contained some truth. Booth did indeed have associates, one of whom stabbed and wounded Secretary of State Seward the night of the assassination, another of whom abandoned at the last moment a plan to murder Vice President Johnson. Booth himself escaped on horseback into the Virginia countryside, where, on April 26, he was cornered by Union troops and shot to

404 CHAPTER 15 ABRAHAM LINCOLN This haunting photograph of Abraham Lincoln, showing clearly the weariness and aging that four years as a war president had created, was taken in Washington only four days before his assassination in 1865. (The Library of Congress)

death in a blazing bam. A military tribunal convicted eight other people of participating in the conspiracy (at least two of them on the basis of virtually no evidence). Four were hanged. To many Northerners, however, the murder of the president seemed evidence of an even greater conspiracy—one masterminded and directed by the unrepentant leaders of the defeated South. Militant Republicans exploited such suspicions relentlessly for months, ensuring that Lincoln's death would help doom his plans for a relatively easy peace. Johnson and "Restoration" Leadership of the Moderates and Conservatives fell to Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, who was not well suited, by either circumstance or personality, for the task. A Democrat until he had Joined the Union ticket with Lincoln in 1864, he became a Republican president at a moment when Andrew t . Johnson's partisan passions were growing. Johnson Personality himself was an intemperate and tactless man, filled with resentments and insecurities. He was also openly hostile to the freed slaves and unwilling to support any plans that guaranteed them civil equality or enfranchisement. He once declared, "White men alone must manage the South." Johnson revealed his plan for Reconstruction-or "Restoration," as he preferred to call it-soon after he took office, and he implemented it during the summer of 1865, when Congress was in recess. Like Lincoln, he offered amnesty to those Southerners who would take an oath of allegiance. (High-ranking Confederate officials and any white Southerner with land worth \$20,000 or more would have to apply to the president for individual pardons. Johnson, a selfmade man, apparently liked the thought of the great planter aristocrats humbling themselves before him.) In most other respects, however, his plan resembled that of the Wade-Davis Bill. For each state, the president appointed a provisional governor, who was to invite qualified voters to elect delegates to a constitutional convention. Johnson did not specify how many qualified voters were necessary, but he implied that he would require a majority (as had the Wade-Davis Bill). In order to win readmission to Congress, a state had to revoke its ordinance of secession, abolish slavery,

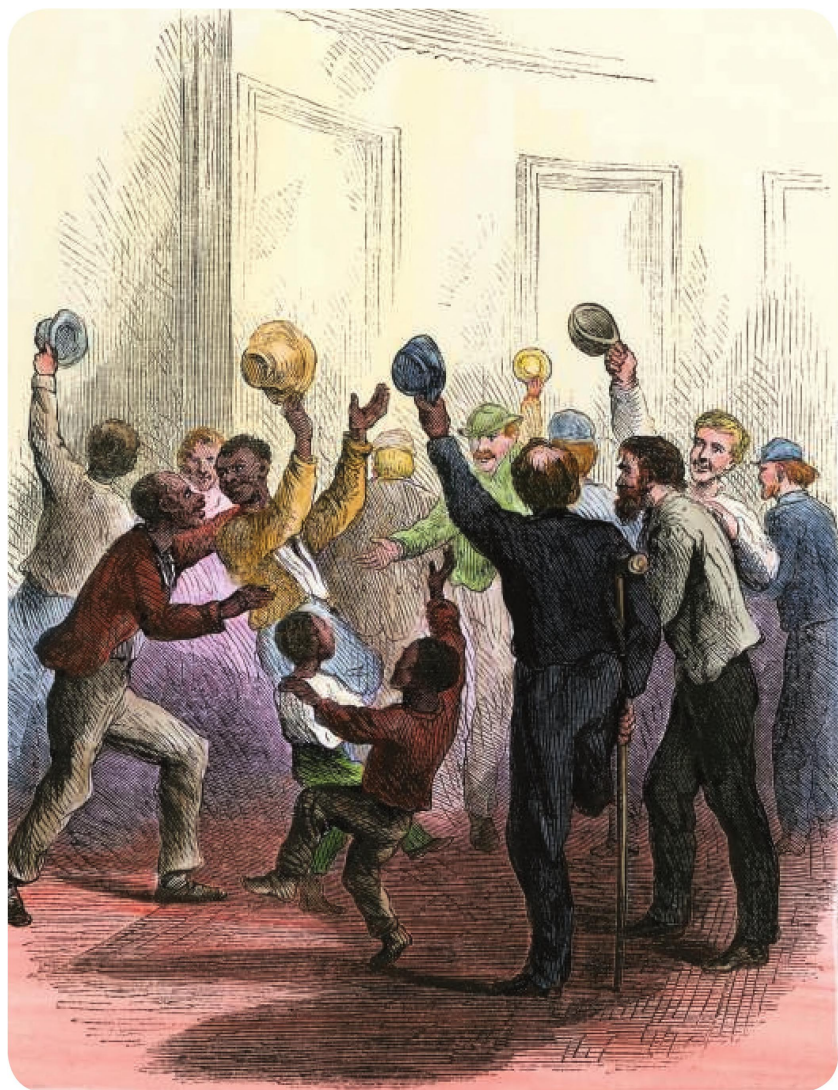
ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and repudiate the Confederate and state war debts. The final procedure before restoration was for a state to elect a state government and send representatives to Congress. Whereas Johnson helped white southerners to return to their land, he did little in support of the former slaves. Although freedmen had been given their liberty, holding on to it proved difficult. Many freedmen who returned to work for white planters found themselves almost like slaves again. Johnson offered no help. "Are not our rights as a free people and good citizens of the United States to be considered?" asked a petition against the president. It was a long time before freedmen truly found liberty. By the end of 1865, all the seceded states had formed new governments-some under Lincoln's plan, some under Johnson's-and were prepared to rejoin the Union as soon as XT Congress recognized them. But Radical Attitudes Republicans vowed not to recognize the Harden Johnson governments, just as they had pre1 1 1 1 1 1 1 ii 1 1 1 1 1 1 ii 1 1 1 1 1 1 ii 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 ii in ii 1 1 ii 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 ii uiiii i . l r i • i t • i viously refused to recognize the Lincoln regimes; for by now. Northern opinion had hardened and become more hostile toward the South than it had been a year earlier when Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill. Many Northerners were disturbed by the apparent reluctance of some delegates to the Southern conventions to abolish slavery, and by the refusal of all the conventions to grant suffrage to any blacks. They were astounded that states claiming to be "loyal" should elect prominent leaders of the recent Confederacy as state officials and representatives to Congress. Particularly hard to accept was Georgia's choice of Alexander H. Stephens, former Confederate vice president, as a United States senator. RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION Reconstruction under Johnson's plan-often known as "presidential Reconstruction'-continued only until Congress reconvened in December 1865. At that point. Congress refused to seat the representatives of the "restored" states and created a



RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 405 new Joint Committee on Reconstruction to frame a Reconstruction policy of its own. The period of "congressional," or "Radical," Reconstruction had begun. The Black Codes Meanwhile, events in the South were driving Northern opinion in more-radical directions. Throughout the South in 1865 and early 1866, state legislatures were enacting sets of laws known as the "Black Codes," designed to give whites substantial control over former slaves. The codes authorized local officials to apprehend unemployed African Americans, fine them for vagrancy, and hire them out to private employers to satisfy the fine. Some of the codes forbade blacks to own or lease farms or to take any jobs other than as plantation workers or domestic servants. Congress first responded to the Black Codes by passing an act extending the life of the Freedmen's Bureau and widening its powers so that it could nullify work agreements forced on freedmen under the Black Codes. Then, in 'Vetoed April 1866, Congress passed the first Civil Rights Act which declared African Americans to be citizens of the United States and gave the federal government power to intervene in state affairs to protect the rights of citizens. Johnson vetoed both bills, but Congress overrode him on each of them. The Fourteenth Amendment In April 1866, the Joint Committee on Reconstruction proposed a new amendment to the Constitution, which Congress approved in early summer and sent to the states for ratification. Eventually, it became one of the most important provisions in the Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment offered the first constitutional definition of American citizenship: everyone born in the United States, and everyone naturalized, was automatically a citizen and entitled to all the "privileges and immunities" guaranteed by the Constitution, including equal protection of the laws by both the state and national governments. CITIZENSHIP for Blacks There could be no other requirements (for example, being white) for citizenship. The amendment also imposed penalties-reduction of representation in Congress and in the electoral college-on states that denied suffrage to any adult male inhabitants. (The wording reflected the prevailing view in Congress and elsewhere that the franchise was properly restricted to men.) Finally, it prohibited former members of Congress or other former federal officials who had aided the

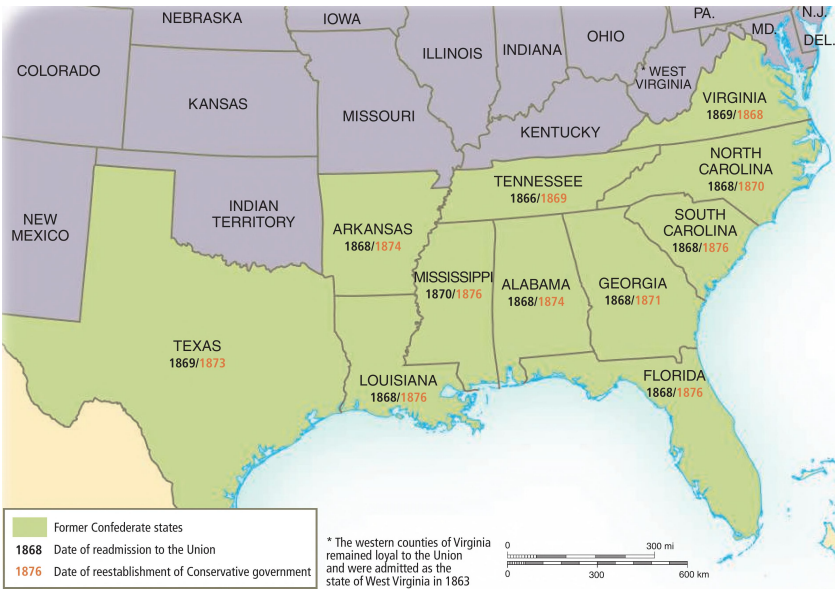


Confederacy from holding any state or federal office unless two-thirds of Congress voted to pardon them. Congressional Radicals offered to readmit to the Union any state whose legislature ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Only Tennessee did so. All the other former Confederate states, along with Delaware and Kentucky, refused, leaving the amendment temporarily without the necessary approval of three-fourths of the states. **FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT** Among its provisions, the Fourteenth Amendment provided the first constitutional definition of U.S. citizenship. Everyone born in the United States, and everyone naturalized, was automatically a citizen and entitled to all the "privileges and immunities" guaranteed by the Constitution, including equal protection of the laws by both the state and national governments. This amendment also imposed penalties on states that did not extend the right to vote to all male citizens, including African American men. African American women, like all women, had to wait until 1920 and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment before legally entitled to vote. (© North Wind Picture Archives/Alamy) But by now, the Radicals were growing more confident and determined. Bloody race riots in New Orleans and other Southern cities-riots in which African Americans were the principal victims-were among the events that strengthened their hand. In the 1866 congressional elections, Johnson actively campaigned for Conservative candidates, but he did his own cause more harm than good with his intemperate speeches. The voters returned an overwhelming majority of Republicans, most of them Radicals, to Congress. In the Senate, there were now 42 Republicans to 11 Democrats; in the House, 143 Republicans to 49 Democrats. (The South remained largely unrepresented in both chambers.) Congressional Republicans were now strong enough to enact a plan of their own even over the president's objections. The Congressional Plan The Radicals passed three Reconstruction bills early in 1867 and overrode Johnson's vetoes of all of them. These bills



406 CHAPTER 15 Three finally established, nearly two years after Reconstruction the end of the war, a coherent plan for . . Reconstruction. Under the congressional plan, Tennessee, which had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, was promptly readmitted. But Congress rejected the Lincoln-Johnson governments of the other ten Confederate states and, instead, combined those states into five military districts. A military commander governed each district and had orders to register qualified voters (defined as all adult black males and those white males who had not participated in the rebellion). Once registered, voters would elect conventions to prepare new state constitutions, which had to include provisions for black suffrage. Once voters ratified the new constitutions, they could elect state governments. Congress had to approve a state's constitution, and the state legislature had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Once that happened, and once enough states ratified the amendment to make it part of the Constitution, then the former Confederate states could be restored to the Union. By 1868, seven of the ten former Confederate states (Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida) had fulfilled these conditions (including ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, which now became part of the Constitution). They were readmitted to the Union. Conservative whites held up the return of Virginia and Texas until 1869 and Mississippi until 1870. By then, Congress had added one more „ requirement for readmission-ratification of Fifteenth 1 Amendment another constitutional amendment, the . Fifteenth, which forbade the states and the federal government to deny suffrage to any citizen on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." To stop the president from interfering with their plans, the congressional Radicals passed two remarkable laws of dubious constitutionality in 1867. One, the Tenure of Office Act, forbade the president to remove civil officials, including members of his own cabinet, without the consent of the Senate. The principal purpose of the law was to protect the job of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, who was cooperating with the Radicals. The other law, the Command of the Army Act, prohibited the president from issuing military orders except through the commanding general of the army (General Grant), who could not be relieved or assigned elsewhere without the consent of the Senate. RECONSTRUCTION, 1866-1877 This map

shows the former Confederate states and provides the date when each was readmitted to the Union as well as a subsequent date when each state managed to return political power to traditional white, conservative elites— a process white Southerners liked to call "redemption." • What had to happen for a state to be readmitted to the Union? What had to happen before a state could experience "redemption"?



RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 407 The congressional Radicals also took action to stop the Supreme Court from interfering with their plans. In 1866, the Court had declared in the case of *Ex parte Milligan* that military tribunals were unconstitutional in places where civil courts were functioning, a decision that seemed to threaten the system of military government the Radicals were planning for the South. Radicals in Congress immediately proposed several bills that would require two-thirds of the justices to support any decision overruling a law of Congress, would deny the Court jurisdiction in Reconstruction cases, would reduce its membership to three, and would even abolish it. The justices apparently took notice. Over the next two years, the Court refused to accept jurisdiction in any cases involving Reconstruction (and the congressional bills concerning the Court never passed). The Impeachment of the President President Johnson had long since ceased to be a serious obstacle to the passage of Radical legislation, but he was still the official charged with administering the Reconstruction programs. As such, the Radicals believed, he remained a serious impediment to their plans. Early in 1867, they began looking for a way to impeach him and remove him from office. Republicans found grounds for impeachment, they believed, when Johnson dismissed Secretary of War Stanton despite Congress's refusal to agree, thus deliberately violating the Tenure of Office Act in hopes of testing the law before the courts. Elated . Radicals in the House quickly impeached the president and sent the case to the Senate for trial. By that time, the Radicals were determined to impeach President Johnson. "Who does not know," said Benjamin Butler, an opponent of Johnson, "that from the hour [Johnson] began these, his usurpations of power, he everywhere denounced Congress, the legality and constitutionality of its action, and defied its legitimate power." The trial before the Senate lasted throughout April and May 1868. The Radicals put heavy pressure on all the Republican senators, but the Moderates (who were losing faith in the Radical program) vacillated. On the first Johnson three charges to come to a vote, seven Acquitted Republicans joined the Democrats and . independents to support acquittal. The vote was 35 to 19, one short of the constitutionally required two-thirds majority. After that, the Radicals dropped the impeachment effort. THE SOUTH IN RECONSTRUCTION

When white Southerners spoke bitterly in later years of the effects of Reconstruction, they referred most frequently to the governments Congress helped impose on them governments they claimed were both incompetent and corrupt, that saddled the region with enormous debts, and that trampled on the rights of citizens. When black Southerners and their defenders condemned Reconstruction, in contrast, they spoke of the failure of the national and state governments to go far enough to guarantee freedmen even the most elemental rights of citizenship-a failure that resulted in a harsh new system of economic subordination. (See "Debating the Past," pp. 416-417.) The Reconstruction Governments In the ten states of the South that were reorganized under the congressional plan, approximately one-fourth of the white males were at first excluded from voting or holding office. That produced black majorities among voters in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana (states where blacks were also a majority of the population), and in Alabama and Florida (where they were not). But the government soon lifted most suffrage restrictions so that nearly all white males could vote. After that, Republicans maintained control only with the support of many Southern whites. Critics called these Southern white Republicans "scalawags." Many were former Whigs who had never felt comfortable THE "STRONG1\* GOVERNMENT 1865? 187;. THE BURDENED SOUTH This Reconstruction-era cartoon expresses the South's sense of its oppression at the hands of Northern Republicans. President Grant (whose hat bears Abraham Lincoln's initials) rides in comfort in a giant carpetbag, guarded by bayonet-wielding soldiers, as the South staggers under the burden in chains. More evidence of destruction and military occupation is visible in the background. (© The Granger Collection, New York)





408 CHAPTER 15 in the Democratic Party-some of them wealthy (or once wealthy) planters or businessmen interested in the economic "Scalawags" development of the region. Others were . farmers who lived in remote areas where there had been little or no slavery and who hoped the Republican program of internal improvements would help end their economic isolation. Despite their diverse social positions, scalawags shared a belief that the Republican Party would serve their economic interests better than the Democrats. White men from the North also served as Republican leaders in the South. Critics of Reconstruction referred to them "Carpetbaggers" pejoratively as "carpetbaggers," which . conveyed an image of penniless adventurers who arrived with all their possessions in a carpetbag (a common kind of cheap suitcase covered with carpeting material). In fact, most of the so-called carpetbaggers were well-educated people of middle-class origin, many of them doctors, lawyers, and teachers. Most were veterans of the Union army who looked on the South as a new frontier, more promising than the West. They had settled there at war's end as hopeful planters or as business and professional people. But the most numerous Republicans in the South were the black freedmen, most of whom had no previous experiFreedmen ence in politics and who tried, thei him mu M him M mi M him M mi M him M mi M him M mi M him M mi M him M mi M him i fore to build institutions through which they could learn to exercise their power. In several states, African American voters held their own conventions to chart their future course. One such "colored convention," as Southern whites called them, assembled in Alabama in 1867 and announced: "We claim exactly the same rights, privileges and immunities as are enjoyed by white men-we THE HO? Cf SW OBIEaH-HEfIE AJD 13SJ.LTL1 Uf THE ffaTEBIKBr D l TEE POLICE JIXD Olm.- it iDpum Bl burn-. NEW ORLEANS RIOT On July 30, 1866, a violent conflict took place outside the Mechanics Institute in New Orleans. Whites attacked blacks parading outside the building where a reconvened Louisiana Constitutional Convention was being held. The state's Radical Republicans had called for the Convention because they were angered by the legislature's enactment of the Black Codes that restricted the rights of African Americans to travel and work. An estimated thirty-eight people were killed and forty-six wounded, most of them African American. (© The Granger



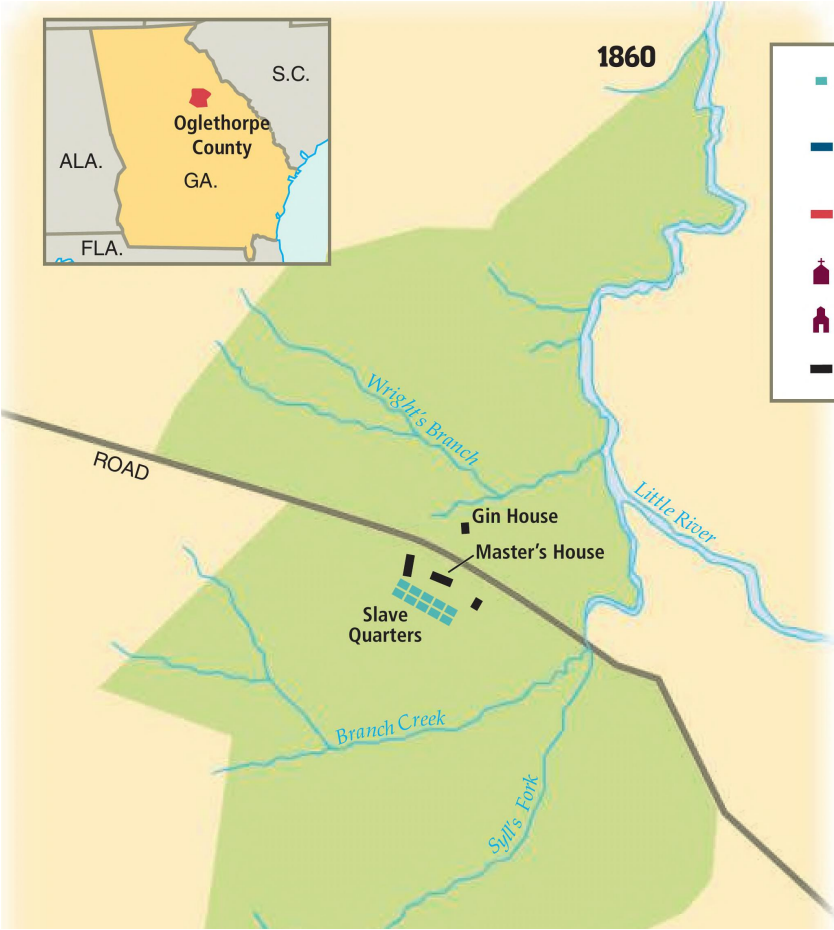
Collection, New York) ask nothing more and will be content with nothing else.” The black churches that freedmen created after emancipation also helped give unity and political self-confidence to the former slaves. African Americans played a significant role in the politics of the Reconstruction South. They served as delegates to the constitutional conventions. They held public offices of practically every kind. Between 1869 and 1901, twenty African Americans served in the U.S. House of Representatives, two in the Senate (Hiram Revels of Mississippi and Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi). African Americans served, too, in state legislatures and in various other state offices. Southern whites complained loudly (both at the time and for generations to come) about “Negro rule” during Reconstruction, but no such thing ever actually existed in any of the states. No black man was ever elected governor of a Southern state (although Lieutenant Governor P. B. S. Pinchback briefly performed gubernatorial duties in Louisiana). African Americans never controlled any of the state legislatures, although they held a majority in the lower house in South Carolina for a short time. In the South as a whole, the percentage of black officeholders was always far lower than the percentage of blacks in the population. The record of the Reconstruction governments is mixed. Critics at the time and since denounced them for corruption and financial extravagance, and there is some truth to both charges. Officeholders in many states enriched themselves through graft and other illicit activities. State budgets expanded to hitherto unknown totals, and state debts soared to previously undreamed-of heights. In South Carolina, for example, the public debt increased from \$7 million to \$29 million in eight years. But the corruption in the South, real as it was, was hardly unique to the Reconstruction governments. Corruption was at least as rampant in the Northern states. And in both North and South, it was a result of the same thing: a rapid economic expansion of government services (and revenues) that put new strains on (and new temptations before) elected officials everywhere. The end of Reconstruction did not end corruption in Southern state governments. In many states, in fact, corruption increased. And the state expenditures of the Reconstruction years were huge only in comparison with the meager budgets of the antebellum era. They represented an effort to provide the South with urgently needed services that antebellum governments had never offered: public education, public works programs, relief for

the poor, and other costly new commitments. There were, to be sure, graft and extravagance in Reconstruction governments; there were also positive and permanent accomplishments. Education Perhaps the most important of those accomplishments was a dramatic improvement in the education of African Americans and white Southerners with scant learning. In the first years of Reconstruction, much of the impetus for educational reform in

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 409 the South came from outside groups—from the Freedmen's Bureau, from Northern private philanthropic organizations, from many Northern women, black and white, who traveled to the South to teach in freedmen's schools—and from black Southerners themselves. Over the opposition of many Southern whites, who feared that education would give African Americans "false notions of equality," these reformers established a large network of schools for former slaves—4,000 schools by 1870, staffed by 9,000 teachers (half of them black), teaching 200,000 students (about 12 percent of the total school-age population of the freedmen). In the 1870s, Reconstruction governments also began to build a comprehensive public school system in the South. By 1876, more than half of all white children and about 40 percent of all black children were attending schools in the South. Several black "academies," offering more advanced education, also began operating. Gradually, these academies grew into an important network of black colleges and universities, which included such distinguished schools as Fisk and Atlanta Universities and Morehouse College. Already, however, Southern education was becoming divided into two separate systems, one black and one white. Segregated Early efforts to integrate the schools of the Schools region were a dismal failure. The Freedmen's Bureau schools, for example, were open to students of all races, but almost no whites attended them. New Orleans set up an integrated school system under the Reconstruction government; again, whites almost universally stayed away. The one federal effort to mandate school integration—the Civil Rights Act of 1875—had its provisions for educational desegregation removed before it was passed. As soon as the Republican governments of Reconstruction were replaced, the new Southern Democratic regimes quickly abandoned all efforts to promote integration.

Landownership and Tenancy The most ambitious goal of the Freedmen's Bureau, and of some Radical Republicans in Congress, was to make Reconstruction the vehicle for a fundamental reform of Slave quarters Houses of former Barrow slaves Houses of other tenant farmers Church School Other buildings 1881 Sabrina Dalton | ^Lizzie Dalton Frank Maxey ^ ^Joe Bug Jim Reid \ ^Nancy Pope ^Gub Barrow %Cane Pope Willis Bryant% U^em Bryant Lewis WatsonS^ . ^ \* Gin House Reuben Barrow^ Ben Thomas\* \* firannv

Omy Barrow \ ^ ^Tom V % y Peter Barrow Thomas Landlord^ House  
Milly Barrow Tom Tang\* r Handy Barrow \*Old Isaac ^Calvin Parker  
Beckton Barrow V ^Lem Douglas THE SOUTHERN PLANTATION  
BEFORE AND AFTER EMANCIPATION This map shows the  
distribution of lands and dwellings on the Barrow Plantation in  
Oglethorpe County, Georgia, before and after the emancipation of  
slaves at the close of the Civil War. The map on the left shows the  
plantation in 1861, as the war began. Like the Hopeton Plantation  
shown on p. 299, the Barrow Plantation was highly centralized  
before the war, with all slaves living together in a complex of  
dwellings near the master's house. Twenty years later, as the map  
on the right shows, the same landscape was very differently  
divided. Housing was now widely dispersed, as former slaves  
became tenants or sharecroppers and began working their own  
small pieces of land and living independently. Churches had sprung  
up away from the landowner's house as well. Why did former slaves  
move so quickly to relocate their homes and churches away from  
their former masters?



410 CHAPTER 15 landownership in the South. The effort failed. In the last years of the war and the first years of Reconstruction, the Freedmen's Bureau did oversee the redistribution of substantial amounts of land to freedmen in a few areas-notably the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and areas of Mississippi that had been once belonged to the family of Jefferson Davis. By June 1865, the bureau had settled nearly 10,000 black families on their own land-most of it drawn from abandoned plantations-arousing dreams among former slaves throughout the South of "forty acres and a mule." By the end of that year, however, the experiment was already collapsing. Southern plantation owners were returning and demanding the restoration of their property, and President Johnson was supporting their demands. Despite the resistance of the Freedmen's Bureau, the government eventually returned most of the confiscated land to the original white owners. Very few Northern Republicans believed that the federal government had the right to confiscate property. Even so, distribution of landownership in the South changed considerably in the postwar years. Among whites, there was a significant decline in landownership, from 80 percent before the war to 67 percent by the end of Reconstruction. Some whites lost their land because of unpaid debt or increased taxes; some left the marginal lands they had owned to move to more-fertile areas, where they rented. During the same period, the number of African Americans who owned land rose from virtually none to more than 20 percent. Many black landowners acquired their property through hard work or luck or both. But some relied unwisely on assistance from white-dominated financial or philanthropic institutions. One of them was the Freedman's Bank, established in 1865 by antislavery whites in an effort to promote landownership among African Americans. They persuaded thousands of freedmen to deposit their modest savings in the bank, but then invested heavily in unsuccessful enterprises. It was ill prepared, therefore, for the national depression of the 1870s and it failed in 1874. Still, most blacks, and a growing minority of whites, did not own their own land during Reconstruction; and some who acquired land in the 1860s had lost it by the 1890s. These people worked for others in one form or another. Many African American agricultural laborers-perhaps 25 percent of the total-simply worked

for wages. Most, however, became tenants of white landowners working their own plots of land and paying their landlords either a fixed rent or a share of their crop (see p. 420). The new system was a repudiation of former slaves of the gang-labor system of the antebellum plantation, in which slaves had lived and worked together under the direction of a master. As tenants and sharecroppers, African Americans enjoyed at least a physical independence from their landlords and had the sense of working their own land, even if in most cases they could never hope to buy it. But tenantry also benefited landlords in some ways, relieving them of any responsibility for the physical well-being of their workers. Sharecropping

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii The Crop-Lien System

In some respects, the postwar years were a period of remarkable economic progress for African Americans. If the material benefits they had received under slavery are calculated as income, then prewar blacks had earned about a 22 percent share of the profits of the plantation system. By the end of Reconstruction, they were earning 56 percent. Measured another way, the per capita income of Southern blacks rose 46 percent between 1857 and 1879, while the per capita income of Southern whites declined 35 percent. This represented one of the most significant redistributions of income in American history. But these figures are somewhat misleading. While the black share of profits was increasing, the total profits of Southern agriculture were declining—a result of the dislocations

SHARECROPPERS, 1879 This painting, by Winslow Homer (1836-1910), depicts sharecroppers picking cotton. In sharecropping, a landowner permits tenants to use the land in exchange for a share of the crops produced. (© The Granger Collection, New York)





RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 411 of the war and a reduction in the world market for cotton. In addition, while African Americans were earning a greater return on each hour of labor than they had under slavery, they were working fewer hours. Women and children were less likely to labor in the fields than in the past. Adult men tended to work shorter days. In all, the black labor force worked about one-third fewer hours during Reconstruction than slaves had been compelled to work under slavery—a reduction that brought the working schedule of blacks roughly into line with that of white farm laborers. Nor did the income redistribution of the postwar years lift many African Americans out of poverty. Black per capita income rose from about one-quarter of white per capita income to about one-half in the first few years after the war. And after this initial increase, it rose hardly at all. For blacks and poor whites alike, whatever gains there might have been as a result of land and income redistribution were often overshadowed by the ravages of the crop-lien system. Few of the traditional institutions of credit in the South—the “factors” and banks—returned after the war. In their stead New System emerged a new system of credit, centered on Credit in larƑe Part on l°cal country stores, some . of them owned by planters, others by independent merchants. Blacks and whites, landowners and tenants all depended on these stores for such necessities as food, clothing, seed, and farm implements. And since farmers did not have the same steady cash flow as other workers, customers usually had to rely on credit from these merchants in order to purchase what they needed. Most local stores had no competition (and went to great lengths to ensure that things stayed that way). As a result, they were able to set interest rates as high as 50 or 60 percent. Farmers had to give the merchants a lien (or claim) on their crops as collateral for the loans (thus the term “crop-lien system”). Farmers who suffered a few bad years in a row, as often happened, could become trapped in a cycle of debt from which they could never escape.

WASH DAY ON THE PLANTATION One of the most common occupations of women recently emancipated from slavery was taking in laundry from white families who no longer had slaves as household servants. This photograph of a group of African American women illustrates how arduous a task laundry was. (The Library of Congress)



412 CHAPTER 15 This burdensome credit system had a number of effects on the region, almost all of them unhealthy. One effect was that some former slaves who had acquired land during the early years of Reconstruction gradually lost it as they fell into debt. So, to a lesser extent, did white small landowners. Another effect was that Southern farmers became almost wholly dependent on cash crops-and most of all on cotton-because only such marketable commodities seemed to offer any possibility of escape from debt. Thus Southern agriculture, never sufficiently diversified even in the best of times, became more one-dimensional than ever. The relentless planting of cotton, moreover, was contributing to an exhaustion of the soil. The crop-lien system, in other words, was not only helping to impoverish small farmers; it was also contributing to a general decline in the Southern agricultural economy.

The African American Family in Freedom One of the most striking features of the black response to Reconstruction was the effort to build or rebuild family structures and to protect them from the interference they had experienced under slavery. A major reason for the rapid departure of so many emancipated slaves from plantations was the desire to find lost relatives and reunite families. Thousands of African Americans wandered through the South-often over vast distances-looking for husbands, wives, children, or other relatives from whom they had been separated. In the few black newspapers that circulated in the South, there were many advertisements by people searching for information about their relatives. Former slaves rushed to have marriages, previously without legal standing, sanctified by church and law. Black families resisted living in the former slave quarters and moved instead to small cabins scattered widely across the countryside, where they could enjoy at least some privacy. Within the black family, the definition of male and female roles quickly came to resemble that within white families. Many women and children ceased working in the fields. Such work, they believed, was a badge of slavery. Instead, many women restricted themselves largely to domestic tasks-cooking, cleaning, gardening, sewing, raising children, attending to the needs of their husbands. Some black husbands refused to allow their wives to work as servants in white homes. "When I married my wife I married her to wait on me," one freedman told a former master who was attempting to hire his wife as a servant. "She got all she can do right

here for me and the children.” Still, middle-class notions of domesticity were often difficult to sustain in the impoverished circumstances of most Changing former slaves. Economic necessity required Gender Roles many black women to engage in incomeproducing activities, including activities that they and their husbands resisted: working as domestic servants, taking in laundry, or helping in the field. By the end of Reconstruction, half of all black women over the age of sixteen were working for wages. And unlike white working women, most black female income-earners were married. THE GRANT ADMINISTRATION

Exhausted by the political turmoil of the Johnson administration, American voters in 1868 yearned for a strong, stable figure to guide them through the troubled years of Reconstruction. They turned trustingly to General Ulysses S. Grant, the hero of the war and, by 1868, a revered national idol. The Soldier President Grant could have had the nomination of either party in 1868. But believing that Republican Reconstruction policies were U S Grant more popular in the North, he accepted the . Republican nomination. The Democrats nominated former governor Horatio Seymour of New York. The campaign was a bitter one, and Grant’s triumph was surprisingly narrow. Without the 500,000 new black Republican voters in the South, he would have had a minority of the popular vote. Grant entered the White House with no political experience, and his performance was clumsy and ineffectual from the start. Except for Hamilton Fish, whom Grant appointed secretary of state and who served for eight years with great distinction, most members of the cabinet were ill equipped for their tasks. Grant relied chiefly, and increasingly, on established party leaders-the group most ardently devoted to patronage. His administration used the spoils system even more blatantly than most of its predecessors, embittering reform-minded members of his party. Grant also alienated the many Northerners who were growing disillusioned with Radical Reconstruction policies, which the president continued to support. Some Republicans suspected, correctly, that there was also corruption in the Grant administration itself. By the end of Grant’s first term, therefore, members of a substantial faction of the party-who referred to themselves as Liberal Liberal Republicans-had come to oppose Republicans what they called "Grantism.” In 1872, hopmg to prevent Grant s reelection, they bolted the party and nominated

their own presidential candidate: Horace Greeley, veteran editor and publisher of the New York Tribune. The Democrats, somewhat reluctantly, named Greeley their candidate as well, hoping that the alliance with the Liberals would enable them to defeat Grant. But the effort was in vain. Grant won a substantial victory, polling 286 electoral votes to Greeley's 66, and nearly 56 percent of the popular total. The Grant Scandals During the 1872 campaign, the first of a series of political scandals came to light that would plague Grant and the Credit Republicans for years. It involved the Mobilier Credit Mobilier construction company, which had helped build the Union Pacific Railroad. The heads of Credit Mobilier had used their positions

## RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 413 CREDIT

**MOBILIER** This political cartoon by Thomas Nast, called "The Cherubs of Credit Mobilier," depicts the censure by the House of Representatives of Congressmen James Brooks of New York and Oakes Ames of Massachusetts for their involvement in the Credit Mobilier scandal, one of several scandals to stain the Grant administration. (© The Granger Collection, New York) as Union Pacific stockholders to steer large fraudulent contracts to their construction company, thus bilking the Union Pacific (and the federal government, which provided large subsidies to the railroad) of millions. To prevent investigations, the directors had given Credit Mobilier stock to key members of Congress. In 1872, Congress launched an investigation, which revealed that some highly placed Republicans-including Schuyler Colfax, now Grant's vice president-had accepted some of the stock. One dreary episode followed another in Grant's second term. Benjamin H. Bristow, Grant's third Treasury secretary, discovered that some of his officials and a group of distillers operating as a "whiskey ring" were cheating the government out of taxes by filing false reports. Then a House investigation revealed that William W. Belknap, secretary of war, had accepted bribes to retain an Indian-post trader in office (the so-called Indian ring). Other, lesser scandals added to the growing impression that "Grantism" had brought rampant corruption to government. The Greenback Question Compounding Grant's, and the nation's, problems was a financial crisis, known as the Panic of 1873. It began with the Panic of 1873 ftili-ire of a leading investment banking . firm. Jay Cooke and Company, which had invested too heavily in postwar railroad building. There had been panics before-in 1819, 1837, and 1857-but this was worse than any earlier economic crisis. The depression it produced lasted four years. Debtors now pressured the government to redeem federal war bonds with greenbacks, paper currency of the sort printed during the Civil War, which would increase the amount of money in circulation. But Grant and most Republicans wanted a "sound" currency-based solidly on gold reserves-which would favor the interests of banks and other creditors. Approximately \$356 million in paper currency issued during the Civil War was still in circulation. In 1873, the Treasury issued more in response to the panic. But in 1875, Republican leaders in Congress, in an effort to

crush the greenback movement for good, passed the Specie Resumption Act. It provided that after January 1, 1879, the greenback dollars, whose value constantly fluctuated, would be redeemed by the government and replaced with new certificates, firmly pegged to the price of gold. The law satisfied creditors, who had worried that debts would be repaid in paper currency of uncertain value. But "resumption" made things more difficult for debtors, because the gold-based money supply could not easily expand. In 1875, the "greenbackers," as the inflationists were called, formed their own political organization: the National Greenback Party. It was active in the next three presidential ■j. T elections, but it failed to gain widespread Greenback support. It did, however, keep the money Party issue alive. The question of the proper iiii . . r i composition of the currency was to remain one of the most controversial and enduring issues in late-nineteenth-century American politics.

Republican Diplomacy The Johnson and Grant administrations achieved their greatest successes in foreign affairs. The accomplishments were the work not of the presidents themselves, who displayed little aptitude for diplomacy, but of two outstanding secretaries of state: William H. Seward, who had served Lincoln and who remained in office until 1869; and Hamilton Fish, who served throughout the two terms of the Grant administration. An ardent expansionist, Seward acted with as much daring as the demands of Reconstruction politics and the Republican "Se^ ward's hatred of President Johnson would permit. Folly" Seward accepted a Russian offer to sell . Alaska to the United States for \$7.2 million, despite criticism from many Americans who considered Alaska a frozen wasteland and derided it as "Seward's Folly." In 1867, Seward also engineered the American annexation of the tiny Midway Islands, west of Hawaii. Hamilton Fish's first major challenge was resolving the long-standing controversy with England over the American claims that the British government had violated neutrality laws during the Civil War by permitting English shipyards to Alabama build ships (among them the Alabama ) for Claims the Confederacy. American demands that . England pay for the damage these vessels had caused became known as the " Alabama claims." In 1871, after a number of failed efforts. Fish forged an agreement, the Treaty of Washington, which provided for international arbitration and in which Britain expressed regret for

the "escape" of the Alabama from England.



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RECONSTRUCTION As the North grew increasingly preoccupied with its own political and economic problems, interest in Reconstruction began to wane. The Grant administration continued to protect Republican governments in the South, but less because of any interest in ensuring the position of freedmen than because of a desire to prevent the reemergence of a strong Democratic Party in the region. But even the presence of federal troops was not enough to prevent white Southerners from overturning the Reconstruction regimes. By the time Grant left office, Democrats had taken back (or, as white Southerners called it, "redeemed") the governments of seven of the eleven former Confederate states. For three other states-South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida-the end of Reconstruction had to wait for the withdrawal of the last federal troops in 1876, a withdrawal that was the result of a long process of political bargaining and compromise at the national level. (One former Confederate state, Tennessee, had never been part of the Reconstruction process because it had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and rejoined the Union in 1866.) The Southern States "Redeemed" In the states where whites constituted a majority-the states of the upper South-overthrowing Republican control was relatively simple. By 1872, all but a handful of Southern whites had regained suffrage. Now a clear majority of the electorate, they needed only to organize and vote for their candidates. In other states, where African Americans were a majority or the black and white populations were almost equal, whites used intimidation and violence to undermine the Reconstruction regimes. Secret societies-the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camellia, and others-used terrorism to frighten or physically bar blacks from voting or otherwise exercising citizenship. Paramilitary organizations-the Red Shirts and White Leagues-armed themselves to "police" elections and worked to force all white males to join the Democratic Party and to exclude all African Americans from meaningful political activity. The Ku Klux Klan was the largest and most effective of these organizations. Formed in 1866 and led by former Ku Klux Klan Confederate general Nathan Bedford . Forrest, it gradually absorbed many of the smaller terrorist organizations in the South. Its leaders devised rituals, costumes, secret languages, and other airs of mystery to create a bond among its members and make the

organization seem even more terrifying to those it was attempting to intimidate. The Klan's "midnight rides"-bands of men clad in white sheets and masks, their horses covered with white robes and with hooves muffled-created terror in black communities throughout the South. Many white Southerners considered the Klan and the other secret societies and paramilitary groups proud, patriotic societies. Together such groups served, in effect, as a military force (even if a decentralized and poorly organized one) continuing the battle against Northern rule. They worked in particular to advance the interests of those with the most to gain from a restoration of white supremacy-above all the planter class and the Southern Democratic Party. Even stronger than the Klan in discouraging black political power, however, was the simple weapon of economic pressure: some planters refused to rent land to Republican blacks; storekeepers refused to extend them credit; employers refused to give them work. The Ku Klux Klan Acts The Republican Congress tried for a time to turn back this new wave of white repression. In 1870 and 1871, it passed Enforcement two Enforcement Acts > also known as the ACTS Ku Klux Klan Acts, which were in many . ways the most radical measures of the era. The Enforcement Acts prohibited the states from discriminating against voters on the basis of race and gave the federal government power to supersede the state courts and prosecute violations of the law. It was the first time the federal government had ever claimed the power to prosecute crimes by individuals under federal law. Federal district attorneys were now empowered to take action against conspiracies to deny African Americans such rights as voting, holding office, and serving on juries. The new laws also authorized the president to use the military to protect civil rights and to suspend the right of habeas corpus when violations of the rights seemed particularly egregious. In October 1871, President Grant used this provision of the law when he declared a "state of lawlessness" in nine counties in South Carolina and sent in federal troops to occupy the area. Hundreds of suspected Klan members were arrested; some were held for long periods without trial; some were eventually convicted under the law and sent to jail. The Enforcement Acts were seldom used as severely as they Decline of were in South Carolina, but they were efthe Klan fective in the effort by blacks and Northern . whites to weaken the Klan. By 1872, Klan violence against blacks was in decline throughout the region.

Waning Northern Commitment The Ku Klux Klan Acts marked the peak of Republican commitment to enforce the new rights Reconstruction was extending to black citizens. But that commitment did not last for long. Southern blacks were gradually losing the support of many of their former backers in the North. As early as 1870, after the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, some northern reformers convinced themselves that their long campaign on behalf of black people was now over—that with the vote, African Americans ought to be able to take care of themselves. Over the next several years, former Radical leaders such as Charles Sumner and Horace Greeley now began calling themselves Liberals, cooperating with Democrats and, at times.

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outdoing even the Democrats in denouncing what they viewed as black and carpetbag misgovernment. Within the South itself, many white Republicans joined the Liberals and eventually moved into the Democratic Party. The Panic of 1873 further undermined support for Reconstruction. The economic crisis spurred Northern industrialists and their allies to find an explanation for the poverty and instability around them. They found it in a new idea known as "Social Darwinism" (see p. 471), a harsh theory that argued that individuals who failed did so because of their own weakness and "unfitness." Those influenced by Social Darwinism came to view the large number of unemployed vagrants in the North and poor African Americans in the South as irredeemable misfits. Social Darwinism also encouraged a broad critique of government intervention in social and economic life, which further weakened commitment to the Reconstruction program. Support for land redistribution, never great, and willingness to spend money from the depleted federal treasury to aid the freedmen, waned quickly after 1873. State and local governments also found themselves short of funds, and rushed to cut back on social services—which in the South meant the end of almost all services to the former slaves. In the congressional elections of 1874, the Democrats won control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1861. Grant took note of the changing temper of the North and made use of military force to prop up the Republican regimes that were still standing in the South. By the end of 1876, only three southern states were left in the hands of the Republicans—South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. In state elections that year, Democrats (after using terrorist tactics) claimed victory in all three. But the Republicans challenged the results and claimed victory as well, and they were able to remain in office because of the presence of federal troops. Without federal troops, it was now clear, the last of the Republican regimes would quickly fall. The Compromise of 1877 Grant had hoped to run for another term in 1876. But most Republican leaders were shaken by recent Democrat success, afraid of the scandals with which Grant was associated, and Hayes was concerned about the president's declining health. Instead, they sought a candidate not associated with the problems of the Grant years, one who

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might entice Liberals and unite the party again. They settled on Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, a former Union army officer, governor, and congressman, champion of civil service reform. The Democrats united behind Samuel J. Tilden, the reform governor of New York who had been instrumental in challenging the corrupt Tweed Ring of New York City's Tammany Hall. Although the campaign was a bitter one, there were few differences of principle between the candidates, both of whom were conservatives committed to moderate reform. The November election produced an apparent Democratic victory. Tilden carried the South and several large Northern states, and his popular margin over Hayes was nearly 300,000 votes. But disputed returns from Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, and Oregon, whose total electoral vote was 20, threw the election in doubt. Tilden had undisputed claim to 184 electoral votes, only one short of a majority. But Hayes could still win if he managed to receive all 20 disputed votes. The Constitution had established no method to determine the validity of disputed returns. It was clear that the decision lay with Congress, but it was not clear with which house or through what method. (The Senate was Republican, the House, Democratic.) Members of each party naturally supported a solution that would yield them the victory. Finally, late in January 1877, Congress tried to break the deadlock by creating a special electoral commission to judge Special the ~sPutec^ votes. The commission Electoral would be composed of five senators, five Commission representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court. The congressional delegation would consist of five Republicans and five Democrats. The Court delegation would include two Republicans, two Democrats, and an independent. But the independent seat ultimately went to a justice whose real sympathies were with the Republicans. The commission voted along straight Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%)

| Candidate             | Party      | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote (%) |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------|------------------|
| Rutherford B. Hayes   | Republican | 185            | 4,036,298 (48)   |
| Samuel J. Tilden      | Democratic | 184            | 4,300,590 (51)   |
| Nonvoting territories |            | 81             | .8%              |

of electorate voting THE ELECTION OF 1876 The election of 1876 was one of the most controversial in American history. As in the elections of 1824, 1888, and 2000, the winner of the popular vote— Samuel J. Tilden— was not the winner of the electoral college, which he lost by one vote. The final decision as to who would be president was not made until the day before the official inauguration in March. • How did the Republicans turn this

apparent defeat into a victory?

DEBATING THE PAST Reconstruction

Over the nature of Reconstruction has created so much controversy over the decades that one scholar, writing in 1959, described the issue as a "dark and bloody ground." For many years, a relatively uniform and highly critical view of Reconstruction prevailed among historians. William A. Dunning offered the principal scholarly expression of this view in *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1907), the first major historical interpretation of Reconstruction. Dunning portrayed Reconstruction as a corrupt outrage perpetrated on the prostrate South by a vicious and vindictive group of Northern Republican Radicals. Unscrupulous carpetbaggers flooded the South to profit from the misery of the defeated region. Ignorant, illiterate blacks were thrust into positions of power for which they were entirely unfit. The Reconstruction experiment survived only because of the determination of the Republican Party to keep itself in power. Some later writers, notably Howard K. Beale, added an economic motive— to protect Northern business interests. Dunning's interpretation shaped the views of several generations of historians and helped shape popular depictions of Reconstruction such as those expressed in the 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* and then the 1936 book and 1939 movie *Gone with the Wind*. The great African American scholar W. E. B. Du Bois was among the first to challenge the Dunning view. In *Black Reconstruction* (1935), Du Bois argued that Reconstruction politics in the Southern states had been an effort on the part of the masses, black and white, to create a more democratic society. The misdeeds of the Reconstruction governments, he claimed, had been greatly exaggerated, and their achievements overlooked. In the 1940s, the historians C. Vann Woodward, David Herbert Donald, Thomas B. Alexander, and others began to reexamine the Reconstruction governments in the South and to suggest that their records were not nearly as inaccurate and incomplete as most historians had previously assumed. By the early 1960s, a new view of Reconstruction was emerging. The revisionist approach was summarized by John Hope Franklin in *Reconstruction after the Civil War* (1961) and Kenneth Stampp in *The Era of Reconstruction* (1965), who claimed that the postwar Republicans had been engaged in a genuine, if flawed, effort to solve the problem of race in the South by providing muchneeded protection to the freedmen. The Reconstruction

governments, for all their faults, had been bold experiments in interracial politics. The congressional Radicals were not saints, but they had displayed a genuine concern for the rights of slaves. Andrew Johnson was not a martyred defender of the Constitution, but an inept, racist politician who resisted reasonable compromise and brought the government to a crisis. African Americans had played only a small part in Reconstruction governments and had generally acquitted themselves well. The Reconstruction regimes had, in fact, brought important progress to the South, establishing the region's first public school system and other important social changes. Corruption in the South had been no worse than corruption in the North at that time. What was tragic about Reconstruction, the revisionist view claimed, was not what it did to Southern whites but, rather, what it did not do for Southern blacks. By stopping short of the reforms necessary to ensure blacks genuine equality, Reconstruction had consigned them to more than a century of injustice and discrimination. In later years, scholars began to question the revisionist view in an attempt to draw attention to the achievements of Reconstruction. Eric Foner, in *Nothing but Freedom* (1983) and *Reconstruction: America's party lines*, 8 to 7, awarding every disputed vote to Hayes. Congress accepted their verdict on March 2. Two days later, Hayes was inaugurated. Behind the resolution of the deadlock, however, lay a series of elaborate compromises among leaders of both parties. When a Democratic filibuster threatened to derail the commission's report. Republican Senate leaders met secretly with Southern Democratic leaders to work out terms by which the Democrats would allow the election of Hayes. According to traditional accounts. Republicans and Southern Democrats met at Washington's Wormley Hotel. In return for a Republican pledge that Hayes would withdraw the last federal troops from the South, thus permitting the overthrow of the last Republican governments there, the Southerners agreed to abandon the filibuster. Actually, the story behind the "Compromise of 1877" is more complex. Hayes was already on record favoring withdrawal of the troops, so Republicans needed to offer more than that if they hoped for Democratic support. The real 416 • Compromise agreement, the one that won over the of 1877 Southern Democrats, was reached well before the Wormley meeting. As the price of their cooperation, the Southern Democrats



(among them some former Whigs) exacted several pledges from the Republicans in addition to withdrawal of the troops: the appointment of at least one Southerner to the Hayes cabinet, control of federal patronage in their areas, generous internal improvements, and federal aid for the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Many powerful Southern Democrats supported industrializing their region. They believed Republican programs of federal support for business would aid the South more than the states' rights policies of the Democrats. In his inaugural address, Hayes announced that the South's most pressing need was the restoration of "wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government"-a signal that he planned to withdraw federal troops and let white Democrats take over the state governments. That statement, and Hayes's subsequent actions, supported the widespread charges that he was iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

**THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU** For four years after the Civil War, the Freedmen's Bureau served newly freed slaves, helping them to get housing, food, education, and other services. This image shows African American men and women waiting for rations, most of them old and sick. (© The Granger Collection, New York) Unfinished Revolution (1988), emphasized how far the former slaves moved toward freedom and independence in a short time and how large a role African Americans played in shaping Reconstruction. During Reconstruction, blacks won a certain amount of legal and political power in the South; even though they held that power only temporarily, they used it to strengthen their economic and social positions and to win a position of limited but genuine independence. Though they failed to achieve equality, they won a measure of individual and community autonomy that they used as building blocks of the freedom that emancipation alone had not guaranteed. Leon Litwack argued similarly in *Been in the Storm So Long* (1979) that former slaves used the relative latitude they enjoyed under Reconstruction to build a certain independence for themselves within Southern society. They strengthened their churches; they reunited their families; by refusing to work in the "gang-labor" system of the plantations, they forced the creation of a new labor system in which they had more control over their own lives. Writing from the perspective of women's history, Amy Dru Stanley and Jacqueline Jones have both argued that the freed slaves displayed considerable independence in constructing their households on their own terms and asserting their control over family life, reproduction, and work. According to Jones in *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow* (1985), women in particular sought the opportunity "to labor on behalf of their own families and kin within the protected spheres of household and community." Some historians have begun to argue that Reconstruction was not restricted to the South alone. Heather Richardson, in *West from Appomattox* (2007) and *The Death of Reconstruction* (2001), shows how the entire nation changed during the Civil War and Reconstruction—with the South, perhaps, changing least of all. The age of Reconstruction was also the age of western expansion and industrialization. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. According to the essay, *The Birth of a Nation* and *Gone with the Wind* are popular depictions of Reconstruction that reflect

Dunning's interpretation of the era. Can you find other popular depictions that reflect other interpretations of Reconstruction? 2. A new view of Reconstruction began to emerge in the 1960s, the era of the civil rights movement. Why do you think the civil rights movement might have encouraged historians and others to reexamine Reconstruction? 3. Which view of Reconstruction do you find more persuasive—the view of Reconstruction as a tragic era of exploitation of the South by the North or the view that sees Reconstruction as an era of achievement and progress? paying off the South for acquiescing in his election and strengthened those who referred to him as "his Fraudulency." Hayes tried to counter such charges by projecting an image of stern public (and private) rectitude. But the election had already created such bitterness that even Hayes's promise to serve only one term could not mollify his critics. The president and his party had hoped to build up a "new Republican" organization in the South drawn from Whiggish conservative white groups and committed to some modest „ acceptance of African American rights. But Republican n u r r , A l u \* Failure in a such eff°rts failed. Although many the South white Southern leaders sympathized with Republican economic policies, popular resentment of Reconstruction and its attack on white supremacy was so deep that supporting the party was politically impossible. At the same time, the withdrawal of federal troops signaled that the national government was giving up its attempts to control Southern politics and to improve the lot of African Americans in Southern society. The Legacies of Reconstruction Reconstruction made some important contributions to the efforts of former slaves to achieve dignity and equality in American life. And it was not as disastrous an experience for Southern whites as most of them believed at the time. But Reconstruction was in the end largely a failure, for in those years the United States abandoned its first serious effort to resolve the nation's oldest and deepest social problem—the problem of race. Moreover, the experience so disappointed, disillusioned, and embittered white Americans that it would be nearly a century before they would try again in any serious way. Why did this great assault on racial injustice not achieve more? In part, it was because of the weaknesses and errors of Ideological the PeoP°e wh° directed it. But in greater Limits part, it was because attempts to produce solutions ran up against conservative obstacles so deeply embedded in the nation's life that

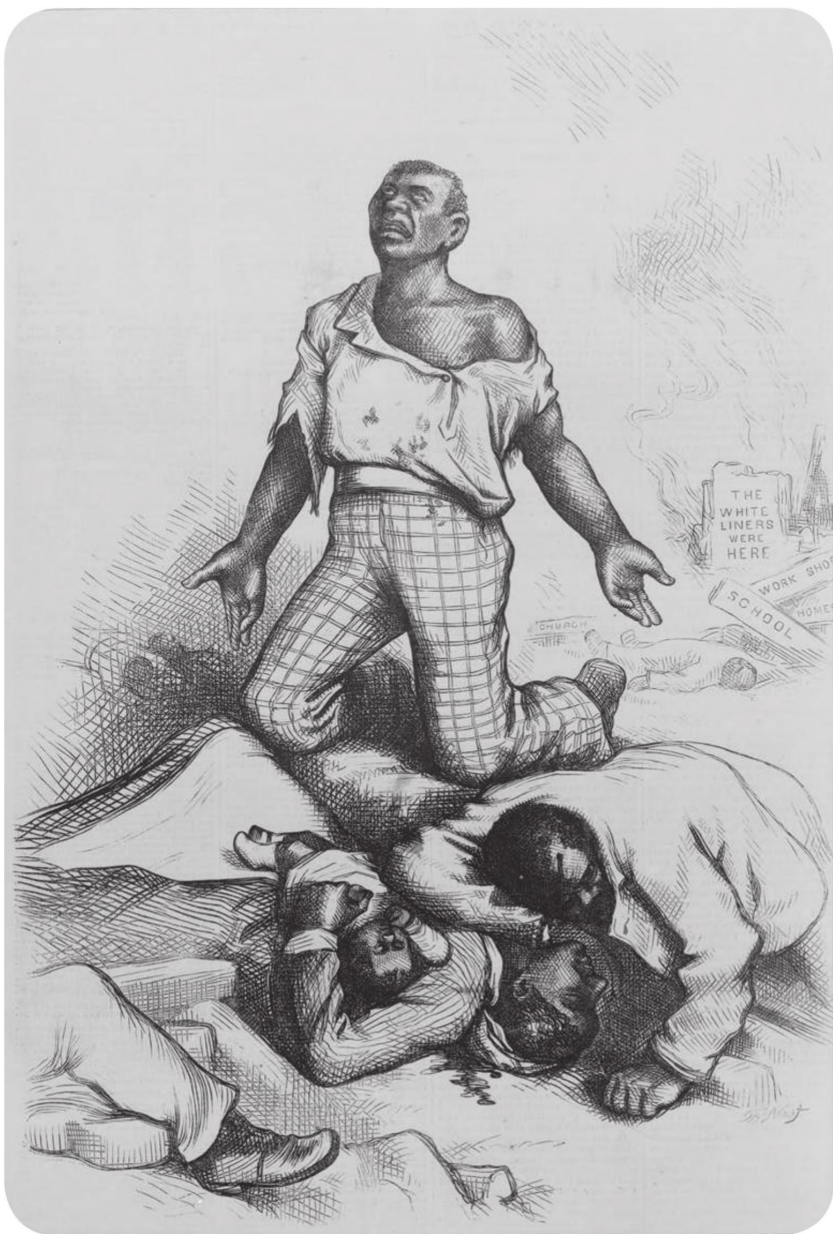
they could not be dislodged. Veneration of the Constitution 417  
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418 CHAPTER 15 "IS THIS A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT?" The New York artist and cartoonist Thomas Nast marked the end of Reconstruction in 1876 with this biting cartoon in Harper's Weekly, expressing his dismay at what he considered the nation's betrayal of the former slaves, who still had not received adequate guarantees of their rights. The caption of the cartoon continued: "Is this protecting life, liberty, or property? Is this equal protection of the laws?" (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-116355)) sharply limited the willingness of national leaders to infringe on the rights of states and individuals. A profound respect for private property and free enterprise prevented any real assault on economic privilege in the South. Above all, perhaps, a pervasive belief among many of even the most liberal whites that African Americans were inherently inferior served as an obstacle to equality. Given the context within which Americans of the 1860s and 1870s were working, what is surprising is not that Reconstruction did so little, but that it did as much as it did. Considering the odds confronting them, therefore, African Americans had reason for pride in the gains they made during Reconstruction. And future generations had reason for gratitude for two great charters of freedom-the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution-which, although largely ignored at the time, would one day serve as the basis for a "Second Reconstruction" that would renew the drive to bring freedom and equality to all Americans.

THE NEW SOUTH The agreement between southern Democrats and northern Republicans that helped settle the disputed election of 1876 was supposed to be the first step toward developing a stable, permanent Republican Party in the South. In that respect, at least, it failed. In the years following the end of Reconstruction, white southerners established the Democratic Party as the only viable political organization for the region's whites. Even so, the South did change in the years after Reconstruction in some of the ways the framers of the Compromise of 1877 had hoped. The "Redeemers" By the end of 1877-after the last withdrawal of federal troops-every southern state government had been "redeemed" by white Democrats. Many white southerners rejoiced at the resBourbon Rule toration of what they liked to call "home i mi him mi him him mi him mi him mi M in him mi him mi him Mm mi ii rule " But in political power in the region was soon

more restricted than at any time since the Civil War. Once again, the South fell under the control of a powerful, conservative oligarchy, whose members were known variously as the "Redeemers" (to themselves and their supporters) or the "Bourbons" (a term for aristocrats used by some of their critics). In a few places, this post-Reconstruction ruling class was much the same as the ruling class of the antebellum period. In Alabama, for example, the old planter elite-despite challenges from new merchant and industrial forces-retained much of its former power and continued largely to dominate the state for decades. In most areas, however, the Redeemers constituted a genuinely new ruling class. They were merchants, industrialists, railroad developers, and financiers. Some of them were former planters, some of them northern immigrants who had become absorbed into the region's life, some of them ambitious, upwardly mobile white southerners from the region's lower social tiers. They combined a commitment to "home rule" and social conservatism with a commitment to economic development. The various Bourbon governments of the New South behaved similarly to one another. Conservatives had complained that the Reconstruction governments fostered widespread corruption, but the Redeemer regimes were even more awash in waste and fraud. (In this, they were little different from governments in every region of the country.) At the same time, virtually all the new Democratic regimes lowered taxes, reduced spending, and drastically diminished state servicesincluding many of the most important accomplishments of Reconstruction. In one state after another, for example, state support for public school systems was reduced or eliminated. "Schools are not a necessity," an economy-conscious governor of Virginia commented. By the late 1870s, significant dissenting groups were challenging the Bourbons: protesting the cuts in services and denouncing the commitment of the Redeemer governments to rPHE Paying off the prewar and Reconstruction Readjuster debts in full, at the original (usually high) Challenge rates of interest. In Virginia, for example, a vigorous "Re adjuster" movement emerged, demanding that the state revise its debt payment procedures so as to make more money available for state services. In 1879, the



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Readjusters won control of the legislature, and in the next few years they captured the governorship and a U.S. Senate seat. Other states produced similar movements, some of them adding demands as well for greenbacks, debt relief, and other economic reforms. (A few such independent movements included significant numbers of African Americans in their ranks, but all consisted primarily of lower-income whites.) By the mid-1880s, however, conservative southerners—largely by exploiting racial prejudice—had destroyed most of the dissenting movements. Industrialization and the "New South" Some white southern leaders in the post-Reconstruction era hoped to see their region become the home of a vigorous industrial economy. The South had lost the war, such leaders Henry Grady argued, because its economy had been unable to compete with the modernized manufacturing capacity of the North. Now the region must "out-Yankee the Yankees" and build a "New South." Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and other prominent spokesmen for a New South seldom challenged white supremacy, but they did advocate other important changes in southern values. Above all, they promoted the virtues of thrift, industry, and progress—qualities that prewar southerners had often denounced in northern society. "We have sown towns and cities in the place of theories," Grady boasted to a New England audience in the 1880s, "and put business above politics. . . . We have fallen in love with work." But even the most fervent advocates of the New South creed were generally unwilling to break entirely with the southern past. That was evident in, among other things, the popular literature of the region. At the same time that white southern writers were extolling the virtues of industrialization in newspaper editorials and speeches, they were painting nostalgic portraits of the Old South in their literature. Few southerners advocated a literal return to the old ways, but most whites eagerly embraced romantic talk of the "Lost Cause." And they responded warmly to the local-color fiction of such writers as Joel Chandler Harris, whose folktales—the most famous being *Uncle Remus* (1880)—portrayed the slave society of the antebellum years as a harmonious world marked by engaging dialect and close emotional bonds between the races. The writer Thomas Nelson Page similarly extolled the old Virginia aristocracy. The growing popularity of minstrel shows also reflected the



romanticization of the Old South (see "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 420-421). The white leaders of the New South, in short, faced their future with one foot still in the past. Even so, southern industry expanded dramatically in the years after Reconstruction and became a more important part of the region's economy than ever before. Most visible was the growth in textile manufacturing, which increased ninefold in the last twenty years of the century. In the past, southern planters had usually shipped their cotton out of the region to manufacturers in the North or in Europe. Now textile factories appeared in the South itself—many of them drawn to the South from New England by the abundance of water power, the ready supply of cheap labor, the low taxes, and the accommodating conservative governments. The tobacco-processing industry, similarly, established an important foothold in the region, largely through the work of James B. Duke of North Carolina, whose American Tobacco Company established for a time a virtual monopoly over the processing of raw tobacco into marketable materials. In the lower South, particularly in Birmingham, Alabama, the iron (and, later, steel) industry grew rapidly. By 1890, the southern iron and steel industry represented nearly a fifth of the nation's total capacity. Railroad development increased substantially in the post-Reconstruction years—at a rate far greater than that of the nation at large. Between 1880 and 1890, trackage in the South more than doubled. And the South took a Railroad Development major step toward integrating its transportation system with that of the rest of the country when, in 1886, it changed the gauge (distance between the two rails) of its trackage to correspond with the standards of the North. Yet southern industry developed within strict limits, and its effects on the region were never even remotely comparable to the effects of industrialization on the North. The southern share of national manufacturing doubled in the last twenty years of the century, to 10 percent of the total. But that percentage was the same the South had claimed in 1860; the region, in other words, had done no more than regain what it had lost during the war and its aftermath. The region's per capita income increased 21 percent in the same period. But at the end of the century, average income in the South was only 40 percent of that in the North; in 1860 it had been more than 60 percent. And even in those areas where development had been most rapid—textiles, iron, railroads—much of the capital had come from

the North. In effect, the South was developing a colonial economy. The growth of industry in the South required the region to recruit a substantial industrial workforce for the first time. From the beginning, a high percentage of the factory workers (and an especially high percentage of textile workers) were women. Heavy male casualties in the Civil War had helped create a large population of unmarried women who were in dire need of employment. Factories also hired entire families, many of whom were moving into towns from failed farms. Workdays were long (often twelve hours a day) and wages were far below the northern equivalent; indeed, one of the greatest attractions of the South to industrialists was that employers were able to pay workers there as little as one-half what northern workers received. Life in most mill towns was rigidly controlled by the owners and managers of the factories, who rigorously suppressed attempts at protest or union organization. Company stores sold goods to workers at inflated prices and issued credit at exorbitant rates (much like country stores in agrarian areas), and mill owners ensured that no competitors were able to establish themselves in the community. At the same time, however, the conditions of the mill town helped create a strong sense of community and solidarity among workers (even if they seldom translated such feelings into militancy).

The Minstrel Show Ijlfj-p minstrel show was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in America in the 1 Ou second half of the nineteenth century. It was also a testament to the high awareness of race (and the high level of racism) in American society both before and after the Civil War. Minstrel performers were mostly white, usually disguised as black. But African American performers also formed MINSTRELSY AT HIGH TIDE The Primrose & West minstrel troupe— a lavish and expensive entertainment that drew large crowds in the 1800s— was one of many companies to offer this brand of entertainment to eager audiences all over the country. Although minstrelsy began with white musicians performing in blackface, the popularity of real African American minstrels encouraged the impresarios of the troupe to include groups of white and black performers alike. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-2659)) their own minstrel shows and transformed them into vehicles for training black entertainers and developing new forms of music and dance. Before and during the Civil War, when minstrel shows consisted almost entirely of white performers, performers blackened their faces with cork and presented grotesque stereotypes of the slave culture of the American South. Among the most popular of the stumbling, ridiculously ignorant characters invented for these shows were such figures as "Zip Coon" and "Jim Crow" (whose name later resurfaced as a label for late-nineteenth-century segregation laws). A typical minstrel show presented a group of seventeen or more men seated in a semicircle facing the audience. The man in the center ran the show, played the straight man for the jokes of others, and led the musically dances and sentimental ballads played on banjos, castanets, and other instruments and sung by soloists or the entire group. After the Civil War, white minstrels began to expand their repertoire. Drawing from the famous and successful freak shows of P. T. Barnum and other entertainment entrepreneurs, some began to include Siamese twins, bearded ladies, and even a supposedly 8-foot 2-inch "Chinese giant" in their shows. They also incorporated sex, both by including women in some shows and, even more popularly, by recruiting female impersonators. One of the most successful minstrel performers of the 1870s was Francis Leon, who delighted crowds with his female portrayal of a flamboyant "prima donna." One reason white minstrels began to move in these new directions

was that they were now facing competition from black performers, who could provide more authentic versions of black music, dance, and humor. Some industries, textiles for example, offered virtually no opportunities to African American workers. Others—including tobacco, iron, and lumber—did provide some employment for blacks, usually the most menial and lowest-paid positions. Some mill towns, therefore, were places where black and white culture came into close contact. That proximity contributed less to the growth of racial harmony than to the determination of white leaders to take additional measures to protect white supremacy. At times, industrialization proceeded on the basis of no wage-paying employment. Through the "convict-lease" system, southern states leased gangs of convicted criminals to private "Convict- interests as a cheap labor supply. The sysLease" System tem exposed the convicts to brutal and at . times fatal mistreatment. It paid them nothing (the leasing fees went to the states, not the workers). And it denied employment in railroad construction and other projects to the free labor force. Tenants and Sharecroppers Despite significant growth in southern industry, the region remained primarily agrarian. The most important economic reality in the post-Reconstruction South, therefore, was the impoverished state of agriculture. The 1870s and 1880s saw an acceleration of the trends that had begun in the immediate postwar years: the imposition of systems of tenantry and debt peonage on much of the region; the reliance on a few cash crops rather than on a diversified agricultural system; and increasing absentee ownership of valuable farmlands (many of them purchased by merchants and industrialists who paid little

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# PRIMROSE & WEST'S BIG MINSTRELS



OUR COLOSSAL DOUBLE COMPANY.

AG FIELD MINSTRELS This famous minstrel group stands in front of a huge promotional poster sometime in the late 1890s. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) They usually brought more talent to the task than white performers. The Georgia Minstrels, organized in 1865, was one of the first all-black minstrel troupes, and it had great success in attracting white audiences in the Northeast for several years. By the 1870s, touring African American minstrel groups were numerous. The black minstrels used many of the conventions of the white shows. There were dances, music, comic routines, and sentimental recitations. Some black performers even chalked their faces to make themselves look as dark as the white blackface performers with whom they were competing. Black minstrels sometimes denounced slavery (at least indirectly) and did not often speak demeaningly of the capacities of their race. But they could not entirely escape caricaturing African American life as they struggled to meet the expectations of their white audiences. The black minstrel shows had few openly political aims. They did help develop some important forms of African American entertainment and transform them into a part of the national culture. Black minstrels introduced new forms of dance, derived from the informal traditions of slavery and black community life. They showed the "buck and wing," the "stop time," and the "Virginia essence," which established the foundations for the tap and jazz dancing of the early twentieth century. They also improvised musically and began experimenting with forms that over time contributed to the growth of ragtime, jazz, and rhythm and blues. Eventually, black minstrelsy — like its white counterpart — evolved into other forms of theater, including the beginnings of serious black drama. At Ambrose Park in Brooklyn in the 1890s, for example, the celebrated black comedian Sam Lucas (a veteran of the minstrel circuit) starred in the play *Darkest America*, which one black newspaper later described as a "delineation of Negro life, carrying the race through all their historical phases from the plantation, into reconstruction days and finally painting our people as they are today, cultured and accomplished in the social graces, [holding] the mirror faithfully up to nature." But interest in the minstrel show did not die altogether. In 1927, Hollywood released *The Jazz Singer*, the first feature film with sound. It was about the career of a white minstrel performer, and its star was one of the most popular singers of the twentieth

century: Al Jolson, whose career had begun on the blackface minstrel circuit years before. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did minstrel shows performed by white minstrels reinforce prevailing attitudes toward African Americans? 2. Minstrel shows performed by black minstrels often conformed to existing stereotypes of African Americans. Why? 3. Can you think of any popular entertainments today that carry remnants of the minstrel shows of the nineteenth century? attention to whether the land was being properly used). During Reconstruction, perhaps a third or more of the farmers in the South were tenants; by 1900, the figure had increased to 70 percent. That was in large part the result of the croplien system, the system by which farmers borrowed money against their future crops and often fell deeper and deeper into debt. Tenantry took several forms. Farmers who owned tools, equipment, and farm animals-or who had the money to buy them-usually paid an annual cash rent for their land. But many farmers (including most black ones) had no money or equipment. Landlords would supply them with land, a crude house, a few tools, seed, and sometimes a mule. In return, farmers would promise the landlord a large share of the annual crophence the term "sharecropping." After paying their landlords and their local merchants (who were often the same people), sharecroppers seldom had anything left to sell on their own. African Americans and the New South The "New South creed" was not the property of whites alone. Many African Americans were attracted to the vision of progress and self-improvement as well. Some blacks succeeded in elevating themselves into a distinct middle class-most of them economically inferior to the white middle class, but nevertheless significant. These were former slaves (and, as the decades „ passed, their offspring) who managed to Class acquire property, build small businesses, or . enter professions. A few African Americans accumulated substantial fortunes by establishing banks and . 421

422 CHAPTER 15 FAMILY PORTRAIT This photograph of an African American family of four generations was taken in the late nineteenth century. Every member of this family was born on the plantation of J. J. Smith of Beaufort, South Carolina. The youngest members, while certainly touched by slavery, were not born into that institution. (© Corbis)

insurance companies to serve the black community. One of those was Maggie Lena, a black woman who became the first female bank president in the United States when she founded the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank in Richmond in 1903. Most middle-class blacks experienced more-modest gains by becoming doctors, lawyers, nurses, or teachers serving African American communities. A cardinal tenet of this rising group of African Americans was that education was vital to the future of their race. With the support of northern missionary societies and, to a far lesser extent, a few southern state governments, they expanded the network of black colleges and institutes that had taken root during Reconstruction into an important educational system. The chief spokesman for this commitment to education, and Booker T. Washington, the major spokesman for African American Americans in the South (and beyond), was Booker T. Washington, founder and president of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Born into slavery, Washington had worked his way out of poverty after acquiring an education (at Virginia's famous Hampton Institute). He urged other blacks to follow the same road to self-improvement. Washington's message was both cautious and hopeful. African Americans should attend school, learn skills, and establish a solid footing in agriculture and the trades. Industrial, not classical, education should be their goal. They should, moreover, refine their speech, improve their dress, and adopt habits of thrift and personal cleanliness; they should, in short, adopt the standards of the white middle class. Only thus, he claimed, could they win the respect of the white population, the prerequisite for any larger social gains. African Americans should forgo agitating for political rights, he said, and concentrate on self-improvement and preparation for equality. In a famous speech in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895, Washington outlined a compromise philosophy of race relations that became widely known as the Atlanta Compromise. "The wisest among my race understand," he said, "that the agitation of questions of social equality is the



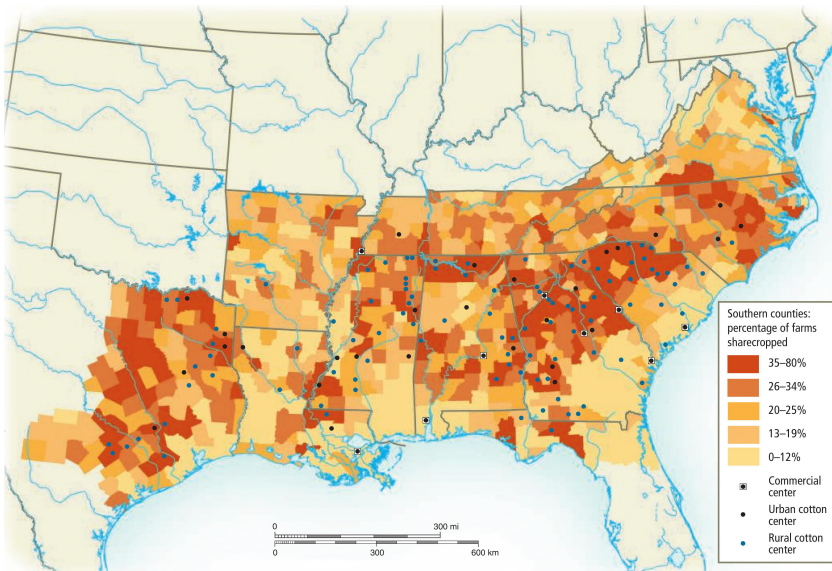
extremest folly." Rather, blacks should engage in "severe and constant struggle" for economic gains; for, as he explained, "no race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized." If African Americans were ever to win the rights and privileges of citizenship, they must first show that they were "prepared for the exercise of these privileges."

Washington offered a powerful challenge to those whites who wanted to discourage African Americans from acquiring an education or winning any economic gains. He helped awaken the interest of a new generation to the possibilities for selfadvancement through self-improvement. But his message was also an implicit promise that African Americans would not overtly challenge the system of segregation that whites were then in the process of erecting. The Birth of Jim Crow Few white southerners had ever accepted the idea of racial equality. That the former slaves acquired any legal and political rights at all after emancipation was in large part the result of federal support. That support all but vanished after 1877. Federal troops withdrew. Congress lost interest. And the Supreme Court effectively stripped the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of much of their significance. In the so-called civil rights cases of 1883, the Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited state governments from discriminating against people because of race but did not restrict private organizations or individuals from doing so. Thus railroads, hotels, theaters, and workplaces could legally practice segregation. Eventually, the Court also validated state legislation that institutionalized the separation of the races. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), a case involving a Louisiana law that required separate Plessy v seating arrangements for the races on railFerguson roads, the Court held that separate accom. modations did not deprive blacks of equal rights if the accommodations were equal, a decision that survived for years as part of the legal basis for segregated schools. In *Cumming v. County Board of Education* (1899), the Court ruled that laws establishing separate schools for whites were valid even if there were no comparable schools for African Americans. Before these decisions, white southerners were working to strengthen white supremacy and to separate the races to the greatest extent possible. One illustration of this movement



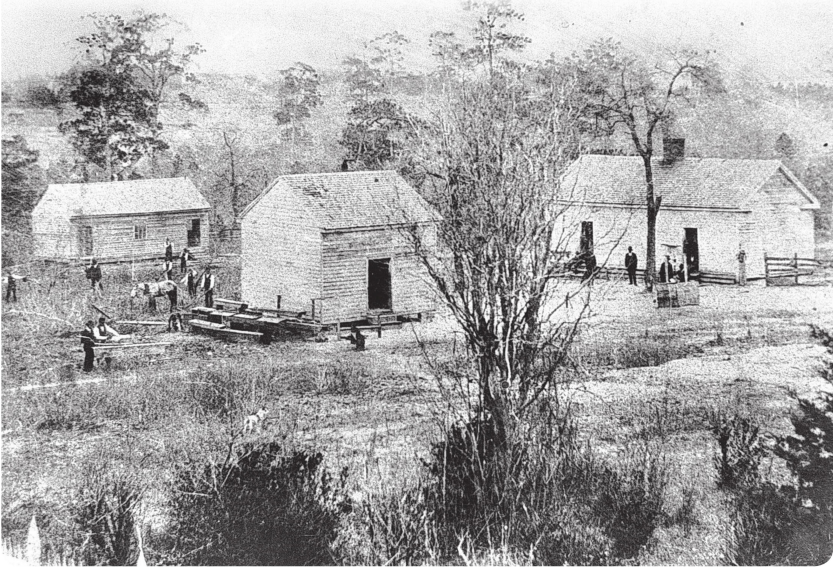
RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 423 Southern counties: percentage of farms sharecropped | 35-80% | 26-34% 20-25% 13-19% 0-12% m Commercial center # Urban cotton center m Rural cotton center THE CROP-LIEN SYSTEM IN 1880 In the years after the Civil War, more and more southern farmers— white and black— became tenants or sharecroppers on land owned by others. This map shows the percentage of farms that were within the so-called crop-lien system, the system by which people worked their lands for someone else, who had a claim (or "lien") on a part of the farmers' crops. Note the high density of sharecropping and tenant farming in the most fertile areas of the Deep South, the same areas where slaveholding had been most dominant before the Civil War. • How did the crop-lien system contribute to the shift in southern agriculture toward one-crop farming? from subordination to segregation was black voting rights. In some states, disenfranchisement had begun almost as soon as Reconstruction ended. But in other areas, black voting continued for some time after Reconstruction—largely because conservative whites believed they could control the black electorate and use it to beat back the attempts of poor white farmers to take control of the Democratic Party. In the 1890s, however, franchise restrictions became much more rigid. During those years, some small white farmers began to demand complete black disenfranchisement—both because of racial prejudice and because they objected to the black vote being used against them by the conservative planters (known as "Bourbons", see p. 418). At the same time, many members of the conservative elite began to fear that poor whites might unite politically with poor African Americans to challenge them. They too began to support further franchise restrictions. In devising laws to disenfranchise black males, the southern states had to find ways to evade the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibited states from denying anyone the right to vote because of race. Two devices emerged before 1900 to accomplish this goal. One was the poll tax or some form of property Restricting qualification; few African Americans were the Franchise prosperous enough to meet such requirements. Another was the "literacy" or "understanding" test, which required voters to demonstrate an ability to read and interpret the Constitution. Even those African Americans who could read had trouble passing the difficult test white officials gave them.

Such restrictions were often applied unequally. Literacy tests for whites, for example, were sometimes much easier than those for blacks. Even so, the laws affected poor white voters as well as African Americans. By the late 1890s, the black vote had decreased by 62 percent, the white vote by 26 percent. One result was that some states passed so-called grandfather laws, permitting men who could not meet the literacy and property qualifications to be enfranchised if their ancestors had voted before Reconstruction began, thus barring the descendants of slaves from the polls while allowing poor whites access to them. In many areas, however, ruling elites were quite content to see poor whites, a potential source of opposition to their power, barred from voting. The Supreme Court proved as compliant in ruling on the disenfranchising laws as it was in dealing with the civil rights



CHAPTER 15 424 TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, 1881 From these modest beginnings, Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama became the preeminent academy offering technical and industrial training to black men. It deliberately de-emphasized the traditional liberal arts curricula of most colleges. Washington considered such training an unnecessary frill and encouraged his students to work on developing practical skills. (© Corbis) cases. The Court eventually voided the grandfather laws, but it validated the literacy test (in the 1898 case of *Williams v. Mississippi*) and displayed a general willingness to let the southern states define their own suffrage standards as long as evasions of the Fifteenth Amendment were not too glaring. Laws restricting the franchise and segregating schools were only part of a network of state statute s-known as the Jim Crow laws-that by the first years of the twentieth century had institutionalized an elaborate system of segregation reaching into almost every area of southern life. Blacks and whites could not ride in the same railroad cars, sit in the same waiting rooms, use the same washrooms, eat in the same restaurants, or White same theaters. Blacks had no access to many public parks, beaches, and Perpetuated picnic areas; they could not be patients in many hospitals. Much of the new legal structure did no more than confirm what had already been widespread social practice in the South since well before the end of Reconstruction. But the Jim Crow laws also stripped African Americans of many of the modest social, economic. and political gains they had made in the more fluid atmosphere of the late nineteenth century. The laws served, too, as a means for whites to retain control of social relations between the races in the newly growing cities and towns of the South, where traditional patterns of deference and subjugation were more difficult to preserve than in the countryside. What had been maintained by custom in the rural South was to be maintained by law in the urbanizing South. More than legal efforts were involved in this process. The 1890s witnessed a dramatic increase in white violence against blacks, which, along with the Jim Crow laws, served to inhibit black agitation for equal rights. The worst such violence-lynching of blacks by white mobs, either because the victims were accused of crimes or because they had seemed somehow to violate their expected station-reached appalling levels. In the nation as a whole in the 1890s, there was an average

of 187 lynchings each year, more than 80 percent of them in the South. The vast majority of victims were black. One African . American woman, Lucy McMillan, said, "John Hunter's wife came to my house on Saturday morning, and



## RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH 425 A LYNCH

MOB, 1893 A large, almost festive crowd gathers to watch the lynching of a black man accused of the murder of a three-year-old white girl. Lynchings remained frequent in the South until as late as the 1930s, but they reached their peak in the 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century. Lynchings such as this one—published well in advance and attracting whole families who traveled great distances to see them—were infrequent. Most lynchings were the work of smaller groups, operating with less visibility. (The Library of Congress) told they were going to whip me. I was afraid of them. There was so much talk of Ku-Klux drowning people, and killing them.” The most celebrated lynchings occurred in cities and towns, where large, well-organized mobs—occasionally with the tacit cooperation of local authorities—seized black prisoners from the jails and hanged them in great public rituals. Such public lynchings were often planned well in advance and elaborately organized. They attracted large audiences from surrounding regions. Entire families traveled many miles to witness the spectacles. But such great public lynchings were relatively rare. Much more frequent, and more dangerous to African Americans because less visible or predictable, were lynchings performed by small vigilante mobs, often composed of friends or relatives of the victim (or supposed victim) of a crime. Those involved in lynchings often saw their actions as a legitimate form of law enforcement; and indeed, some victims of lynchings had in fact committed crimes. But lynchings were also a means by which whites controlled the black population through terror and intimidation. Thus, some lynch mobs killed African Americans whose only “crime” had been presumptuousness. Others chose as victims outsiders in the community, whose presence threatened to disturb the normal pattern of race relations. Black men who had made any sexual advances toward white women (or who white men thought had done so) were particularly vulnerable to lynchings; the fear of black sexuality, and the unspoken fear among many men that white women might be attracted to that sexuality, was always an important part of the belief system that supported segregation. Whatever the reasons or circumstances, the victims of lynch mobs were denied the protection of the laws and the opportunity to prove their innocence. The rise of lynchings shocked the conscience of



many white Americans in a way that other forms of racial injustice did not. Almost from the start there was a substantial anti-lynching movement. In 1892 Ida B. Wells, a committed black journalist, launched what became an international anti-lynching movement with a series of impassioned articles after the lynching of three of her friends in Memphis, Tennessee, her home. The movement gradually gathered strength in the first years of the twentieth century, attracting substantial support from whites (particularly white women) in both the North and the South. Its goal was a federal anti-lynching law, which would allow the national government to do what





CONSIDER THE SOURCE REMEMBERING BLACK HISTORY HOW WE REMEMBER THE PAST can tell us a great deal about our values and priorities as a nation. When these memories take official form, as in a public monument erected in a culturally significant setting, they offer a view into how Americans understood history in a particular time. What is revealed, however, is rarely a popular consensus about what individuals or events were worthy of being celebrated. Rather, the final construction and placement of any public monument typically reflects a series of tough debates between people with different views of the meaning of the past. The two monuments pictured on the following page are among the most famous in American history in general and African American history in particular. The first is a bronze relief by Augustus Saint-Gaudens commemorating the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment, the first military unit composed of black soldiers raised in the North during the Civil War. At full fighting strength, with over 1000 African American men led by an all-white officer corps, the 54th became a national symbol of African American freedom. Leading the assault on July 18, 1863, against the Confederate stronghold. Fort Wagner, on Morris Island, South Carolina, it sustained heavy losses, including that of its commanding officer. Colonel Robert Shaw. Despite failing to take the fort, the black troops fought passionately and with discipline, thereby silencing critics who doubted the very ability of African Americans to stand strong in battle. Saint-Gaudens unveiled his memorial in May 1897. Eleven feet high and 14 feet long, it depicts the 54th marching through Boston in the first leg of its journey to the battlefield. Leading the unit is Colonel Shaw, on horseback. It still sits in its original locale, at the edge of the Boston Common in the shadow of the Massachusetts State House. The second monument is a white granite statue by Lie Yixin, a sculptor from the People's Republic of China, honoring the life of civil rights pioneer, Martin Luther King, Jr. King, a Baptist minister born in Atlanta, Georgia, who led the fight to end segregation in the South in the 1950s and 1960s. He spearheaded the drive to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He was assassinated in 1968. The King statue is actually part of a larger, four-acre park dedicated to his life that sits in the southwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The 30-foot high statue has a clear view

of the Lincoln Memorial and the Jefferson Memorial and is accompanied by a 450-foot long inscription wall that bears quotes from King's most famous speeches. The King Memorial is the first dedicated to a black American on the National Mall. 426  
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MEMORIALIZING BLACK HISTORY IN 1897 Memorial to Robert Gould Shaw and the Fifty-Fourth Regiment. (© Egg Images/Alamy) MEMORIALIZING BLACK HISTORY IN 2011 The Martin Luther King, Jr. National Memorial. (© Evan Golub/Demotix/Corbis) UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What does the monument tell us about the public role of black history in the late 19th century? 2. How do you interpret the relationship between the black foot soldiers and the white officer on the horse? 3. What does the memorial suggest about liberty and progress for African Americans? MAKE CONNECTIONS

1. How would you describe the memory of black history in this monument? 2. What is the relationship between King and the surrounding environment? 3. What connections can you draw between how the public remembered black history in the late nineteenth century and the early twenty-first century? 427

428 CHAPTER 15 state and local governments in the South were generally unwilling to do: punish those responsible for lynchings. But the substantial white opposition to lynchings stood as an exception to the general white support for suppression of African Americans. Indeed, just as in the antebellum period, the shared commitment to white supremacy helped dilute class White Unity animosities between poorer whites and the Bourbon oligarchies. Economic issues tended to play a secondary role to race in southern politics, distracting people from the glaring social inequalities that afflicted blacks and whites alike. The commitment to white supremacy, in short, was a burden for poor whites as well as for blacks. LOOKING BACK

Reconstruction, long remembered by many white Americans as a vindictive outrage or a tragic failure, was in fact a profoundly important moment in American history. Despite the bitter political battles in Washington, D.C., and throughout the South, culminating in the unsuccessful effort to impeach President Andrew Johnson, the most important result of the effort to reunite the nation after its long and bloody war was a reshaping of the lives of ordinary people in all regions of the nation. In the North, Reconstruction solidified the power of the Republican Party and ensured that public policy would support the continued growth of an advanced industrial economy. The rapid growth of the northern economy continued and accelerated, drawing more and more of its residents into an expanding commercial world. In the South, Reconstruction did more than simply bring slavery to an end. It fundamentally rearranged the relationship between the region's white and black citizens. Only for a while did Reconstruction permit African Americans to participate actively and effectively in southern politics. After a few years of widespread black voting and significant black officeholding, the forces of white supremacy forced most African Americans to the margins of the southern political world, where they would mostly remain until the 1960s. But in other ways, the lives of southern blacks changed dramatically. Overwhelmingly, they left the plantations. Some sought work in towns and cities. Some left the region altogether.

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But the great majority began farming on small farms of their own-not as landowners, except in rare cases, but as tenants and sharecroppers on land owned mostly by whites. The result was a form of economic bondage, driven by debt, only scarcely less oppressive than the legal bondage of slavery. But within this system, African Americans managed to carve out a much larger sphere of social and cultural autonomy than they had ever been able to create under slavery. Black churches organized in great numbers. African American schools emerged in some communities, and black colleges began to appear in the region. Some former slaves owned businesses and flourished. In southern cities and towns, a fledgling black middle class began to emerge. The system of tenantry, which emerged in the course of Reconstruction, continued after its end to dominate the southern economy. Strenuous efforts by "New South" advocates to advance industry and commerce in the region produced significant results in a few areas. But the South on the whole remained what it had always been, an overwhelmingly rural society with a sharply defined class structure. It was also a region with a deep commitment among its white citizens to the subordination of African Americans-a commitment solidified in the 1890s and the early twentieth century when white southerners erected an elaborate legal system of segregation (the "Jim Crow" laws). The promise of the great Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution-the Fourteenth and Fifteenth-remained largely unfulfilled in the South as the century drew to its close.

Key Terms/People/Places/Events Andrew Johnson 404 Atlanta Compromise 422 Black Codes 405 Booker T. Washington 422 Carpetbaggers 408 Charles Sumner 403 Compromise of 1877 415 Crop-lien system 410 Enforcement Acts 414 Fourteenth Amendment 405 Freedmen's Bureau 402 Hamilton Fish 412 Ida B. Wells 425 Jim Crow laws 422 Ku Klux Klan 414 Panic of 1873 413 Plessy v. Ferguson 422 Radical Republicans 403 Redeemers 418 Scalawags 407 Sharecropping 410 Thaddeus Stevens 403 Wade-Davis Bill 403 William H. Seward 413

RECALL AND REFLECT

III MIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII III III III IIIIIIIIIII 1. What were the principal questions facing the nation at the end of the Civil War? 2. What were the achievements of Reconstruction? Where did it fail and why? 3. What new problems arose in the South as the North's interest in Reconstruction waned? 4. What was the Compromise of 1877, and how did it affect Reconstruction? 5. How did the New South differ from the South before the Civil War?

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SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1863 Lincoln announces preliminary Reconstruction plan 1865 Black Codes enacted in South Freedmen's Bureau established Congress creates Joint Committee on Reconstruction Lincoln assassinated (April 14); Andrew Johnson becomes president 1867 Southern states establish Reconstruction governments under congressional plan United States purchases Alaska Military Reconstruction Act (and two supplementary acts) outlines congressional plan of Reconstruction Tenure of Office Act and Command of the Army Act restrict presidential power 1864 Wade-Davis Bill passed ^ 1866 Congress approves Fourteenth Amendment; most Southern states reject it Ku Klux Klan formed in South 1868 Andrew Johnson impeached but not convicted Fourteenth Amendment ratified Ulysses S. Grant elected president 1869 Congress passes Fifteenth Amendment 1872 Grant reelected president 1873 Commercial and financial panic disrupts economy 1877 Rutherford B. Hayes elected president after disputed election Last federal troops withdrawn from South after Compromise of 1877 1895 Booker T. Washington outlines Atlanta Compromise ^ 1875 "Whiskey ring" scandal discredits Grant administration o A 1890s O ^ . . . . "Jim Crow" laws passed throughout South Lynchings increase in South - 1896 O . . Plessy v. Ferguson upholds "separate but equal" racial facilities

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important western population group before the great Anglo-American migration was the Indian tribes. Some were members of eastern tribes-Cherokee, Creek, and others-who had been forcibly resettled west of the Mississippi to "Indian Territory" (later Oklahoma) and elsewhere before the Civil War. But most were members of tribes that had always lived in the West. The western tribes had developed several forms of civilization. More than 300,000 Indians (among them the Serrano, Chumash, Porno, Maidu, Yurok, and Chinook) had lived on the Pacific coast before the arrival of Spanish settlers. Disease and dislocation decimated the tribes, but in the mid-nineteenth century 150,000 remained-some living within the Hispanic society the Spanish and Mexican settlers had created, many still living within their own tribal communities. The Pueblos of the Southwest had long lived largely as farmers and had established permanent settlements there even before the Spanish arrived in the seventeenth century. The Pueblos grew corn; they built towns and cities of adobe houses; they practiced elaborate forms of irrigation; and they participated in trade and commerce. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their intimate relationship with the Spanish (later Mexicans) produced, in effect, an alliance against the Apaches, Navajos, and Comanches of the region. The complex interaction between the Pueblos and the Spanish produced an elaborate caste system in the Southwest. At the top were the Spanish or Mexicans, who owned the largest estates and controlled the trading centers at Santa Fe and elsewhere. The Pueblos, subordinate but still 431

432 CHAPTER 16 largely free, were below them. Apaches, Navajos, and others some captured in war and enslaved for a fixed time, others Caste System men and women who had voluntarily left their own tribes-were at the bottom. They were known as genizaros, Indians without tribes, and they had become in many ways part of Spanish society. This caste system reflected how the Spanish Empire in America was preoccupied with racial ancestry; almost every group in the Southwest-not just Spanish and Indians, but several categories of mulattoes and mestizos (people of mixed race) as well-had a clear place in an elaborate social hierarchy. The most widespread Indian presence in the West was the Plains Indians, a diverse group of tribes and language groups. Plains Some tribes formed alliances with one another; others were in constant conflict. Some lived sedentary lives as farmers; others were highly nomadic hunters. Despite their differences, however, the tribes shared some traits. Their cultures were based on close and extended family networks and on an intimate relationship with nature. Tribes (which sometimes numbered several thousand) were generally subdivided into "bands" of up to 500 men and women. Each band had its own governing council, but the community had a decision-making process in which most members participated. Within each band, tasks were divided by gender. Women's roles were largely domestic and artistic: raising children, cooking, gathering roots and berries, preparing hides, and creating many of the impressive artworks of tribal culture. They also tended fields and gardens in those places where bands remained settled long enough to raise crops. Men worked as hunters and traders and supervised the religious and military life of the band. Most of the Plains Indians practiced a religion centered on a belief in the spiritual power of the natural world-of plants and animals and the rhythms of the days and the seasons. Many of the Plains tribes-including some of the most powerful tribes in the Sioux Nation-subsisted largely through hunting buffalo. Riding small but powerful horses, descendants of Spanish stock, the tribes moved through the grasslands following the herds. Permanent settlements were rare. When a band halted, it constructed tepees as temporary dwellings; when it departed, it left the landscape almost completely undisturbed, a reflection of the deep reverence for nature that was central to Indian culture and religion. The buffalo, or bison,

provided the economic basis for the Plains Indians' way of life. Its flesh was their principal source of food and its skin supplied materials for clothing, shoes, tepees, blankets, robes, and the Buffalo utensils. "Buffalo chips"-dried manure provided fuel; buffalo bones became knives and arrow tips; buffalo tendons formed the strings of bows. The Plains Indians were proud and aggressive warriors, schooled in warfare from their frequent (and usually brief) skirmishes with rival tribes. The male members of each tribe were, in effect, a warrior class. They competed with one another to develop reputations for fierceness and bravery as both hunters and soldiers. By the early nineteenth century, the Sioux had become the most powerful tribe in the Missouri River valley and had begun expanding west and south until they dominated much of the plains. The Plains warriors proved to be the most formidable foes white settlers encountered. But the tribes also suffered from several serious weaknesses that in the end made it impossible for them to prevail. One weakness was the inability of the various tribes (and often even of the bands within tribes) to unite against white aggression. They were seldom able to draw together a coalition large enough to counter white power. They were also frequently distracted from their battles with whites by conflicts among the tribes themselves. At BUFFALO CHASE The painter George Catlin captured this scene of Plains Indians in the 1830s hunting among the great herds of buffalo, which provided the food and materials on which many tribes relied. (© Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library)



THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 433 times, tribal warriors faced white forces who were being assisted by guides and even fighters from other, usually rival, tribes. Even so, some tribes were able to overcome their divisions and unite effectively for a time. By the mid-nineteenth century, for example, the Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyenne had Indian forged a powerful alliance that dominated Weaknesses the northern plains. But there remained other important ecoiogicai and economic weaknesses of the western tribes in their contest with white society. Indians were tragically vulnerable to eastern infectious diseases. Smallpox epidemics, for example, decimated the Pawnees in Nebraska in the 1840s and many of the California tribes in the early 1850s. And the tribes were, of course, at a considerable disadvantage in any long-term battle with an economically and industrially advanced people. They were, in the end, outmanned and outgunned. Hispanic New Mexico For centuries, much of the Far West had been part of, first, the Spanish Empire and, later, the Mexican Republic. Although the lands the United States acquired in the 1840s did not include any of Mexico's most populous regions, considerable numbers of Mexicans did live in them and suddenly became residents of American territory. Most of them stayed. Spanish-speaking communities were scattered throughout the Southwest, from Texas to California. All of them were transformed in varying degrees by the arrival of AngloAmerican migrants and, equally important, by the expansion of the American capitalist economy into the region. For some Spanish-speaking westerners, the changes created opportunities for greater wealth. But for most it meant an end to the communal societies and economies they had built over many generations. In New Mexico, the centers of Spanishspeaking society were the farming and trading communities the Spanish had established in the seventeenth century (see p. 17). Descendants of the original Spanish settlers (and more recent migrants from Mexico) lived alongside the Pueblo Indians and some American traders and engaged primarily in cattle and sheep ranching. There was a small aristocracy of great landowners, whose estates radiated out from the major trading center at Santa Fe. And there was a large population of Spanish (later Mexican) peasants, who worked on the great estates, farmed small plots of their own, or otherwise scraped out a subsistence. There were also large groups of Indian laborers, some enslaved or

indentured. When the United States acquired title to New Mexico in the aftermath of the Mexican War, General Stephen Kearny—who had commanded the American troops in the region during the conflict—tried to establish a territorial government that excluded the established Mexican ruling class (the landed aristocrats from around Santa Fe and the most influential priests). He drew most of the officials from among the approximately 1,000 Anglo-Americans in the region, ignoring the more than 50,000 Hispanics. There were widespread Rebellion fears among Hispanics and Indians alike that the new American rulers of the region would confiscate their lands and otherwise threaten their societies. In 1847, Taos Indians rebelled; they killed the new governor and other Anglo-American officials before being subdued by U.S. Army forces. New Mexico remained under military rule for three years, until the United States finally organized a territorial government there in 1850. By the 1870s, the government of New Mexico was dominated by one of the most notorious of the many "territorial rings" that sprang up in the West in the years before statehood. These were circles of local Anglo businesspeople and ambitious politicians with access to federal money who worked together to make the territorial government mutually profitable. In Santa Fe, the ring used its influence to gain control of over 2 million acres of land, much of which had long been in the possession of the original Mexican residents of the territory. The old Hispanic elite in New Mexico had lost much of its political and economic authority. Even without its former power and despite the expansion of Anglo-American settlement, Hispanic society in New Mexico survived and grew. The U.S. Army finally did what the Hispanic residents had been unable to accomplish for 200 years: it broke the power of the Navajo, Apache, and other tribes that had so often harassed the residents of New Mexico and had prevented them from expanding their society and commerce. The defeat of the tribes led to substantial Hispanic migration into other areas of the Southwest and as far north as Colorado. Most of the expansion involved peasants and small tradespeople who were looking for land or new opportunities for commerce.

HISPANIC WEST This color lithograph, *Tejano Ranchers*, 1877, is by James Walker (1818-1889). Walker, a painter known for depicting military subjects, here shows the lively activities on a Tejano ranch in Texas. (Private Collection/© Peter



434 CHAPTER 16 Hispanic societies survived in the Southwest in part because they were so far from the centers of English-speaking society that Anglo-American migrants (and the railroads that they carried them) were slow to get there. But Resistance Mexican Americans in the region also fought at times to preserve control of their societies. In the late 1880s, for example, Mexican peasants in an area of what is now Nevada successfully fended off the encroachment of English-speaking cattle ranchers. But by then, such successes were already the exception. The Anglo-American presence in the Southwest grew rapidly once the railroads established lines into the region in the 1880s and early 1890s. With the railroads came extensive new ranching, farming, and mining. The expansion of economic activity in the region attracted a new wave of Mexican immigrants—perhaps as many as 100,000 by 1900—who moved across the border (which was unregulated until World War I) in search of work. But the new immigrants, unlike the earlier Hispanic residents of the Southwest, were coming to a society in which they were from the beginning subordinate to Anglo-Americans. The English-speaking proprietors of the new enterprises restricted most Mexicans to the lowest-paying and least stable jobs.

Hispanic California and Texas In California, Spanish settlement began in the eighteenth century with a string of Christian missions along the Pacific coast. The missionaries and the soldiers who accompanied them gathered most of the coastal Indians into their communities, some forcibly and some by persuasion. The Indians were targets of the evangelizing efforts of the missionaries, who baptized more than 50,000 of them. But they were also a labor force for the flourishing and largely self-sufficient economies the missionaries created; the Spanish forced most of these laborers into a state of servitude little different from slavery. The missions had enormous herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats, most of them tended by Indian workers; they had brickmakers, blacksmiths, weavers, and farmers, most of them Indians as well. Few of the profits of the mission economy flowed to the workers. In the 1830s, after the new Mexican government had begun reducing the power of the church, the mission society largely collapsed, despite strenuous resistance from the missionaries themselves. In its place emerged a secular Decline of Mission Mexican aristocracy, which controlled a Society chain of large estates (some of them former



missions) in the fertile lands west of the Sierra Nevada. For them, the arrival of Anglo-Americans before and after the Civil War was disastrous. So vast were the numbers of English-speaking immigrants that the californios (as the Hispanic residents of the state were known) had little power to resist the onslaught. In the central and northern parts of the state, where the Anglo population growth was greatest, the Californios experienced a series of defeats. English-speaking prospectors organized to exclude them, sometimes violently, from the mines during the gold rush. Many californios also lost their lands—either through corrupt business deals or through outright seizure (sometimes with the help of the courts and often through simple occupation by squatters). Years of litigation by the displaced Hispanics had very little effect on the changing distribution of landownership. In the southern areas of California, where there were at first fewer migrants than in other parts of the state, some Mexican landowners managed to hang on for a time. The booming Anglo communities in the north of the state created a large market for the cattle that southern rancheros were raising. But a combination of reckless expansion, growing indebtedness, and a severe drought in the 1860s devastated the Mexican ranching culture. By the 1880s, the Hispanic aristocracy in California had largely ceased to exist. Increasingly, Mexicans and Mexican Americans became part of the lower end of the state's working class, clustered in barrios in Los Angeles or elsewhere, or becoming migrant farmworkers. Even small landowners who managed to hang on to their farms found themselves unable to raise livestock, as the once-communal grazing lands fell under the control of powerful Anglo ranchers. The absence of herding destroyed many family economies and, by forcing farmers into migrant work, displaced much of the peasantry. A similar pattern of dispossession occurred in Texas, where many Mexican landowners lost their land after the territory joined the United States (see pp. 342-343). This occurred as a result of fraud, coercion, and the inability of even the most substantial Mexican ranchers to compete with the enormous emerging Anglo-American ranching kingdoms. In 1859, Mexican resentments erupted in an armed challenge to American power: a raid on a jail in Brownsville, led by the rancher Juan Cortina, who freed all the Mexican prisoners in^ side. But such resistance had little longDECLINING rr • J 1 Status of term effect. Cortina continued to harass Hispanics Anglo communities in Texas until

1875, but the Mexican government finally captured and imprisoned him. As in California, Mexicans in southern Texas (who constituted nearly three-quarters of the population there) became an increasingly impoverished working class relegated largely to unskilled farm or industrial labor. On the whole, the great Anglo-American migration was less catastrophic for the Hispanic population of the West than it was for the Indian tribes. Indeed, for some Hispanics, it created new opportunities for wealth and station. For the most part, however, the late nineteenth century saw the destruction of Mexican Americans' authority in a region they had long considered their own; and it saw the movement of large numbers of Hispanics-both longtime residents of the West and more recent immigrants-into an impoverished working class serving the expanding capitalist economy of the United States. The Chinese Migration At the same time that ambitious or impoverished Europeans were crossing the Atlantic in search of opportunities in the New World, many Chinese crossed the Pacific in hopes of better lives than they could expect in their own poverty-stricken land. Not all came to the United States. Many Chinese moved

THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 435 to Hawaii, Australia, South and Central America, South Africa, and even the Caribbean-some as "coolies" (indentured servants whose condition was close to slavery). A few Chinese had come to California even before the gold rush (see pp. 351-352), but after 1848 the flow increased dramatically. By 1880, more than 200,000 Chinese had settled in the United States, mostly in California, where they constituted nearly a tenth of the population. Almost all came as free laborers. For a time, white Americans welcomed the Chinese as a Racism conscientious, hardworking people. In 1852, . the governor of California called them "one of the most worthy classes of our newly adopted citizens" and called for more Chinese immigration to swell the territory's inadequate labor force. Very quickly, however, white opinion turned hostile-in part because the Chinese were so industrious and successful that some white Americans began considering them rivals, even threats. The experience of Chinese immigrants in the West became, therefore, a struggle to advance economically in the face of racism and discrimination. In the early 1850s, large numbers of Chinese immigrants worked in the gold mines, and for a time some of them enjoyed considerable success. But opportunities for Chinese to prosper in the mines were fleeting. In 1852, the California legislature began trying to exclude the Chinese from gold mining by enacting a "foreign miners" tax (which also helped exclude Mexicans). A series of other laws in the 1850s were designed to discourage Chinese emigration to the territory. Gradually, the effect of the discriminatory laws, the hostility of white miners, and the declining profitability of the surface mines drove most Chinese out of prospecting. Those who remained in the mountains became primarily hired workers in the mines built by corporations with financing from the East. These newer mines-which extended much deeper into the mountains than THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD This complicated trestle under construction by the Union Pacific was one of many large spans necessary for the completion of the transcontinental railroad. It gives some indication of the enormous engineering challenges the railroad builders had to overcome. (Universal History Archive/© UIG/The Bridgeman Art Library)



436 CHAPTER 16 individual prospectors or small, self-financed groups had been able to go-replaced the early, smaller operations. As mining declined as a source of wealth and jobs for the Chinese, railroad employment grew. Beginning in 1865, more „ than 12,000 Chinese found work buildTranscontinental inS the transcontinental railroad. In fact. Railroad Chinese workers formed 90 percent of . the labor force of the Central Pacific and were mainly responsible for construction of the western part of the new road. The company preferred them to white workers because they had no experience of labor organization. They worked hard, made few demands, and accepted low wages. Many railroad workers were recruited in China by agents for the Central Pacific. Once employed, they were organized into work gangs under Chinese supervisors. Work on the Central Pacific was arduous and often dangerous. As the railroad moved through the mountains, the company made few concessions to the difficult conditions and provided its workers with little protection from the elements. Work continued through the winter, and many Chinese tunneled into snowbanks at night to create warm sleeping areas for themselves. The tunnels frequently collapsed, suffocating those inside; but the company allowed nothing to disrupt construction. Chinese laborers, however, were not always as docile as their employers imagined them to be. In the spring of 1866, 5,000 Chinese railroad workers went on strike, demanding higher wages and a shorter workday. The company isolated them, surrounded them with strikebreakers, and starved them. The strike failed, and most of the workers returned to their jobs. In 1869 the transcontinental railroad was completed. Thousands of Chinese were now out of work. Some hired themselves out on the vast new drainage and irrigation projects in the agricultural valleys of central California. Some became common agricultural laborers, picking fruit for low wages. Some became tenant farmers, often on marginal lands that white owners saw no profit in working themselves. Some managed to acquire land of their own and establish themselves as modestly successful truck farmers. Increasingly, however, Chinese immigrants flocked to cities. By 1900, nearly half the Chinese population of California lived ^ in urban areas. By far the largest single Establishment \_ . . . , „ ° QF Chinese community was m San Francisco. "Chinatowns" Much of community life there, and in other Chinatowns throughout the

West, revolved around powerful organizations-usually formed by people from a single clan or community in China-that functioned as something like benevolent societies to address common social and financial issues and filled many of the roles that political machines often served in immigrant communities in eastern cities. They were often led by prominent merchants. (In San Francisco, the leading merchants-known as the "Six Companies"-often worked together to advance their interests in the city and state.) These organizations became, in effect, employment brokers, unions, arbitrators of disputes, defenders of the community against outside persecution, and dispensers of social services. They also organized the elaborate festivals and celebrations that were such a conspicuous and important part of life in Chinatowns. Other Chinese organizations were secret societies, known as "tongs." Some of the tongs were violent criminal organizations, involved in the opium trade and prostitution. Few people outside the Chinese communities were aware of their existence, except when rival tongs engaged in violent conflict (or "tong wars"), as occurred frequently in San Francisco in the 1880s. Life was hard for most urban Chinese, in San Francisco and elsewhere. The Chinese usually occupied the lower rungs of the employment ladder, working as common laborers, servants, and unskilled factory hands. Some established their own small businesses, especially laundries. They moved into this business not because of experience-there were few commercial laundries in China-but because they were excluded from so many other areas of employment. Laundries could be started with very little capital and required only limited command of English. By the 1890s, Chinese constituted over two-thirds of all the laundry workers in California, many of them in shops they themselves owned and ran. The relatively small number of Chinese women fared even worse. During the earliest Chinese migrations to California, virtually all the women who made the journey did so because they had been sold into prostitution. As late as 1880, nearly half the Chinese women in California were prostitutes. Both Anglo and Chinese reformers tried to stamp out the prostitution in Chinatowns in the 1890s, but more effective than their efforts was the growing number of Chinese women in America. Once the sex ratio became more balanced, Chinese men were more likely to seek companionship in families.

**Anti-Chinese Sentiments** As Chinese communities grew larger and more conspicuous in western cities, anti-Chinese sentiment among

white residents became increasingly strong. Anti-coolie clubs emerged in the Anti Coolie 1660s and 1870s. They sought a ban on Clubs employing Chinese and organized boycotts of products made with Chinese labor. Some of these clubs attacked Chinese workers in the streets and were suspected of setting fire to factories in which Chinese worked. Such activities reflected the resentment of many white workers toward Chinese laborers for accepting low wages and thus undercutting union members. As the political value of attacking the Chinese grew in California, the Democratic Party took up the call. So did the Workingmen's Party of California-created in 1878 by Denis Kearney, an Irish immigrant-which gained significant political power in the state largely on the basis of its hostility to the Chinese. By the mid- 1880s, anti-Chinese agitation and violence had spread up and down the Pacific coast and into other areas of the West. But anti-Chinese sentiment did not rest on economic grounds alone. It rested on cultural and racial arguments as well. For example, the reformer Henry George, a critic of capitalism and a champion of the rights of labor (see p. 472), described the

## THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 437 A CHINESE

FAMILY IN SAN FRANCISCO Like many other Americans, Chinese families liked to pose for photograph portraits in the late nineteenth century. And like many other immigrants, they often sent such pictures back to relatives in China. This portrait of Chun Duck Chin and his seven-year-old son, Chun Jan Yut, was taken in a studio in San Francisco in the 1870s. Both father and son appear to have dressed up for the occasion, in traditional Chinese garb, and the studio—which likely took many such portraits of Chinese families—provided a formal Chinese backdrop. The son is holding what appears to be a chicken, perhaps to impress relatives in China with the family's prosperity. (National Archives and Records Administration)

Chinese as products of a civilization that had failed to progress, that remained mired in barbarism and savagery. They were, therefore, "unassimilable" and should be excluded. In 1882, Congress responded to the political pressure and the growing violence by passing the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese which banned Chinese emigration to the Exclusion Act United States for ten years and barred . Chinese already in the country from becoming naturalized citizens. Support for the act came from representatives from all regions of the country. It reflected the growing fear of unemployment and labor unrest throughout the nation and the belief that excluding "an industrial army of Asiatic laborers" would protect "American" workers and help reduce class conflict. Congress renewed the law for another ten years in 1892 and made it permanent in 1902. It had a dramatic effect on the Chinese population, which declined by more than 40 percent in the forty years after its passage. The Chinese in America did not accept the new laws quietly. They were shocked by the anti-Chinese rhetoric that lumped \_ them together with African Americans and Chinese Resistance Indians. They were, they insisted, descendants . of a great and enlightened civilization. How could they be compared to people who knew "nothing about the relations of society? White Americans, they said, did not protest the great waves of immigration by Italians ("the most dangerous of men," one Chinese American said) or Irish or Jews. "They are all let in, while Chinese, who are sober, are duly law abiding, clean, educated and industrious, are shut out." The Six Companies in San Francisco organized strenuous letter-writing campaigns and filed suit in



federal court. Their efforts had little effect. Migration from the East The great wave of new settlers in the West after the Civil War came on the heels of important earlier migrations. California and Oregon were both already states of the Union by 1860. There were large and growing Anglo-American and African American communities in Texas, which had entered the Union as a state in 1845 and had been part of the Confederacy during the war. And from Texas and elsewhere, traders, farmers, and ranchers had begun to establish Anglo-American outposts in parts of New Mexico, Arizona, and other areas of the Southwest. But the scale of the postwar migration dwarfed everything that had preceded it. In previous decades, the settlers had come in thousands. Now they came in millions, spreading throughout the vast western territories-into empty and inhabited lands alike. Most of the new settlers were from the established AngloAmerican societies of the eastern United States, but substantial numbers-more than 2 million between 1870 and 1900-were foreign-born immigrants from Europe: Scandinavians, Germans, Irish, Russians, Czechs, and others. Settlers were attracted by gold and silver deposits, by the shortgrass pastures for cattle and sheep, and ultimately by the sod of the plains and the meadowlands of the mountains, which they discovered were suitable for farming or ranching. Settlement was also encouraged by the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and the construction of the many subsidiary lines that spread out from it. The land policies of the federal government also encouraged settlement. The Homestead Act of 1862 permitted settlers to buy plots of 160 acres for a small fee if they occupied the land they purchased for five years and improved it. The Homestead Act was intended as a progressive measure. It would give a free farm to any American who needed one. It would be a form of government relief to people who otherwise might have no prospects. And it would help create new markets and new outposts of commercial agriculture for the nation's growing economy. But the Homestead Act rested on a number of misperceptions. The framers of the law had assumed that mere possession of land would be enough to sustain a farm family. They had not recognized the effects of the increasing mechanization of agriculture and the rising costs of running a farm. Moreover, they



438 CHAPTER 16 SODBUSTERS As farmers moved onto the Great Plains in Nebraska and other states on the agrarian frontier, their first task was to cut through the sod that covered the land to get to soil in which they could plant crops. The sod itself was so thick and solid that some settlers (including the Summers family of West Custer County, Nebraska, pictured here in 1888) used it to build their houses. The removal of the sod made cultivation of the plains possible; it also removed the soil's protective covering and contributed to the great dust storms that plagued the region in times of drought. (© Nebraska State Historical Society) had made many of their calculations on the basis of eastern agricultural experiences that were inappropriate for the region west of the Mississippi. A unit of 160 acres was too small for the grazing and grain farming of much of the Great Plains. Although more than 400,000 homesteaders stayed on Homestead Act claims long enough to gain title to their land, a much larger number abandoned the region before the end of the required five years, unable to cope with the bleak life on the windswept plains and the economic realities that were making it difficult for families without considerable resources to thrive. Not for the last time, beleaguered westerners looked to the federal government for solutions to their problems. In response to their demands, Congress increased the homestead allotments. The Timber Culture Act (1873) permitted homesteaders to receive grants of 160 additional acres if they planted 40 acres of trees on them. The Desert Land Assistance Act (1877) Provided that claimants could . buy 640 acres at \$1.25 an acre provided they irrigated part of their holdings within three years. The Timber and Stone Act (1878), which presumably applied to nonarable land, authorized sales at \$2.50 an acre. These laws ultimately made it possible for individuals to acquire as much as 1,280 acres of land at little cost. Some enterprising settlers got much more. Fraud ran rampant in the administration of the acts. Lumber, mining, and cattle companies, by employing "Mummy" registrants and using other illegal devices, seized millions of acres of the public domain. Political organization followed on the heels of settlement. After the admission of Kansas as a state in 1861, the remaining territories of Washington, New Mexico, Utah, and Nebraska were divided into smaller units that would presumably be easier to organize. By the close of the 1860s, territorial

governments were in operation in the new provinces of Nevada, Colorado, Dakota, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. Statehood soon followed. Nevada became a state in 1864, Nebraska in 1867, and Colorado in 1876. In 1889, North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington won admission; Wyoming and Idaho entered the next year. Congress denied Utah statehood until its Mormon leaders convinced the government in 1896 that polygamy (the practice of a man having more than one wife at a time) had been abandoned. At the turn of the century, only three territories remained outside the Union. Arizona and New Mexico were excluded because their scanty white populations remained minorities in the territories, because their politics were predominantly Democratic in a Republican era, and because they were unwilling to accept admission as a single state. Oklahoma (formerly Indian Territory) was opened to white settlement and granted territorial status in 1889-1890. **THE CHANGING WESTERN ECONOMY** Among the many effects of the new wave of Anglo-American settlement in the Far West was a transformation of the region's economy. The new American settlers tied the West firmly to



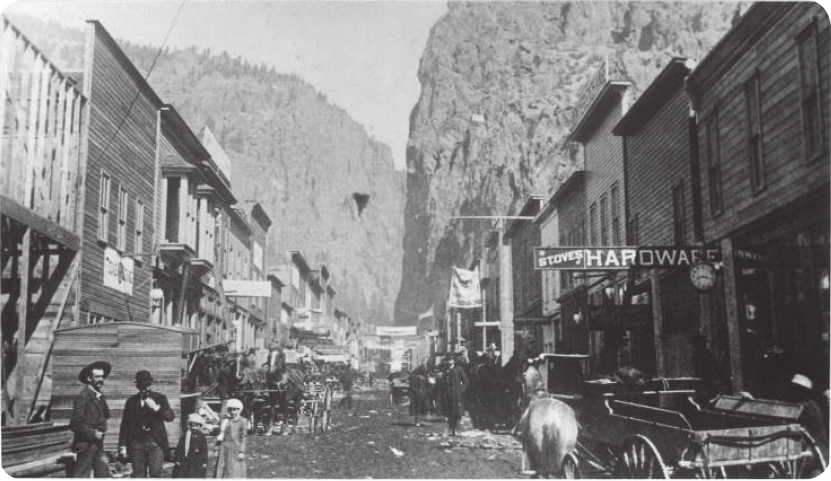
THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 439 the growing industrial economy of the East (and of much of the rest of the world). Mining, cutting and selling timber, ranching, commercial farming, and many other economic activities relied on the East for markets and for capital. Some of the most powerful economic institutions in the West were great eastern corporations that controlled mines, ranches, and farms. Labor in the West As commercial activity increased, many farmers, ranchers, and miners found it necessary to recruit a paid labor force-not an easy task for those far away from major population centers and unable or unwilling to hire Indian workers. The labor shortage of the region led to higher wages for workers than were typical in most areas of the East. But working conditions were often arduous, and job security was almost nonexistent. Once a railroad was built, a crop harvested, a herd sent to market, a mine played out, hundreds and even thousands of workers could find themselves suddenly unemployed. Competition from Chinese immigrants, whom employers could usually hire for considerably lower wages than they had to pay whites, also forced some Anglo-Americans out of work. Communities of the jobless gathered in the region's few cities, in mining camps, and elsewhere; other unemployed people moved restlessly from place to place in search of work. Those who owned no land were highly mobile, mostly male, and seldom married. Indeed, the West had the highest percentage of single adults (10 percent) of any region in the country-one reason why single women found working in dance halls and as prostitutes among the most readily available forms of employment. Despite the enormous geographic mobility in western society, „ actual social mobility was limited. Many Limited Social a , , c , T . , , , r Mobility Americans thought of the West as a land of . limitless opportunity, but, as in the rest of the country, advancement was easiest and most rapid for those who were economically advantaged to begin with. Studies of western communities suggest that social mobility in most of them was no greater than it was in the East. And the distribution of wealth in the region was little different from that in the older states as well. Even more than in many parts of the East, the western working class was highly multiracial. English-speaking whites worked alongside African Americans and immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, as they did in the East. Even more, they

worked with Chinese, Filipinos, Mexicans, and Indians. But the workforce was highly stratified along racial lines. In almost every area of the western economy, white workers (whatever their ethnicity) occupied the upper tiers of employment: management and skilled labor. The lower tiers-people who did unskilled and often arduous work in the mines, on the railroads, or in agriculture consisted overwhelmingly of nonwhites. Reinforcing this dual labor system was a set of racial assumptions developed and sustained largely by white employers. Chinese, Mexicans, and Filipinos, they argued, were genetically Racially Stratified Working Class iiii or culturally suited to manual labor. Because they were smaller than many Anglo-Americans, those who promoted these racist stereotypes argued, they could work better in deep mines than whites. Because they were accustomed to heat, they could withstand arduous work in the fields better than whites. Because they were unambitious and unconcerned about material comfort, they would accept low wages and live in conditions that white people would not tolerate. These racial myths served the interests of employers above all, but white workers tended to embrace them too. That was in part because the myths supported a system that reserved whatever mobility there was largely for whites. An Irish common laborer might hope in the course of a lifetime to move several rungs up the occupational ladder. A Chinese or Mexican worker in the same job had no realistic prospects of doing the same. The Arrival of the Miners One of the great economic boons in the Far West after the gold rush was a result of the mineral-rich region of mountains and plateaus, where settlers hoped to make quick fortunes by finding precious metals. The life span of this mining boom was relatively brief. It began in earnest around 1860 and flourished until the 1890s. Then it abruptly declined. News of a gold or silver strike in an area usually began with a stampede reminiscent of the California gold rush of 1849. Life Cycle Individual prospectors would exploit the of a Mining ^rst shallow deposits of ore largely by Boom hand, with pan and placer mining. After these surface deposits dwindled, corporations moved in to engage in lode or quartz mining, which dug deeper beneath the surface. Then, as those deposits dwindled, commercial mining either disappeared or continued on a restricted basis, and ranchers and farmers moved in and established a more permanent economy. The first great mineral strikes since the

California gold rush occurred just before the Civil War. In 1858, gold was discovered in the Pike's Peak district of what would soon be the territory of Colorado; the following year, 50,000 prospectors stormed in from California, the Mississippi Valley, and the East. Denver and other mining camps blossomed into "cities" overnight. Almost as rapidly as it had developed, the boom ended. After the mining frenzy died down, corporations, notably the Guggenheim interests, revived some of the profits of the gold boom, and the discovery of silver near Leadville supplied a new source of mineral wealth. While the Colorado rush of 1859 was still in progress, news of another strike drew miners to Nevada. Gold had been found in the Washoe district, but the most valuable ore in the great Comstock Lode (first discovered in 1858 by Henry Comstock) and other veins was silver. The first prospectors to reach the Washoe fields came from California; and from the beginning, Californians dominated the settlement and development of Nevada. In a remote desert without railroad transportation, the territory produced no supplies of its own, and everything-from food and machinery to Comstock Lode I Mill Mill Mill II lllll Mill II Mill Mill II III Mlllll Mill II III Mil

440 CHAPTER 16 COLORADO BOOMTOWN The Colorado silver boom began in 1879, bringing many people into the newly admitted state in search of opportunity. By the 1890s, with dwindling silver deposits, many recently wealthy communities went bust. (© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) whiskey-had to be shipped from California to Virginia City, Carson City, and other gold rush settlements and towns. When the first placer (or surface) deposits ran out, California and eastern capitalists bought the claims of the pioneer prospectors and began to use the more difficult process of quartz mining, which enabled them to retrieve silver from deeper veins. For a few years these outside owners reaped tremendous profits; from 1860 to 1880, the Nevada lodes yielded bullion worth \$306 million. After that, the mines quickly played out. The next important mineral discoveries came in 1874, when gold was found in the Black Hills of southwestern Dakota Territory. Prospectors swarmed into the area until surface resources faded and corporations took over. One enormous company, the Homestake, came to dominate the fields. In the long run, other, less glamorous natural resources proved more important to the development of the West than gold and silver. The great Anaconda copper mine launched by William Clark in 1881 marked the beginning of an industry that would remain important to Montana for many decades. In other areas, mining operations had significant success with lead, tin, quartz, and zinc. MINING TOWNS, 1848-1883 These three maps illustrate the rapid movement from boom to bust in the western mining industry in the mid-nineteenth century. Note how quickly the "boom" areas of gold and silver mining turn into places of "declining production," often in less than a decade. Note, too, how mining for both metals moved from California and Nevada in the 1860s to areas farther east and north in the 1870s and beyond. The map also shows the areas in which "ghost towns"—mining communities abandoned by their residents once production ceased—proliferated. What impact did mining have on the population of the West?





## THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 441 Gender

Imbalance The conditions of mine life in the boom period-the presence of precious minerals, the vagueness of claim boundaries, the cargoes of gold being shipped out-attracted outlaws and "bad men," operating as individuals or gangs. When the situation became intolerable in a community, those members interested in order began enforcing their own laws through vigilante committees, an unofficial system of social control used earlier in California. Vigilantes were unconstrained by the legal system. Some vigilantes continued to operate as private "law" enforcers after the creation of regular governments. Men greatly outnumbered women in the mining towns, and younger men in particular had difficulty finding female companions of comparable age. Those women who did gravitate to the new communities often came with their husbands, and their activities were generally (although not always) confined to the same kinds of domestic tasks that eastern women performed. Single women, or women whose husbands were earning no money, did choose (or find it necessary) to work for wages at times, as cooks, laundresses, and tavernkeepers. And in the sexually imbalanced mining communities, there was always a ready market for prostitutes. The thousands of people who flocked to the mining towns in search of quick wealth and who failed to find it often remained as wage laborers in corporate mines after the boom period. Working conditions were almost uniformly terrible. The corporate mines were deep and extremely hot, with temperatures often exceeding 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Some workers died of heatstroke (or of pneumonia, a result of experiencing sudden changes of temperature when emerging from the mines). Poor ventilation meant large accumulations of poisonous carbon dioxide, which caused dizziness, nausea, and headaches. Lethal dusts stayed in the stagnant air to be inhaled over and over by the miners, many of whom developed silicosis (a disabling disease of the lungs) as a result. There were frequent explosions, cave-ins, and fires, and there were many accidents with the heavy machinery the workers used to bore into the earth. In the 1870s, before technological advances eliminated some of the dangers, one worker in every thirty was disabled in the mines, and one in every eighty was killed. That rate fell later in the nineteenth century, but mining remained one of the

most dangerous and arduous working environments in the United States. The Cattle Kingdom Another important element of the changing economy of the Far West was cattle ranching. The open range-the vast grasslands of the public domain-provided a huge area on the Great Plains where cattle raisers could graze their herds free of charge and unrestricted by the boundaries of private farms. The western cattle industry was Mexican and Texan by ancestry. Long before citizens of the United States invaded the Southwest, Mexican ranchers had developed the techniques and equipment that the cattlemen and cowboys of the Great Plains later employed: branding (a device known in all frontier areas where stock was common), roundups, roping, and the gear of the herders-their lariats, saddles, leather chaps, and spurs. Americans in Texas adopted these methods and carried them to the northernmost ranges of the cattle kingdom. Texas also had the largest herds of cattle in the country; the animals were descended from imported Spanish stock-wiry, hardy longhorns-and allowed to run wild or semiwild. From Texas, too, came small, muscular broncos or mustangs well suited to the requirements of cattle country. At the end of the Civil War, an estimated 5 million cattle roamed the Texas ranges. Early in 1866, some Texas cattle ranchers began driving their combined herds, as many as 260,000 cattle, north to Sedalia, Missouri, on the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Traveling over rough country and beset by outlaws, Indians, and property-conscious farmers, the caravan suffered heavy losses. Only a fraction of the animals arrived CANADA 0 THE CATTLE KINGDOM, C. 1866-1887 Cattle ranching and cattle drives are among the most romanticized features of the nineteenth-century West. But they were also hardheaded businesses, made possible by the growing eastern market for beef and the availability of inexpensive transportation to take cattle to urban markets. • What brought an end to the open range?



442 CHAPTER 16 in Sedalia. But the drive proved that cattle could be driven to distant markets and pastured along the trail, and that they would even gain weight during the journey. This earliest of the "long drives," in other words, established the first, tentative link between the isolated cattle breeders of south and west Texas and the booming urban markets of the East. The drive laid the groundwork for the explosion of the "cattle kingdom." Market facilities grew up at Abilene, Kansas, on the Kansas Pacific Railroad, and for years the town reigned as the railhead of the cattle kingdom. Between 1867 and 1871, cattlemen drove nearly 1.5 million head up the Chisholm Trail to Abilene—a town that, when filled with rampaging cowboys at the end of a drive, rivaled the mining towns in rowdiness. But by the mid- 1870s, agricultural development in western Kansas was eating away at the open range land at the same time that the supply of animals was increasing. Cattlemen therefore had to develop other trails and other market outlets farther west: Dodge City and Wichita in Kansas, Ogallala and Sidney in Nebraska, Cheyenne and Laramie in Wyoming, Miles City and Glendive in Montana. A long drive was a spectacular sight, and not surprisingly, it became the most romanticized and mythologized aspect of life in the West. It began with the spring, or calf, roundup. The cattlemen rounded up stock from the open range, herds containing the stock of many different owners, with only their brands to distinguish them from one another. The combined herds, usually numbering from 2,000 to 5,000 head, moved out. Cowboys representing each of the major ranchers accompanied them. Most of the cowboys in the early years were veterans of the Confederate army. The next-largest group consisted of African Americans—more than half a million of them. They were more numerous than white northerners or Mexicans and other foreigners. They were usually assigned such jobs as wrangler (herdsman) or cook. Every cattleman had to have a permanent base from which to operate, and so the ranch emerged. A ranch consisted of the employer's dwelling, quarters for employees, and a tract of grazing land. In the early years of the cattle kingdom, most ranches were small, since so much of the grazing occurred in the vast, open areas that cattlemen shared. But as farmers and sheep breeders began to compete for the open plains, ranches became larger and more clearly defined; cattlemen gradually had to learn to raise their

stock on their own fenced land. Farmers ("nesters") from the East threw fences around their claims, blocking trails and breaking up the open range. A series of "range wars"-between sheepmen and cattlemen, between ranchers and farmers-erupted out of the tensions between these competing groups, resulting in significant loss of life and extensive property damage. Accounts of the lofty profits to be made in the cattle business-it was said that an investment of \$5,000 would return \$45,000 in four years-tempted eastern, English, and Scottish capital to the plains. Increasingly, the structure of the cattle economy became corporate; in one year, twenty corporations with a combined capital of \$12 million were chartered in Wyoming. The inevitable result of this frenzied, speculative expansion was that the ranges, already diminished by the railroads and the farmers, became overstocked. There was not enough grass to support the crowding herds or sustain the long drives. Finally nature intervened. Two severe winters, in 1885-1886 and 1886-1887, with a searing summer between them, stung and scorched the plains. Hundreds of thousands of cattle died, streams and grass dried up, princely ranches and costly investments disappeared in a season. The open-range industry never recovered; the long drive disappeared for good. Railroads displaced the trail as the route to COWBOYS ON A "LONG DRIVE" The "long drive" not only provided cattle for the eastern market, it also created communities of men who spent much of their lives on the trail, working for ranchers tending cattle. These cowboys were mostly young, unmarried men, including many African Americans. Most of them later settled down with families, but many agreed with the former cowboy Charles Goodknight, who wrote years later, "All in all, my years on the trail were the happiest I ever lived. There were many hardships and dangers ... but when all went well, there was no other life so pleasant. Most of the time we were solitary adventurers in a great land, . . . and we were free and full of the zest of darers." This photograph, dating from the 1890s, depicts cowboys herding cattle at the end of a long drive in the stockyards at Kansas City, Missouri. (© North Wind Picture Archives/Alamy)



THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 443 market for livestock. But the established cattle ranches-with fenced-in grazing land and stocks of hay for winter feed-survived, grew, and prospered, eventually producing more beef than ever. Although the cattle industry was overwhelmingly male in its early years, there were always a few women involved in ranching and driving. As ranching became more sedentary, the presence of women greatly increased. By 1890, more than 250,000 women owned ranches or farms in the western states (many of them as proxies for their husbands or fathers, but some in their own right). Indeed, the region provided women with many opportunities that were closed to them in the East-including the opportunity to participate in politics. Wyoming was the first state in the Union to guarantee woman suffrage; and throughout the West, women established themselves as an important political presence (and occasionally as significant officeholders). Women won the vote earlier in the West than they did in the rest of the nation, although for different reasons in different places. In Utah, the Mormons granted women suffrage in an effort to stave off criticism of their practice of polygamy. In Political some places, women won suffrage before Gains for statehood to swell the electorate to the Women number required by Congress. In others, women won the vote by persuading men that they would help bring a "moral" voice into the politics of the region and strengthen the sense of community in the West. Most men (and many women) believed that women were more "generous and virtuous" than men. They might bring these special qualities to the raw societies of the region. (Many of the same arguments were ultimately used to justify suffrage in the East as well.)

THE ROMANCE OF THE WEST ||||| III III MINIM  
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 unsettled West had always occupied a special place in the Anglo-American imagination, beginning in the seventeenth century when the first white settlers along the Atlantic coast began to look to the interior. They were searching for new opportunities or for refuge from the civilized world. The vast regions of this "last frontier" had a particularly strong romantic appeal to many people. The Western Landscape The allure of the West was obvious. The Great Plains, the



Rocky Mountains, the basin and plateau region beyond the Rockies, the Sierra Nevada, and the Cascade Range-all constituted a landscape of brilliant diversity and spectacular grandeur, different from anything white Americans had encountered before. It was little wonder that newcomers looked on the West with reverence and wonder. Painters of the "Rocky Mountain School"-of whom the best "Rocky" known were Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Mountain Moran-celebrated the new West in grandiose canvases, some of which were taken on tours around eastern and midwestern states and attracted enormous crowds, eager for a vision of the Great West. Such paintings emphasized the ruggedness and dramatic variety of the region, and reflected the same awe toward the land that earlier regional painters had displayed toward the Hudson River valley and other areas. The interest in paintings of the West helped inspire a growing wave of tourism. Increasingly in the 1880s and 1890s, as railroads extended farther into the region and as the Indian wars subsided, resort hotels began to spring up near some of the most spectacular landscapes in the region; and easterners began to come for visits of several weeks or more, combining residence in a comfortable hotel with hikes and excursions into the "wilderness."

The Cowboy Culture Even more appealing than the landscape was the rugged, free-spirited lifestyle that many Americans associated with Myth of the the West-a lifestyle that supposedly stood Cowboy in sharp contrast to the increasingly stable . and ordered world of the East. Many nineteenth-century Americans came to romanticize, especially, the figure of the cowboy and transformed him remarkably quickly from the low-paid worker he actually was into a powerful and enduring figure of myth. Admiring Americans seldom thought about the many dismal aspects of the cowboy's life: the tedium, the loneliness, the physical discomforts, the low pay, the few opportunities for advancement. Instead, in popular western novels such as Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902), they romanticized his freedom from traditional social constraints, his affinity with nature, even his supposed propensity for violence. Wister's character was a semi-educated man whose natural decency, courage, and compassion made him a powerful symbol of the supposed virtues of the frontier. But *The Virginian* was only the most famous example of a type of literature that soon swept throughout the United States: novels and stories about the West, and about the lives of cowboys in particular, that appeared in boys'

magazines, pulp novels, theater, and even serious literature. The enormous popularity of traveling Wild West shows spread the cult of the cowboy still further. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," p. 444.) The cowboy had become perhaps the most widely admired popular hero in America, and a powerful and enduring symbol of the important American ideal of the "natural man." That symbol has survived into the twenty-first century-in popular literature, in song, in film, and on television. The Idea of the Frontier Yet it was not simply the character of the new West that made it so important to the nation's imagination. It was also that many Americans considered it the last frontier. Since the earliest moments of European settlement in America, the image of uncharted territory to the west had always comforted

i ALL ROADS LEAD TO H TUI This colorful entertainment may have had little connection with the reality of western life, but it gave its audiences an image of the West as a place of adventure and romance that has lasted for generations. The Wild West show emerged out of a number of earlier entertainment traditions. The great showman P. T. Barnum had begun popularizing the "Wild West" as early as the 1840s when he staged a "Grand Buffalo Hunt" for spectators in New York, and such shows continued into the 1870s. At about the same time, western cowboys began staging versions of the modern rodeo when their cattle drives passed near substantial towns. But the first real Wild West show opened in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1883. Its organizer was William F. Cody, better known as "Buffalo Bill." Cody had ridden for the Pony Express, fought in the Civil War, and been a supplier of buffalo meat to workers on the transcontinental railroad (hence his celebrated nickname). But his real fame was a result of his work as a scout for the U.S. Cavalry during the Indian wars of the 1870s and as a guide for hunting parties of notable easterners. Cody's Wild West shows included mock Indian attacks (by real Indians) on stagecoaches and wagon trains; portrayals of the Pony Express; and shooting, riding, and roping exhibitions. The grand finale—"A Grand Hunt on the Plains"—featured buffalo, elk, deer, mountain sheep, longhorn cattle, and wild horses. Cody's The Wild West Show many Americans, the "Old West" has always been a place of myth—a source of romantic Uri and exciting stories. One reason the romantic depiction of the Old West persisted was the astonishing popularity of the "Wild West show" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. PROMOTING THE WEST, C. 1895 Buffalo Bill's Wild West show was popular all over the United States and, indeed, through much of the world. He was so familiar a figure that many of his posters contained only his picture with the words "He is Coming." This more conventional poster announces a visit of the show to Brooklyn. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) Romantic and inspired those who dreamed of starting Image of the life anew. Now, with the last of that unset. „^!S, . tied land being slowly absorbed into the nation's civilization, that image exercised a stronger pull than ever. Mark Twain, one of the great American writers of the nineteenth century, gave voice to this romantic vision of the frontier in a series of brilliant novels and memoirs. In some of

his writings-notably *Roughing It* (1872)-he wrote of the Far West and of his own experience as a newspaper reporter in Nevada during the mining boom. His greatest works, however, were novels that dealt with life on an earlier frontier: the Mississippi Valley of Twain's boyhood. In *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), he produced characters who repudiated the constraints of organized society and attempted to escape into a natural world. For Huck Finn, the vehicle of escape was a small raft on the Mississippi, but the yearning for freedom reflected a larger vision of the West as the last refuge from the constraints of civilization. 444 • The painter and sculptor Frederic Remington also captured the romance of the West and its image as an alternative to the ^ settled civilization of the East. He porFrederic 1 Remington trayed the cowboy as a natural aristocrat, . much like Wister's Virginian, living in a natural world in which all the normal supporting structures of "civilization" were missing. The romantic quality of his work made Remington one of the most beloved and successful artists of the nineteenth century. Theodore Roosevelt, who was, like both Wister and Remington, a man born and raised in the East, traveled to the Dakota Badlands in the mid- 1880s to help himself recover from the sudden death of his young wife. He had long romanticized the West as a place of physical regeneration-a place where a man could gain strength through rugged activity (Just as Roosevelt, a sickly, asthmatic boy, had hardened himself through adherence to the idea of a strenuous life). His long sojourn into the Badlands in the 1880s cemented his love of the region, which continued to the end of his life. And like iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

ALL ROADS LEAD TO

# BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST

AND  
CONGRESS OF ROUGH RIDERS OF THE  
WORLD

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shows inspired dozens of imitators. Always, at the center of every show— whether Cody's or one of his imitators— was the effort to evoke the mythic romance of the Old West. Buffalo Bill was always the star performer in his own productions. But the show had other celebrities, too. Annie Oakley became wildly popular for her shooting acts, during which she would throw into the air small cards with her picture on them, shoot a hole through their middle, and toss them into the audience as souvenirs. Native Americans were important parts of the Wild West shows, and hundreds of them participated— showing off their martial skills and exotic costumes and customs. The great Sioux leader Sitting Bull toured with the show for four months in 1885, during which he discussed Indian affairs with President Cleveland, who was a member of one of Sitting Bull's audiences. The famous Chiricahua Apache warrior Geronimo, who had fought against the United States until 1886, spent a season touring with one of Buffalo Bill's competitors— having previously been paraded around the country as a prisoner by the U.S. Army. An immediate success, Buffalo Bill's Wild West show traveled across the nation and throughout Europe. More than 41,000 people saw it on one day in Chicago in 1884. In 1886, it played for six months on Staten Island in New York, where General William T. Sherman, Mark Twain, P. T. Barnum, Thomas A. Edison, and the widow of General Custer all saw and praised it. Members of the royal family attended the show in England, and it drew large crowds as well in France, Germany, and Italy. The Wild West shows died out not long after World War I, but many of their features survived in circuses and rodeos, and later in films, radio and television shows, and theme parks. Their popularity was evidence of the nostalgia with which late-nineteenth-century Americans looked

**ANNIE OAKLEY** Annie Oakley had been a vaudeville and circus entertainer for years before joining Buffalo Bill's Wild West show in 1885. She was under five feet tall and weighed less than a hundred pounds, but her exploits with pistols, rifles, and horses earned her a reputation as a woman of unusual strength and skill. (© Bettmann/Corbis) at their own imagined past, and their eagerness to remember a "Wild West" that had never really been what they liked to believe. Buffalo Bill and his imitators confirmed the popular image of the West as a place of romance and glamour and helped keep that image alive for later generations. • UNDERSTAND,

ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did the West portrayed in the Wild West shows contrast with the real West? 2. Why do you think Indians participated in the Wild West shows? How did their participation affect white audiences' perception of Native Americans? 3. Why has the romantic image of the Wild West remained so long-lived in American popular culture? Wister and Remington, he made his own fascination with the West a part of the nation's popular culture. In the 1890s, he published a four-volume history. *The Winning of the West*, with a romanticized account of the spread of white civilization into the frontier. These and other books on the West enhanced his own reputation. They also contributed to the public's fascination with the "frontier." Frederick Jackson Turner Perhaps the clearest and most influential statements of the romantic vision of the frontier came from the historian Frederick Jackson Turner, of the University of Wisconsin. In 1893, the thirty-three-year-old Turner delivered a memorable paper to a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago titled *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, in which he argued that the end of the "frontier" also marked the end of one of the most important democratizing forces in American life. (See "Debating the Past," pp. 446-447.) In fact, Turner's assessments were both inaccurate and premature. The West had never been a "frontier" in the sense he meant the term: an empty, uncivilized land awaiting settlement. White migrants who moved into the region had joined (or displaced) already-established societies and cultures. At the same time, considerable unoccupied land remained in the West for many years to come. But Turner did express a growing and generally accurate sense that much of the best farming and grazing land was now taken, that in the future it would be more difficult for individuals to acquire valuable land for little or nothing. *The Loss of Utopia* In accepting the idea of the "passing of the frontier," many Americans were acknowledging the end of one of their most cherished myths. As long as it had been possible for them to . 445

DEBATING THE PAST The "Frontier" and the West THE American West, the Indian population, and the people of European descent who settled there have been central to the national imagination and to American historical scholarship. FRONTIER TOWN GROWS UP This picture of present-day San Francisco conveys a very different view of a city that, at about the time just before the gold rush (about 1848), had only 1,000 people. Today, the city has left behind many overt traces of its earlier status as a frontier community. The city now has nearly a million citizens with diverse backgrounds living within the Bay Area of nearly 8.5 million people. (© Robert Harding World Imagery/Alamy) Through most of the nineteenth century, the history of the West reflected the romantic and optimistic view of the region as a place of adventure and opportunity where brave and enterprising people endured great hardships to begin building a new civilization. The emergence of western history as an important field of scholarship can be traced to Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," a paper he delivered at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893. Turner stated his thesis simply. The settlement of the West by white people—"the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward"—was the central story of American history. The process of westward expansion transformed a desolate and savage land into a modern civilization. It also continually renewed American ideas of democracy and individualism. It shaped not just the West but the nation as a whole. The Turner thesis shaped American history for a generation, and it shaped western American history for even longer. In the first half of the twentieth century, virtually everyone who wrote about the West echoed at least part of Turner's argument. Ray Allen Billington's *Westward Expansion* (1949), a skillful revision of Turner's thesis, kept the idea of what Billington called the "westward course of empire" (the movement of TWILIGHT ENCAMPMENT The western photographer Walter McClintock took this dramatic photograph of a Blackfoot Indian camp in the 1890s. By the time this picture was taken, the Indian tribes were already dwindling, and artists, photographers, and ethnographers were flocking to the West to record aspects of Indian civilization that they feared would soon disappear. (Courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University) 446



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Europeans into an unsettled land) at the center of scholarship. In *The Great Plains* (1931) and *The Great Frontier* (1952), Walter Prescott Webb similarly emphasized the bravery and ingenuity of white settlers in the Southwest. Serious efforts to displace Turner's thesis as the explanation of western American history did not begin in earnest until after World War II. In *Virgin Land* (1950), Henry Nash Smith examined many of the same heroic images of the West that Turner and his disciples. He treated those images less as descriptions of reality than as myths. Earl Pomeroy challenged Turner's notion of the West as a place of individualism, innovation, and democratic renewal, claiming that "conservatism, inheritance, and continuity bulked at least as large." The western historians of the late 1970s launched an even more emphatic attack on the Turner thesis and the idea of the "frontier." New western historians such as Richard White, Patricia Nelson Limerick, William Cronon, Donald Worster, Peggy Pascoe, and many others challenged the Turnerians on a number of points. Turner saw the nineteenth-century West as "free land" awaiting the expansion of Anglo-American settlement and American democracy. Pioneers settled the region by conquering the "obstacles" that stood in the way of civilization. The new western historians rejected the concept of a "frontier" and emphasized, instead, the elaborate and highly developed civilizations that already existed in the region. White, English-speaking Americans, they argued, did not so much settle the West as conquer it, though their conquest was never complete. Anglo-Americans in the West continued to share the region not only with the Indians and Hispanics who preceded them there, but also with African Americans, Asians, Latino Americans, and others who flowed into the West at the same time they did. The Turnerian West was a place of heroism, triumph, and, above all, progress, dominated by the feats of brave white men. More-recent historians describe the West as a less triumphant (and less masculine) place in which bravery and success coexist with oppression, greed, and failure; in which decaying ghost towns, bleak Indian reservations, impoverished barrios, and ecologically devastated landscapes are as characteristic of western development as great ranches, rich farms, and prosperous cities; and in which women are as important as men in shaping the societies that emerged. This aspect of the "new western history" has attracted particular criticism from those

attached to traditional accounts. The novelist Larry McMurtry, for example, has denounced the newer scholarship as "Failure Studies." He has insisted that in rejecting the romantic image westerners had of themselves, the revisionists omit an important part of the western experience. To Turner and his disciples, the nineteenth-century West was a place where rugged individualism flourished and replenished American democracy. The newer western scholars contend that western individualism is a self-serving myth. Western "pioneers," they argue, were never self-sufficient but depended on government-subsidized railroads for access to markets, federal troops for protection from Indians, and (later) government-funded dams and canals for irrigating their fields and sustaining their towns. While Turner defined the West as a process— a process of settlement that came to an end with the "closing of the frontier" in the late nineteenth century— more-recent historians see the West as a region whose distinctive history did not end in 1890 but continues into our own time.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What are the main tenets of Turner's frontier thesis?
2. How did the portrayal of the West by the newer western historians differ from the West that Turner described?
3. Why did the newer western historians challenge Turner's view, and why has their depiction of the West, in turn, provoked such controversy?

Psychological

consider the West an empty, open land, it Loss was possible to believe that there were constantly revitalizing opportunities in American life. Now there was a vague and ominous sense of opportunities foreclosed, of individuals losing their ability to control their own destinies. The psychological loss was all the greater because of what historian Henry Nash Smith would later call, in *Virgin Land* (1950), the "myth of the garden": the once widely shared belief that the West had the potential to be a virtual Garden of Eden, where a person could begin life anew and where the ideals of democracy could be restored.

THE DISPERSAL OF THE TRIBES

Having imagined the West as a "virgin land" awaiting civilization by white people, many Americans tried to force the region to match their image of it. That meant, above all, ensuring that the Indian tribes would not remain obstacles to the spread of white society.

White Tribal Policies

The traditional policy of the federal government was to regard the tribes simultaneously as independent nations and as wards of the president, and to negotiate treaties with them that were solemnly ratified by the Senate. This

limited concept of Indian sovereignty had been responsible for the government's attempt before 1860 to erect a permanent frontier between whites and Indians, to reserve the region west of the bend of the Missouri River as permanent Indian country. However, treaties or agreements with the tribes seldom survived the pressure of white settlers eager for access to Indian lands. The history of relations between the United States and the Native Americans was, therefore, one of nearly endless broken promises. By the early 1850s, the idea of establishing one great enclave in which many tribes could live gave way, in the face of

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1448 CHAPTER 16 white demands for access to lands in Indian Territory, to a new reservations policy, known as "concentration." In 1851, each tribe was assigned its own defined reservation. "Concentration" & Policy, confirmed by separate treaties. GS often illegitimately negotiated with unauthorized "representatives" chosen by whites, people known sarcastically as "treaty chiefs." The new arrangement had many benefits for whites and few for the Indians. It divided the tribes from one another and made them easier to control. It allowed the government to force tribes into scattered locations and to take over the most desirable lands for white settlement. But it did not survive as the basis of Indian policy for long. In 1867, in the aftermath of a series of bloody conflicts, Congress established an Indian Peace Commission, composed of soldiers and civilians, to recommend a new and presumably permanent Indian policy. The commission recommended replacing the "concentration" policy with a plan to move all the Plains Indians into two large reservations—one in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), the other in the Dakotas. At a series of meetings with the tribes, government agents cajoled, bribed, and tricked representatives of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Sioux, and other tribes into agreeing to treaties establishing the new reservations. This solution worked little better than previous ones. White management of Indian matters was entrusted to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a branch of the Department of the Interior responsible for distributing land. Poorly administered payments, and supervising the Reservations shipment of supplies. Its record was appalling. The bureau's agents in the West, products of political patronage, were often men of extraordinary incompetence and dishonesty. But even the most honest and diligent agents were generally ill prepared for their jobs, had no understanding of tribal ways, and had little chance of success.

Worsening the fate of the tribes was the white Anglos' relentless slaughtering of the buffalo herds that supported the tribes' way of life. Even in the 1850s, whites had been killing buffalo at a rapid rate to provide food and supplies for the large bands of migrants traveling to the gold rush in California. After the Civil War, the white demand for buffalo hides became a national phenomenon partly for economic reasons and partly as a fad. (Everyone east of the Missouri seemed to want a buffalo robe from the romantic West, and there was a strong demand for buffalo leather, which was used to make machine belts in eastern factories.) Gangs of professional hunters swarmed over the plains to shoot the huge animals. Railroad companies hired riflemen (such as Buffalo Bill Cody) and arranged shooting expeditions to kill large numbers of buffalo, hoping to thin the herds, which were obstructions to railroad traffic. Some Indian tribes (notably the Blackfeet) also began killing large numbers of buffalo to sell in the booming new market. It was not just the hunting that threatened the buffalo. The ecological changes accompanying white settlement—the reduction, and in some areas virtual decimation or disappearance, of the open plains—the buffalo also decimated the buffalo population. The southern herd was virtually exterminated by 1875, and within a few years the smaller northern herd had met the same fate. In 1865, there had been at least 15 million buffalo; a decade later, fewer than a thousand of the great beasts survived. The army and the agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs condoned and even encouraged the killing. By destroying the buffalo herds, whites were destroying the Indians' source of food and supplies and their ability to resist the white advance. They were also contributing to a climate in which Indian warriors felt the need to fight to preserve their way of life.



## THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 449 The Indian Wars

There was almost incessant fighting between whites and Indians from the 1850s to the 1880s, as Indians struggled against the growing threats to their civilizations. Indian warriors, usually traveling in raiding parties of thirty to forty men, Indian attacked wagon trains, stagecoaches, and Resistance isolated ranches, often in retaliation for earlier attacks. As the U.S. Army became more deeply involved in the fighting, the tribes began to focus more of their attacks on white soldiers. At times, this small-scale fighting escalated into something close to a war. During the Civil War, the eastern Sioux in Minnesota, cramped on an inadequate reservation and exploited by corrupt white agents, suddenly rebelled against the restrictions imposed on them by the government's policies. Led by Little Crow, they killed more than 700 whites before being subdued by a force of regulars and militiamen. Thirty-eight of the Indians were hanged, and the tribe was exiled to the Dakotas. At the same time, fighting flared up in eastern Colorado, where the Arapaho and Cheyenne were coming into conflict with white miners settling in the region. Bands of Indians attacked stagecoach lines and settlements in an effort to regain lost territory. In response, whites called up a large territorial Sand Creek. The governor urged all friendly Massacre Indians to congregate at army posts for protection before the army began its campaign. One Arapaho and Cheyenne band under Chief Black Kettle, apparently in response to the invitation, camped near Fort Lyon on Sand Creek in November 1864. Some members of the party were warriors, but Black Kettle believed he was under official protection and exhibited no hostile intention. Nevertheless, Colonel J. M. Chivington, apparently encouraged by the army commander of the district, led a volunteer militia force—largely consisting of unemployed miners, many of whom were apparently drunk—to the unsuspecting camp and massacred 133 people, 105 of them women and children. Black Kettle escaped the Sand Creek massacre. Four years later, in 1868, he and his Cheyennes, some of whom were now at war with the whites, were caught on the Washita River, near the Texas border, by Colonel George A. Custer. White troops killed the chief and slaughtered his people. At the end of the Civil War, white troops stepped up their wars against the western Indians on several fronts. The most serious and sustained conflict was in Montana, where the



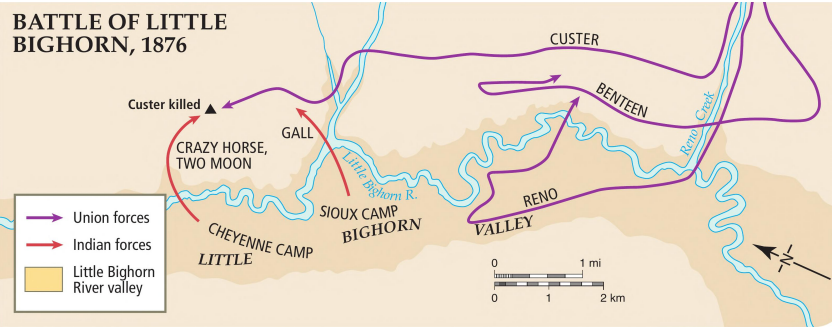
army was attempting to build a road to connect Fort Laramie, Wyoming, to the new mining centers. The western Sioux resented this intrusion into the heart of their buffalo range. Led by one of their great chiefs, Red Cloud, they so harried the soldiers and the construction party-among other things, burning the forts that were supposed to guard the route-that the road could not be used. It was not only the U.S. Army that threatened the tribes. It was also unofficial violence by white vigilantes who engaged in what became known as "Indian hunting." In California, "Indian Particu^aL tracking down and killing Hunting" Indians became for some whites a kind of . sport. Some who did not engage in killing offered rewards (or bounties) to those who did; these bounty hunters brought back scalps and skulls as proof of their deeds. Sometimes the killing was in response to Indian raids on white communities. But often it was in service to a more basic and terrible purpose. Considerable numbers of whites were committed to the goal of literal "elimination" of the tribes, a goal that rested on the belief in the inhumanity of Indians and the impossibility of white society's coexisting with them. In Oregon in 1853, for example, whites who had hanged a seven-year-old HELD UP BY BUFFALO Once among the most numerous creatures in North America, the buffalo almost became extinct as a result of indiscriminate slaughter by white settlers and travelers, who often fired at herds from moving trains simply for the sport of it. (Private Collection/© Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library)



450 CHAPTER 16 Indian boy explained themselves by saying simply "nits breed lice." In California, civilians killed close to 5,000 Indians between 1850 and 1880—one of many factors (disease and poverty being the more important) that reduced the Indian population of the state from 150,000 before the Civil War to 30,000 in 1870. The treaties negotiated in 1867 brought a temporary lull to many of the conflicts. But new forces soon shattered the peace again. In the early 1870s, more waves of white settlers, mostly miners, began to penetrate some of the lands in Dakota Territory supposedly guaranteed to the tribes in 1867. PACIFIC OCEAN Gulf of Mexico THE INDIAN FRONTIER As conflict erupted between Indian and white cultures in the West, the government sought increasingly to concentrate tribes on reservations. Resistance to the reservation concept helped unite the Sioux and Cheyenne, traditionally enemies, in the Dakotas during the 1870s. Along the Little Bighorn River, the impetuous Custer underestimated the strength of his Indian opponents and attacked before the supporting troops of Reno and Benteen were in a position to aid him. What did the defeat of Custer's army do for the Sioux tribes?



**BATTLE OF LITTLE BIGHORN, 1876**



THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 451 Indian resistance flared anew, this time with even greater strength. In the northern plains, the Sioux rose up in 1875 and left their reservation. When white officials ordered them to return, bands of warriors gathered in Montana and united under two great leaders: Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. Three army columns set out to round them up and force them back onto the reservation. With the expedition, as Colonel James W. Fisk called it, was Bismarck's colorful and controversial George A. Custer, a golden-haired, romantic glory seeker. At the Battle of the Little Bighorn in southern Montana in 1876-the most famous conflict between whites and Indians-the tribal warriors surprised Custer and 264 members of his regiment, surrounded them, and killed every man. Custer was accused of rashness, but he encountered something that no white man would likely have predicted. The chiefs had gathered as many as 2,500 warriors, one of the largest Indian armies ever assembled at one time in the United States. But the Indians did not have the political organization or the supplies to keep their troops united. Soon the warriors drifted off in bands to elude pursuit or search for food, and the army eventually forced them back to the Dakota reservations. The power of the Sioux was soon broken. The proud leaders, Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, accepted defeat and the monotony of life on reservations. Both were later killed by reservation police after being tricked or taunted into a last pathetic show of resistance. Chief Joseph One of the most dramatic episodes in Indian history occurred in Idaho in 1877. The Nez Perce were a small and relatively peaceful tribe, some of whose members had managed to live unmolested in Oregon into the 1870s without ever signing a treaty with the United States. But under pressure from white settlers, the government forced them to move into a reservation that another branch of the tribe had accepted by treaty in the 1850s. With no realistic prospect of resisting, the Indians began the journey to the reservation; but on the way, several younger Indians, drunk and angry, killed four white settlers. The leader of the Nez Perce, Chief Joseph, urged his followers to flee from the American troops. They scattered in several directions and became part of a remarkable chase. Joseph moved with 200 men and 350 women, children, and elders in an effort to reach Canada and take refuge with the Sioux there.

Pursued by four columns of American soldiers, the Indians covered 1,321 miles in seventy-five days, repelling or evading the army time and again. They were finally caught just short of the Canadian boundary. Some escaped and slipped across the border; but Joseph and most of his followers, weary and discouraged, finally gave up. "Hear me, my chiefs," Joseph said after meeting with the American general Nelson Miles. "I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever." He surrendered to Miles in exchange for a promise that his band could return to the Nez Perce reservation in Idaho. But the government refused to honor Miles's promise, and the Nez Perce were moved

**THE BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIGHORN: AN INDIAN VIEW** This 1898 watercolor by one of the Indian participants portrays the aftermath of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, June 25-26, 1876, in which an army unit under the command of General George Armstrong Custer was surrounded and wiped out by Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. This grisly painting shows Indians on horseback riding over the corpses of Custer and his men. Custer can be seen lying at left center, dressed in yellow buckskin with his hat beside him. The four standing men at center are Sitting Bull, Rain-in-the-Face, Crazy Horse, and Kicking Bear (the artist). At lower right, Indian women begin preparations for a ceremony to honor the returning warriors. (© The Granger Collection, New York)



452 CHAPTER 16 from one place to another for several years; in the process, many of them died of disease and malnutrition (although Joseph himself lived until 1908). The last Indians to maintain organized resistance against the whites were the Chiricahua Apaches, who fought intermittently from the 1860s to the late 1880s. The two ablest chiefs of this fierce tribe were Mangas Colorados and Cochise. Mangas was murdered during the Civil War by white soldiers who tricked him into surrendering, and in 1872 Cochise agreed to peace in exchange for a reservation that included some of the tribe's traditional land. But Cochise died in 1874, and his successor, Geronimo-unwilling to bow to white pressures to assimilate-fought on for more than a decade establishing bases in the mountains of Arizona and Mexico and leading warriors in intermittent raids against white outposts. With each raid, however, the number of warring Apaches dwindled, as some warriors died and others drifted away to the reservation. By 1886, Geronimo's plight was hopeless. His band consisted of only about thirty people, including women and children, while his white pursuers numbered perhaps ten thousand. Geronimo recognized the odds and surrendered, an event that marked the end of formal warfare between Indians and whites. The Apache wars were the most violent of all the Indian conflicts, perhaps because the tribes were now the most desperate. But it was the whites who committed the most flagrant and vicious atrocities. In 1871, for example, a mob of white miners invaded an Apache camp, slaughtered more than a hundred Indians, and captured children, whom they sold as slaves to rival tribes. On other occasions, white troops murdered Indians who responded to invitations to peace conferences, once killing them with poisoned food. Nor did the atrocities end with the conclusion of the Apache wars. Another tragic encounter occurred in 1890 as a result of a religious revival among the Sioux-a revival that itself symbolized the catastrophic effects of the white assaults on Indian civilization. The Sioux were by now aware that their culture and their glories were irrevocably fading; some were also near starvation because corrupt government agents had reduced their food rations. As other tribes had done in trying times in the past, many of these Indians turned to a prophet who led them into a religious revival. This time the prophet was Wovoka, a Paiute who inspired a spiritual awakening that began in Nevada and spread

quickly "Ghost t0 P^a^ns- The new revival emphasized Dance" the comin8 of a messiah, but its most con. spicuous feature was a mass, emotional "Ghost Dance," which inspired ecstatic visions. Among these visions were images of a retreat of white people from the plains and a restoration of the great buffalo herds. White agents on the Sioux reservation watched the dances in bewilderment and fear; some believed they might be the preliminary to hostilities. On December 29, 1890, the Seventh Cavalry (which had once been Custer's regiment) tried to round up a group of about ... 350 cold and starving Sioux at Wounded Wounded Knee Knee, South Dakota. Fighting broke out in . which about 40 white soldiers and more than 300 of the Indians, including women and children, died. What precipitated the conflict is a matter of dispute. But the battle soon turned into a one-sided massacre, as the white soldiers turned their revolving cannons on the Indians and mowed them down in the snow. The Dawes Act Even before the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee tragedy, the federal government had moved to destroy forever the tribal structure that had always been the cornerstone of Indian culture. Reversing its policy of nearly fifty years of creating reservations WOUNDED KNEE This grim photograph shows Big Foot, chief of the Lakota Sioux, lying dead in the snow near Wounded Knee in South Dakota. He was one of many victims of an 1890 massacre of more than 300 members of the tribe, killed by U.S. Army soldiers after the Indians had surrendered their weapons. Whether the massacre was planned and deliberate, or whether it was a result of confusion and fear, remains in dispute. (© nsf/Alamy) V



THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 453 in which the tribes would be isolated from white society. Congress abolished the practice by which tribes owned reservation lands communally. Some supporters of the new policy believed they were acting for the good of the Indians, whom they considered a 'Vanishing race' in need of rescue by white society. But whatever the motives, the policy was designed to force Indians to become landowners and farmers, to abandon their collective society and culture and become part of white civilization. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 (usually known simply as the Dawes Act) provided for the gradual elimination of tribal ownership of land and the allotment of tracts to individual owners: 160 acres to the head of a family, 80 acres to a single adult or orphan, 40 acres to each dependent child. Adult owners were given United States citizenship, but unlike other citizens, they could not gain full title to their property for twenty-five years (supposedly to prevent them from selling the land to speculators). The act applied to most of the western tribes. The Pueblo, who continued to occupy lands long ago guaranteed them, were excluded from its provisions. In applying the Dawes Act, the Bureau of Indian Affairs relentlessly promoted the idea of assimilation that lay behind it. Not only did they try to move Indian families onto their own plots of land; they also took some Indian children away from their families and sent them to boarding schools run by whites, where they believed the young people could be educated to abandon tribal ways. The bureau also moved to stop Indian religious rituals and encouraged the spread of Christianity and the creation of Christian churches on the reservations. Few Indians were prepared for this wrenching change from their traditional collective society to capitalist individualism. In any case, white administration of the program was so corrupt and inept that ultimately the government simply abandoned it. Much of the reservation land, therefore, was never distributed to individual owners. Congress attempted to speed the transition with the Burke Act of 1906, but Indians continued to resist forced assimilation. Neither then nor later did legislation provide a satisfactory solution to the plight of the Indians, largely because there was no entirely happy solution to be had. The interests of the Indians were not compatible with those of the expanding white civilization. Whites successfully settled the American West only at

## the expense of the region's indigenous peoples. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE WESTERN FARMER

|||||The arrival of the miners, the empire building of the cattle ranchers, the dispersal of the Indian tribes-all served as a prelude to the decisive phase of white settlement of the Far West. Even before the Civil War, farmers had begun moving into the plains region, challenging the dominance of the ranchers and the Indians and occasionally coming into conflict with both. By the 1870s, what was once a trickle had become a deluge. Farmers poured into the plains and beyond, enclosed land that had once been hunting territory for Indians and grazing territory for cattle, and established a new agricultural region. For a time in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the new western farmers flourished, enjoying the fruits of an agricultural economic boom comparable in many ways to the booms that eastern industry periodically enjoyed. Beginning in the mid- 1880s, however, the boom turned to bust. American agriculture-not only in the new West but in the older Midwest and the South as well-was producing more than it ever had, too much for the market to absorb. For that and other reasons, prices for agricultural goods declined. Both economically and psychologically, the agricultural economy began a long, steady decline. Farming on the Plains Many factors combined to produce this surge of western settlement, but the most important was the railroads. Before the Civil War, the Great Plains had been accessible only through a difficult journey by wagon. But beginning in the 1860s, a great new network of railroad lines developed, spearheaded by the transcontinental routes Congress had authorized and subsidized in 1862. They made huge new areas of settlement accessible. The completion of the transcontinental line was a dramatic and monumental achievement. The two lines joined at Promontory Point in northern Utah in the spring of 1869. But while this first transcontinental line captured the public imagination, the construction of subsidiary lines in the following years proved of greater importance to the West. State governments encouraged railroad development by offering financial aid, favorable loans, and more than 50 million acres of land (on top of the 130 million acres the federal government had already provided). Although operated by private corporations, the railroads were essentially public projects. It was not only by making access to the Great Plains easier

that the railroads helped spur agricultural settlement there. The railroad companies themselves actively promoted settlement, both to provide themselves with a key role of railroads, the Railroad customers for their services and to increase the value of their vast landholdings. In addition, the companies set rates so low for settlers that almost anyone could afford the trip west. And they sold much of their land at very low prices and provided liberal credit to prospective settlers. Contributing further to the great surge of white agricultural expansion was a temporary change in the climate of the Great Plains. For several years in succession, beginning in the 1870s, rainfall in the plains states was well above average. White Americans now rejected the old idea that the region was the Great American Desert. Some even claimed that cultivation of the plains itself actually encouraged rainfall. Even under the most favorable conditions, farming on the plains presented special problems. First was the challenge of fencing. Farmers had to enclose their land, if for no other reason than to protect it from the herds of the open-range cattlemen. But traditional wood or stone fences were too expensive and were

Government authorities and private philanthropists tried in many ways to encourage Indians to assimilate into mainstream white American society after the end of the Indian wars of the late nineteenth century. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School, founded by Captain Richard Henry Pratt in 1879, was the first federally funded Native American off-reservation boarding school. Educators there believed that Native Americans were the equals of people from European backgrounds. The curriculum was designed to help Native Americans gain the skills necessary to advance in mainstream American society. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-55422)) Barbed Wire

to cattle. In 1873, however, two Illinois farmers, Joseph H. Glidden and I. L. Ellwood, solved this problem by developing and marketing barbed wire, which became standard equipment on the plains and revolutionized fencing practices all over the country. The second problem was water. Much of the land west of the Mississippi was considerably more arid than the lands to the east. Some of it was literally desert. As a result, the growth of the West depended heavily on irrigation-providing water from sources other than rainfall. Water was diverted from rivers and streams and into farmlands throughout the West-in California and in the Southwest more than anywhere else. In other areas, farmers drilled wells or found other methods of channeling water onto their lands. The search for water-and the resulting battles over control of water (between different landowners and even between different states)-became a central and enduring characteristic of western life. In the plains states, the problems of water created an epic disaster. After 1887, a series of dry seasons began, and lands that had been fertile now returned to semidesert. Some farmers dealt with the problem by using deep wells pumped by steel windmills, by turning to what was called dryland farming (a system of tillage Drought designed to conserve moisture in the soil by covering it with a dust blanket), or by planting drought-resistant crops. In many areas of the plains, however, only large-scale irrigation could save the endangered farms. But irrigation projects of the necessary magnitude required government assistance, and neither the state nor federal

governments were prepared to fund the projects. Most of the people who moved into the region had previously been farmers in the Midwest, the East, or Europe. In the \_ booming years of the early 1880s, with land for Farmers values nsm& the new farmers had no prob. lem obtaining extensive and easy credit and had every reason to believe they would soon be able to retire their debts. But the arid years of the late 1880s-during which crop prices were falling while production was becoming more expensive-changed that prospect. Tens of thousands of farmers could not pay their debts and were forced to abandon their farms. There was, in effect, a reverse migration: white settlers moved back east, sometimes turning once-flourishing communities into desolate ghost towns. Those who remained continued to suffer from falling prices (for example, wheat, which had sold for \$1.60 a bushel at the end of the Civil War, dropped to 49 cents in the 1890s) and persistent indebtedness.

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## THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 455 Commercial

Agriculture American farming by the late nineteenth century no longer bore much relation to the comforting image many Americans continued to cherish. The sturdy, independent farmer of popular myth was being replaced by the commercial farmer attempting to do in the agricultural economy what industrialists were doing in the manufacturing economy. Commercial farmers were not self-sufficient and made no effort to become so. They specialized in cash crops, which they sold in national or world markets. They did not make their own household supplies or grow their own food but bought them instead at town or village stores. This kind of farming, when it was successful, raised the farmers' living standards. But it also made them dependent on bankers and interest rates, railroads and freight rates, national and European markets, world supply and demand. And unlike the capitalists of the industrial order, they could not regulate their production or influence the prices of what they sold. Between 1865 and 1900, agriculture became an international business. Farm output increased dramatically, not only in the United States but also in Brazil, Argentina, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Russia, and elsewhere. At the same time, modern forms of communication and transportation—the telephone, telegraph, steam navigation, railroads—were creating new markets around the world for agricultural goods. American commercial farmers, constantly opening new lands, produced much more than the domestic market could absorb; they relied on the world market to absorb their surplus, but in that market they faced major competition. Cotton farmers depended on export sales for 70 percent of their annual income, wheat farmers for 30 to 40 percent; but the volatility of the international market put them at great risk. Beginning in the 1880s, worldwide overproduction led to a drop in prices for most agricultural goods and hence to great economic distress for many of the more than 6 million American farm families. By the 1890s, 27 percent of the farms in the \_ country were mortgaged; by 1910, Consequences of T 100;; zU r Overproduction 33 Percent' In 1 880' 25 Percent of iii iii m itm m in iii ^ili farms had been operated by tenants; by 1910, the proportion had grown to 37 percent. Commercial farming made some people fabulously wealthy. But the farm economy as a whole was suffering a significant decline relative to the rest of the nation. The Farmers'

Grievances American farmers were painfully aware that something was wrong. But few yet understood the implications of national and world overproduction. Instead, they concentrated their attention and anger on immediate, comprehensible-and no less real-problems: inequitable freight rates, high interest charges, and an inadequate currency. The farmers' first and most burning grievance was against the railroads. In many cases, the railroads charged higher freight rates for farm goods than for other goods, and higher rates in the South and West than in the Northeast. Railroads also controlled elevator and warehouse facilities in buying centers and charged arbitrary storage rates. Farmers also resented the institutions controlling creditbanks, loan companies, insurance corporations. Since sources of credit in the West and South were few, farmers had to take loans on whatever terms they could get, often at interest rates ranging from 10 to 25 percent. Many farmers had to pay these loans back in years when prices were dropping and currency was becoming scarce. Increasing the volume of currency eventually became an important agrarian demand. A third grievance concerned prices-both the prices farmers received for their products and the prices they paid for goods. Farmers sold their products in a competitive world market over which they had no control and of which they had no advanced knowledge. A farmer could plant a large crop at a moment when prices were high and find that by harvesttime the price had declined. Farmers' fortunes rose and fell in response to unpredictable forces. But many farmers became convinced (often with valid reason) that "middlemen'-speculators, bankers, regional and local agents-were combining to fix prices so as to benefit themselves at the growers' expense. Many farmers also came to believe (again, not entirely without reason) that manufacturers in the East were conspiring to keep the prices of farm goods low and the prices of industrial goods high. Although farmers sold their crops in a competitive world market, they bought manufactured goods in a domestic market protected by tariffs and dominated by trusts and corporations. The Agrarian Malaise These economic difficulties produced a series of social and cultural resentments. Farm families in some parts of the counIsolation try-particularly in the prairie and plains regions, . where large farms were scattered over vast areaswere virtually cut off from the outside world and human companionship. During the winter months and spells of bad weather, the loneliness and boredom could become

nearly unbearable. Many farmers lacked access to adequate education for their children, to proper medical facilities, to recreational or cultural activities, to virtually anything that might give them a sense of being members of a community. Older farmers felt the sting of watching their children leave the farm for the city. They felt the humiliation of being ridiculed as "hayseeds" by the new urban culture that was coming to dominate American life. The result of this sense of isolation and obsolescence was a growing malaise among many farmers, a discontent that would help create a great national political movement in the 1890s. It found reflection, too, in the literature that emerged from rural America. Late-nineteenth-century writers often romanticized the rugged life of the cowboy and the western miner. For the farmer, however, the image was often different. Hamlin Garland, for example, reflected the growing disillusionment in a series of novels and short stories. In the past. Garland wrote in the introduction to his novel



456 CHAPTER 16 Jason Edwards (1891), the agrarian frontier had seemed to be "the Golden West, the land of wealth and freedom and happiness. All of the associations called up by the spoken word, the West, were fabulous, mythic, hopeful." Now, however, the bright promise had faded. The trials of rural life were crushing the human spirit. "So this is the reality of the dream!" a character in Jason Edwards exclaims. "A shanty on a barren plain, hot and lone as a desert. My God!" Once, sturdy yeoman farmers had viewed themselves as the backbone of American life. Now they were becoming painfully aware that their position was declining in relation to the rising urban-industrial society to the east.

**LOOKING BACK** To many Americans in the late nineteenth century, the West seemed a place utterly unlike the rest of the United States—an untamed "frontier" in which hardy pioneers were creating a new society, in which sturdy individuals still had a chance to be heroes. This image was a stark and deliberate contrast to the reality of the urbanizing, industrializing East, in which the role of the individual was being transformed by the rise of industrial life and its institutions. The reality of the West in these years, however, was very different from the image. White Americans were moving into the vast regions west of the Mississippi at a remarkable rate in the years after the Civil War, and many of them, it is true, were settling in lands far from any civilization they had ever known. But the West was not an empty place in these years. It contained a large population of Indians, with whom the white settlers sometimes lived uneasily and sometimes battled, but almost always in the end pushed aside and (with help from the federal government) relocated onto lands whites did not want. There were significant numbers of Mexicans in some areas, small populations of Asians in others, and African Americans moving in from the South in search of land and freedom. The West was not a barren frontier, but a place of many cultures. The West was also closely and increasingly tied to the emerging capitalist-industrial economy of the East. The miners who flooded into California, Colorado, Nevada, the Dakotas, and elsewhere were responding to the demand in the East for gold and silver, but even more for such utilitarian minerals as iron ore, copper, lead, zinc, and quartz, which had industrial uses. Cattle and sheep ranchers produced meat, wool, and leather for eastern consumers and manufacturers. Farmers grew crops for sale in

national and international commodities markets. The West certainly looked different from the East, and its people lived their lives in surroundings very different from those of eastern cities. But the growth of the West was very much a part of the growth of the rest of the nation. And the culture of the West, despite the romantic images of pioneering individuals embraced by easterners and westerners alike, was at its heart as much a culture of economic growth and capitalist ambition as was the culture of the rest of the nation.

Key Terms/People/Places/Events

Californios 434 Chief Joseph 45 1 Chinese Exclusion Act 437 Chisholm Trail 442 "Concentration" policy 448 Coolies 435 Dawes Severalty Act 453 Frederick Jackson Turner 445 Frederic Remington 444 Genizaros 432 George A. Custer 449 Geronimo 452 Homestead Act 437 Little Bighorn 45 1 Long drive 442 Mark Twain 444 Mestizos 432 Plains Indians 432 Rocky Mountain School 443 Turner thesis 445 Wounded Knee 452

RECALL AND REFLECT

1. How did ethnic, racial, and cultural prejudice affect western society?
2. What were the three major industries involved in the development of the West, and how did these industries transform the western economy?
3. What was the romantic image of the West, and how was this image expressed in art, literature, and popular culture?
4. How did actions and policies of the federal government affect the fate of Indians in the West?
5. What is the significance of the frontier in American history?

THE CONQUEST OF THE FAR WEST 457 SIGNIFICANT  
EVENTS 1848-1849 California gold rush begins 1851  
"Concentration" policy devised for western tribes 1858 Comstock  
Lode silver deposits discovered in Nevada 1859 1862 Homestead  
Act passed Colorado gold rush launches western mining bonanza  
1865-1867 Sioux Wars 1866 "Long drives" launch western cattle  
bonanza 1873 1869 Union Pacific, first transcontinental railroad,  
completed Barbed wire invented 1875 Sioux uprising begins 1874  
Gold rush begins in Black Hills, Dakota Territory 1876 Battle of  
Little Bighorn 1877 Desert Land Act passed 1885 ^ O Mark Twain  
publishes Huckleberry Finn 1882 Congress passes Chinese Exclusion  
Act 1887 Dawes Act passed 1889 # Oklahoma (formerly Indian  
Territory) opened to white settlement \_ 1890 O . ..... Indian  
"Ghost Dance" revival 1893 Frederick Jackson Turner proposes  
"frontier thesis" 1906 Congress passes Burke Act to speed  
assimilation of tribes Battle of Wounded Knee 1902 Congress makes  
Chinese Exclusion Act permanent



1. What factors drove America's industrial expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? 2. Who were the critics of America's new industrial economy, what were their criticisms, and what solutions did they propose? 3. How did the conditions and characteristics of the workforce change during this period of rapid industrialization? 4. What were some of the changes in the nation's economy, social conditions, and international status during the decades of industrial growth in the years after the Civil War?

LOOKING AHEAD INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY CELEBRATING A CITY AND A NATION The new industrial economy made possible many great feats that only decades before would have been unthinkable. Here is the world's first Ferris wheel, which was unveiled in 1893 at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The fair, designed in large part by Daniel Burnham and Frederick Law Olmsted, celebrated the 400th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the New World in 1492. The grand scale and technological innovation on display at the fair not only announced a renewed city that had been severely damaged by fire, it also heralded the growing sense of American exceptionalism. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) rfe Fe<sup>+</sup>is Wheel pJUjMlCO cm\*? ^ \$ ■ CHICAGO 1833 I KjjEEST UNt QF 7T33, EluEEO" FOIST QF WHEEL, 2U fet OF 7TEHEL (ijwttf nf piau.) ISO £\*L total wnoirr a? wheel ast oah, » taa, TCTAi WHIHT OF FI£FLZ f ER THIP, 1 TUG EEOTjIMH FQ& QKE TEJF, Si m DDFUCitt EEVEiLOlHQ F ~ . TOTAL WEIjHT -i wisEl, caeryhtc sapAlTTT, k iari •\*\*\* \* p



HIGHEST LINE OF WHEEL, 255 feet.  
 HIGHEST POINT OF WHEEL, 304 feet.  
 DIAMETER OF WHEEL (center of gear) 250 feet.  
 TOTAL WEIGHT OF WHEEL AND CARS, 2500 tons.  
 TOTAL WEIGHT OF PEOPLE PER TRIP, only 150 tons.  
 TIME REQUIRED FOR ONE TRIP, 30 minutes.  
 DUPLICATE REVERSING ENGINE, 1000 horse power each.  
 TOTAL WEIGHT of wheel, towers and machinery, 3500 tons.  
 CARRYING CAPACITY, 36 CARS, and being 6 cars at 6000 people per car.  
 STEEL FORGED—largest ever made—32 inches diameter and 45 1/2 feet long, weighing, with various attachments, 2500 tons.

## SETTING THE STAGE

“TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER THE DEATH OF LINCOLN, America had become, in the quantity and value of her products, the first manufacturing nation of the world. What England had accomplished in a hundred years, the United States had achieved in half the time.” So wrote the historians Charles and Mary Beard in the 1920s, expressing the amazement many Americans felt when they considered the remarkable expansion of the nation's industrial economy in the late nineteenth century. America's rise to industrial supremacy was not as sudden as such observers suggested. The nation had been Transformation building a manufacturing economy since early in the nineteenth century, and industry of the National was well established before the Civil War. But the developments of the last three . decades of the nineteenth century overshadowed everything that had come earlier. Those years witnessed nothing less than the transformation of the national economy. Many factors contributed to this transformation: new technologies, new forms of corporate organization, and great waves of immigration that provided a large, cheap labor force for the ever-larger factory complexes the nation was creating. Industrialization changed the physical landscape of the nation, contributing to the rapid growth of cities and helping stimulate the spread of railroads across the United States. Industrialization also changed America's relationship to the rest of the world, drawing the United States more and more into global trade and finance and into a search for overseas markets and foreign suppliers of needed materials. And industrialization altered the nation's social landscape as well. The remarkable growth of the economy did much to increase the wealth and improve the lives of many Americans. But the benefits were far from universal. Industrial titans and a growing middle class were enjoying a prosperity without precedent in the nation's history. But workers, farmers, and others were experiencing a disorienting and often painful transition that slowly edged the United States toward a great economic and political crisis. SOURCES OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH Many factors contributed to the growth of American industry: abundant raw materials; a large and growing labor supply; a surge in technological innovation; the emergence of a talented, ambitious, and often ruthless group of entrepreneurs; a federal

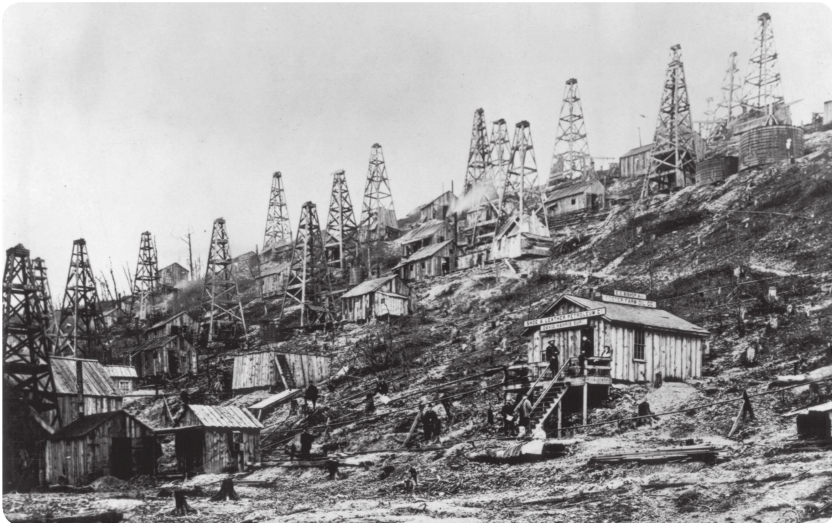
government eager to assist the growth of business; and a great and expanding domestic market for the products of manufacturing.

**Industrial Technologies** Perhaps the most important technological development in a nation whose economy rested so heavily on railroads and urban construction was the revolutionizing of iron and steel production in the late nineteenth century. Iron production had developed slowly in the United States through most of the nineteenth century; steel production had developed hardly at all by the end of the Civil War. In the 1870s and 1880s, however, iron production soared as railroads added 40,000 new miles of track, and steel production made great strides toward what would soon be its dominance in the metals industry. The story of the rise of steel is, like so many other stories of economic development, a story of technological discovery. An Englishman, Henry Bessemer, and an American, William Kelly, had developed, almost simultaneously, a process for converting iron into the much more durable and New Steel versatile steel. (The process, which took Bessemer's name, consisted of blowing Production air through molten iron to burn out the impurities.) The Bessemer process also Techniques relied on the discovery by the British metallurgist Robert Mushet that ingredients could be added to the iron during conversion to transform it into steel. In 1868, the New Jersey ironmaster Abram S. Hewitt introduced from Europe another method of making steel-the open-hearth process, which ultimately largely supplanted the Bessemer process. 459

460 CHAPTER 17 These techniques made possible the production of steel in great quantities and large dimensions, for use in the manufacture of locomotives, steel rails, and girders for the construction of tall buildings. The steel industry emerged first in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. That was partly because iron ore could be found there in abundance and because there was already a flourishing iron industry in the region. It was also because the new forms of steel production created a demand for new kinds of fuel-particularly a demand for the anthracite (or hard) coal that was plentiful in Pennsylvania. Later, new techniques made it possible to use bituminous (soft) coal (easily mined in western Pennsylvania), which could then be converted to Pittsburgh coke to fuel steel furnaces. As a result, . Pittsburgh quickly became the center of the steel world. But the industry was growing so fast that new sources of ore were soon necessary. The upper peninsula of Michigan, the Mesabi Range in Minnesota, and the area around Birmingham, Alabama, became important ore-producing centers by the end of the century, and new centers of steel production grew up near them in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and Birmingham, among others. Until the Civil War, iron and steel furnaces were mostly made of stone and usually built against the side of a hill to reduce construction demands. In the 1870s and after, however, furnaces were redesigned as cylindrical iron shells lined with brick. These massive new furnaces were 75 feet tall and higher and could produce more than 500 tons of steel a week. As the steel industry spread, new transportation systems emerged to serve it. The steel production in the Great Lakes region was possible only because of the availability of steam freighters that could carry ore on the lakes, which contributed to development of new and more powerful steam engines. Shippers also used new steam engines to speed the unloading of ore, a task that previously had been performed, slowly and laboriously, by men and horses. A close relationship grew up between the emerging steel companies and the railroads. Steel manufacturers provided rails and parts for railroad cars. The Pennsylvania Railroad, for example, literally created the Pennsylvania Steel Company, provided it with substantial initial capital, and ensured it a market for its products with an immediate contract for steel rails. The steel industry's need for lubrication for its machines helped create another important new industry in the



late Rise of the nineteenth century-oil. (Not until later did Petroleum oil become important primarily for its potential as a fuel.) The existence of petroleum reserves in western Pennsylvania had PIONEER OIL RUN, 1865 The American oil industry emerged first in western Pennsylvania, where speculators built makeshift facilities almost overnight. An oil field on the other side of the hill depicted here had been producing 600 barrels a day, and the wells quickly spilled over the hill and down the slope shown in this photograph. (The Library of Congress)



INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 461

been common knowledge for some time. In the 1850s, Pennsylvania businessman George Bissell showed that the substance could be burned in lamps and that it could also yield such products as paraffin, naphtha, and lubricating oil. Bissell raised money to begin drilling; and in 1859, Edwin L. Drake, one of Bissell's employees, established the first oil well, near Titusville, Pennsylvania, which was soon producing 500 barrels of oil a month. Demand for petroleum grew quickly, and promoters soon developed other fields in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. The Airplane and the Automobile Two technologies were critical to the development of the automobile. One was the creation of gasoline (or petrol). It was the result of an extraction process developed in the late nineteenth century in the United States by which lubricating oil and fuel oil were separated from crude oil. In the 1870s, designers in France, Germany, and Austria-inspired by the success of railroad engines-had begun to develop an "internal combustion engine," which used the expanding power of burning gas to drive pistons. A German, Nicolaus August Otto, created a gas-powered engine in the mid- 1860s, a precursor to automobile engines. But he did not develop a way to untether it from gas lines to be used portably in machines. One of Otto's former employees, Gottfried Daimler, later perfected an engine that could be used in automobiles (including the famous early car that took Daimler's name). The American automobile industry developed rapidly in the aftermath of these breakthroughs. Charles and Frank Henry Ford Duryea built the first gasoline-driven motor vehicle in America in 1893. Three years later, Henry Ford produced the first of the famous cars that would eventually bear his name. By 1910, the industry had become a major force in the economy and the automobile was beginning to reshape American social and cultural life, as well as the nation's landscape. In 1895, there were only four automobiles on the American highways. By 1917, there were nearly 5 million. The search for a means of human flight was as old as civilization, and had been almost entirely futile until the late nineteenth century, when engineers, scientists, and tinkerers in both the United States and Europe began to experiment with a wide range of aeronautic devices. Balloonists began to

XiJML M THE FLIGHT OF THE WRIGHT BROTHERS Orville and Wilbur Wright became great celebrities after their famous flight at Kitty Hawk,

North Carolina in 1903. They made few original contributions to the development of aviation technology, but their flight (with Wilbur piloting) helped publicize the "flying machine" that would soon revolutionize travel. (Historicus, Inc.)

462 CHAPTER 17 consider ways to turn dirigibles into useful vehicles of transportation. Others experimented with kites and gliders to see if they could somehow be used to propel humans through the air. Among those testing gliders were two brothers in Ohio, Wilbur and Orville Wright, who owned a bicycle shop in which they began to construct a glider that could be propelled through the air by an internal combustion engine (the same kind of engine that was propelling automobiles). In 1903, four years after they began their experiments, Orville made a celebrated test flight near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, in which an airplane took off by itself and traveled 120 feet in 12 seconds under its own power before settling back to earth. By the fall of 1904, the Wright brothers had improved the plane to the point where they were able to fly over 23 miles, and in the following year they began to take a few passengers with them on their flights. Although the first working airplane was built in the United States, aviation technology was slow to gain a foothold in America. Most of the early progress in airplane design occurred in France, where there was substantial government funding for research and development. The U.S. government created the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics in 1915, twelve years after the Wright brothers' flight, and American airplanes became a significant presence in Europe during World War I. But the prospects for commercial flight seemed dim until the 1920s, when Charles Lindbergh's famous solo flight from New York to Paris electrified the nation and the world and helped make aviation a national obsession.

**Research and Development** The rapid development of new industrial technologies encouraged business leaders to sponsor their own research to allow them to keep up with the rapid changes in industry. General Electric, fearful of technological competition, created one of the first corporate laboratories in 1900. By 1913, Bell Telephone, Du Pont, General Electric, Eastman Kodak, and Corporate about fifty other companies were budgeting Research and hundreds of thousands of dollars each Development year for research by their own engineers , . . 1 r and scientists. The emergence of corporate research and development laboratories coincided with a decline in government support for research. That helped corporations to attract skilled researchers who had once worked for government agencies. It also

decentralized the sources of research funding and ensured that inquiry would move in many different directions, not just along paths determined by the government. A rift began to emerge between scientists and engineers. Engineers—both inside and out of universities—became increasingly tied up with the research and development agendas of corporations and worked hard to be of practical use to the new economy. Many scientists scorned this "Commercialization" of knowledge and preferred to stick to basic research that had no immediate practical applications. Even so, American Transformation scientists were more closely connected of Higher to practical challenges than were their . . . European counterparts, and some joined engineers in corporate research and development laboratories, which over time began to sponsor not just practical but also basic research. American universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries developed a growing connection between university-based research and the needs of the industrial economy. University faculty and laboratories began to receive funding from corporations for research, and a partnership began to develop between the academic world and the commercial world that continued into the twenty-first century. No comparable partnership emerged in European universities in these years, and some scholars have argued that America's more rapid development in the twentieth century is in part a product of the market's success in harnessing knowledge from the academic world and elsewhere—more effectively than the nation's competitors abroad.

The Science of Production By the beginning of the twentieth century, many industrialists were turning to new principles of "scientific management." Those principles were often known as "Taylorism," after their leading theoretician, Frederick Winslow Taylor. Taylor's ideas were controversial during his lifetime and have remained controversial since. Taylor urged employers to reorganize the production process by subdividing tasks. This would speed up production; it would also make workers more interchangeable and thus diminish a manager's dependence on any particular employee. And it would reduce the "Taylorism"

EDISON'S NOTEBOOK This page from one of Thomas Edison's notebooks shows sketches of and notes on some of his early experiments on an incandescent lamp—what we know as an electric lightbulb. Edison was not only the most celebrated inventor of his day but also, by the early twentieth century, one of the greatest popular heroes in American life in a

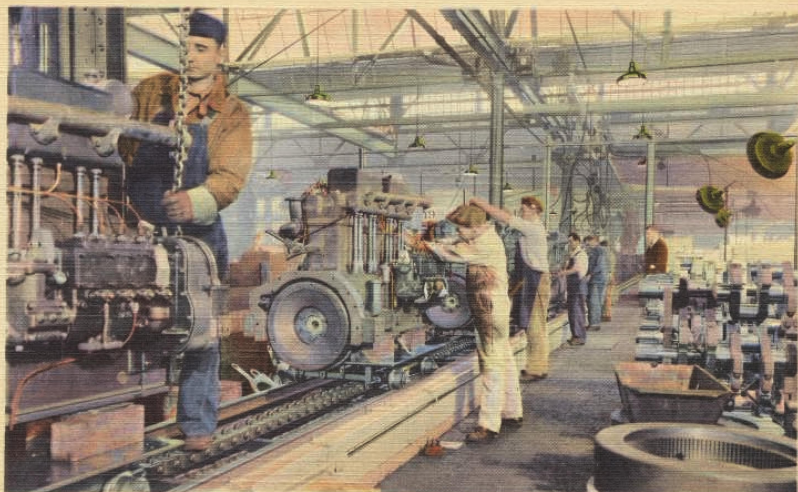
time when scientific and technological progress was considered the defining feature of the age. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images)

## INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 463 INDUSTRIAL

**PRODUCTION** This postcard conveys the assembly line at the Caterpillar manufacturing company. The factory shown here was enormous, occupying 151 acres, 53.8 of which were enclosed building areas. The men are assembling diesel engines. The company has been well known for building tractors, engines, and road machinery. (© Rykoff Collection/Corbis) need for highly trained skilled workers. If properly managed by trained experts, Taylor claimed, workers using modern machines could perform simple tasks at much greater speed, significantly increasing productive efficiency. Taylor and his many admirers argued that scientific management was a way to make human labor compatible with the demands of the machine age. Scientific management was also a way to increase the employer's control of the workplace and to make working people less independent. The most important change in production technology in the industrial era was the emergence of mass production and, above all, the moving assembly line, which Henry Ford introduced in his automobile plants in 1914. **Assembly Line** This revolutionary technique cut the time for assembling a chassis from 12V^ hours to IV2 hours. It enabled Ford to raise the wages and reduce the hours of his workers while cutting the base price of his Model T from \$950 in 1914 to \$290 in 1929. Ford's assembly line became a model for many other industries. **Railroad Expansion** Despite important advances in many other forms of technology and communication, the principal agent of industrial progress in the late nineteenth century remained the railroad. Railroads were the nation's principal form of transportation. They helped determine the path by which agricultural and industrial economies developed. When railroad lines ran through sparsely populated regions, new farms and other economic activity quickly sprang up along the routes. When they reached forests, lumberers came quickly in their wake and began cutting down timber to send back to towns and cities for sale. When railroads moved through the great plains of the West, they brought buffalo hunters who nearly exterminated the great herds of bison and, later, helped transport cattle into the region and carry meat back into the cities. Because Chicago was the principal railroad hub of the central United States, it also became the place where railroads brought livestock, making the city the slaughterhouse of

the nation. Railroads even altered concepts of time. Until the 1880s, there was no standard method of keeping time from one community to another. In most places, the position of the sun determined the time, which meant that clocks were set differently even between nearby towns. This created great difficulties for railroads, which were trying to set schedules for the entire nation. On November 18, 1883, the railroad companies, working together, agreed to create four time zones across the continent, each an hour apart from its closest neighbor. Although not until 1918 did the federal government make these time zones standard for all purposes, the action by the railroads very quickly solidified the idea of "standard time" through most of the United States. Every decade in the late nineteenth century, total railroad trackage increased dramatically: from 30,000 miles in 1860 to 52,000 miles in 1870, to 93,000 in 1880, Expansion of to 163,000 in 1890, and to 193,000 by the Railroad 1900. Subsidies from federal, state, and local governments—as well as investments from abroad—were vital to these vast undertakings, which required far more capital than private entrepreneurs in America could raise by themselves. Equally important was the emergence of great railroad combinations that brought most of the nation's rails under the control of a very few men. Many railroad combinations continued to be dominated by individuals. The achievements (and excesses) of these tycoons—Cornelius Vanderbilt, James J. Hill, Collis P. Huntington, and others—became symbols to much of the nation of great economic power concentrated in individual hands. But railroad development was less significant for the individual barons it





DIESEL ENGINE ASSEMBLY LINE IN "CATERPILLAR" FACTORY

6A-H832

464 CHAPTER 17 Pacific Time Zone Mountain Time Zone  
Central Time Zone Eastern Time Zone [Portland, Helena, Boston  
Philadelphia, Pittsburgh] PACIFIC :ranci: Norfolk ATLANTIC OCEAN  
Phoenix Charleston Orleans Gulf of Mexico New York City  
Washington, D.C. ' X PACIFIC 1 OCEAN Major railroads in 1870  
Major railroads added 1870-1890 MEXICO Transcontinental  
railroad RAILROADS, 1870-1890 This map illustrates the rapid  
expansion of railroads in the late nineteenth century. In 1870, there  
was already a dense network of rail lines in the Northeast and  
Midwest, illustrated here by the green lines. The red lines show the  
further expansion of rail coverage between 1870 and 1890, much of  
it in the South and the areas west of the Mississippi River. • Why  
were railroads so essential to the nation's economic growth in these  
years? created than for its contribution to the growth of a new  
institution: the modern corporation. The Corporation There had  
been various forms of corporations in America since colonial times,  
but the modern corporation emerged as a major force only after the  
Civil War, when railroad magnates and other industrialists realized  
that no single person or group of limited partners, no matter how  
wealthy, could finance their great ventures. Under the laws of  
incorporation passed in many states in the 1830s and 1840s,  
business organizations could raise money by Limited selling stock to  
members of the public; after Liability the Civil War, one industry  
after another began doing so. At the same time, affluent Americans  
began to consider the purchase of stock a good investment even if  
they were not involved in the business whose stock they were  
purchasing. What made the practice appealing was that investors  
had only "limited liability"—that is, they risked only the amount of  
their investments; they were not liable for any debts the corporation  
might accumulate beyond that. The ability to sell stock to a broad  
public made it possible for entrepreneurs to gather vast sums of  
capital and undertake great projects. The Pennsylvania Railroad and  
others were among the first to adopt the new corporate form of  
organization. But Andrew ir Tuickly spread beyond the railroad  
inCarnegie dustry. In steel, the central figure was  
a 1 x—, . . 1 Andrew  
Carnegie, a Scottish immigrant who had worked his way up from  
modest beginnings and in 1873 opened his own steelworks in  
Pittsburgh. Soon he dominated the industry. His methods were

much like those of other industrial titans. He cut costs and prices by striking deals with the railroads and then bought out rivals who could not compete with him. With his associate Henry Clay Frick, he bought up coal mines and leased part of the Mesabi iron-ore range in Minnesota, operated a fleet of ore ships on the Great Lakes, and acquired railroads. Ultimately, Carnegie controlled the processing of his steel from mine to market. He financed his undertakings not only out of his own profits but out of the sale of stock as well. Then, in 1901, he sold out for \$450 million to the banker J. Pierpont Morgan, who merged the Carnegie interests with others to create the giant United States Steel Corporation-a \$1.4 billion enterprise that controlled almost two-thirds of the nation's steel production. There were similar developments in other industries. Gustavus Swift developed a relatively small Chicago meatpacking

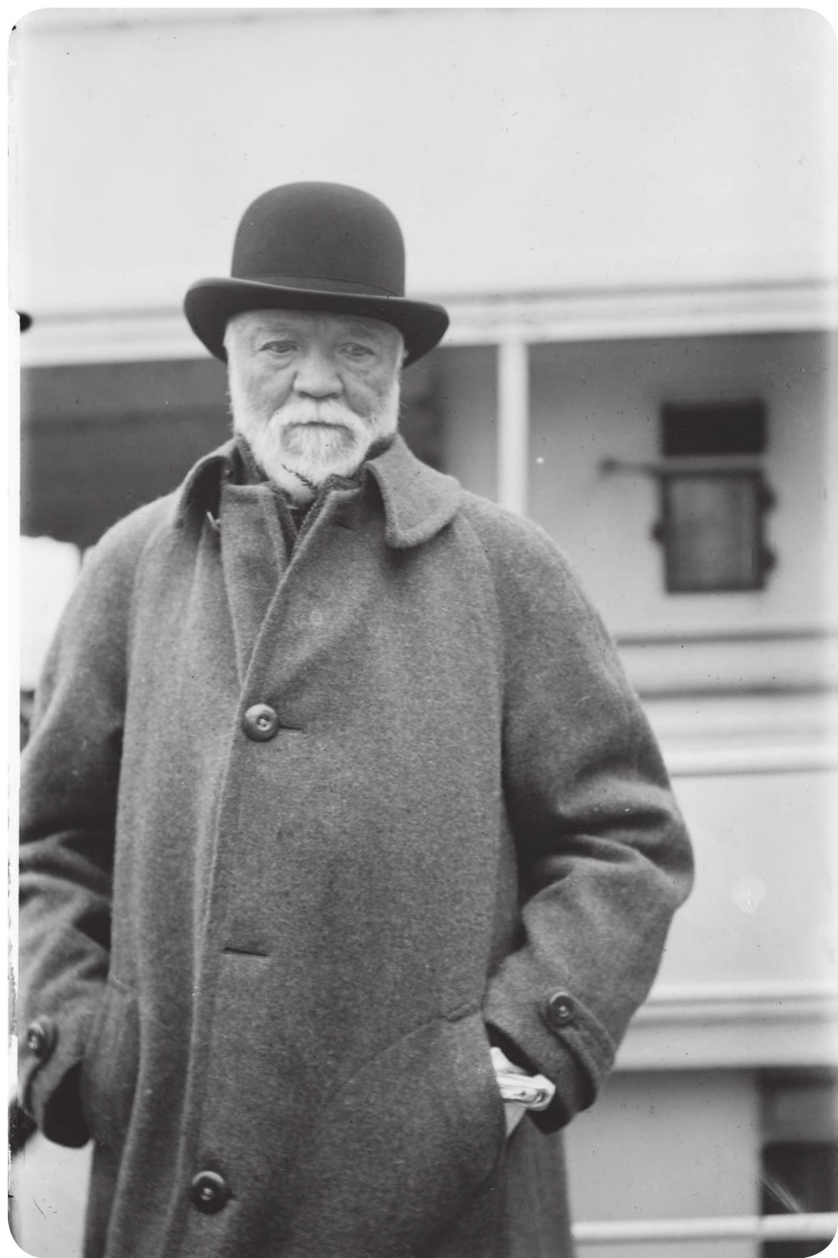


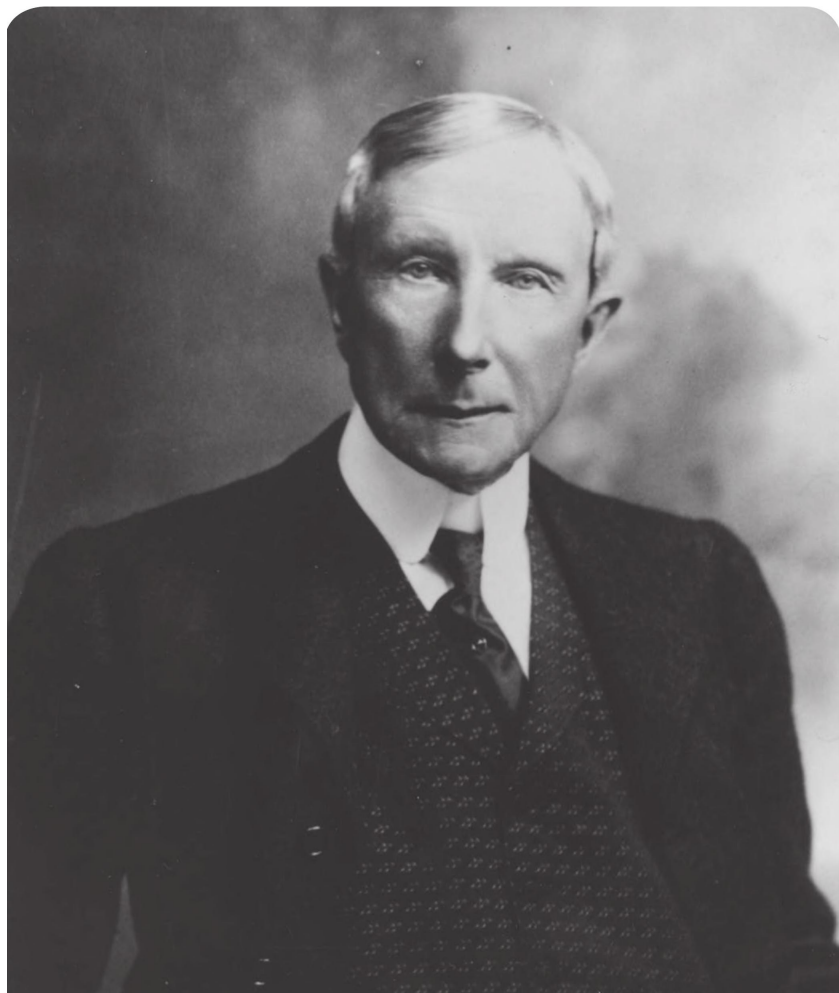
## INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 465 ANDREW CARNEGIE

Carnegie was one of a relatively small number of great industrialists of the late nineteenth century who genuinely rose "from rags to riches." Born in Scotland, he came to the United States in 1848, at the age of thirteen, and soon found work as a messenger in a Pittsburgh telegraph office. His skill in learning to transcribe telegraphic messages (he became one of the first telegraphers in the country able to take messages by sound) brought him to the attention of a Pennsylvania Railroad official, and before he was twenty, he had begun his ascent to the highest ranks of industry. After the Civil War, he shifted his attention to the growing iron industry; in 1873 he invested all his assets in the development of the first American steel mills. Two decades later Carnegie was one of the wealthiest men in the world. In 1901 he abruptly resigned from his businesses and spent the remaining years of his life as a philanthropist. By the time of his death in 1919, he had given away more than \$350 million, which by some measures would be worth well over a hundred billion dollars in 2014. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ggbain-13249))

New business executive: the "middle manager," Managerial who formed a layer of command between workers and owners. Beginning in the railroads, these new management techniques moved quickly into virtually every area of large-scale industry. Efficient administrative capabilities helped make possible another major feature of the modern corporation: consolidation. Consolidating Corporate America Businessmen created large, consolidated organizations primarily through two methods. One was "horizontal integration"-the company into a great national corporation, in part because of profits he earned selling to the military in the Civil War. Isaac Singer patented a sewing machine in 1851 and created I. M. Singer and Company, one of the first modern manufacturing corporations. Many of the corporate organizations developed a new approach to management. Large, national business enterprises needed more-systematic administrative structures than the limited, local ventures of the past. As a result, corporate leaders introduced a set of managerial techniques-the genesis of modern business administration-that relied on the division of responsibilities, a carefully designed hierarchy of control, modern cost-accounting

procedures, and above all, a new breed of JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company became perhaps the largest and most powerful monopoly in America in the late nineteenth century, and Rockefeller became one of the nation's wealthiest and most controversial men. Some historians consider Rockefeller to have been the richest person in history with a personal fortune at the time of his death of up to over a half-trillion dollars adjusted for the late 2000s. (© Hulton Archive/ Getty Images)

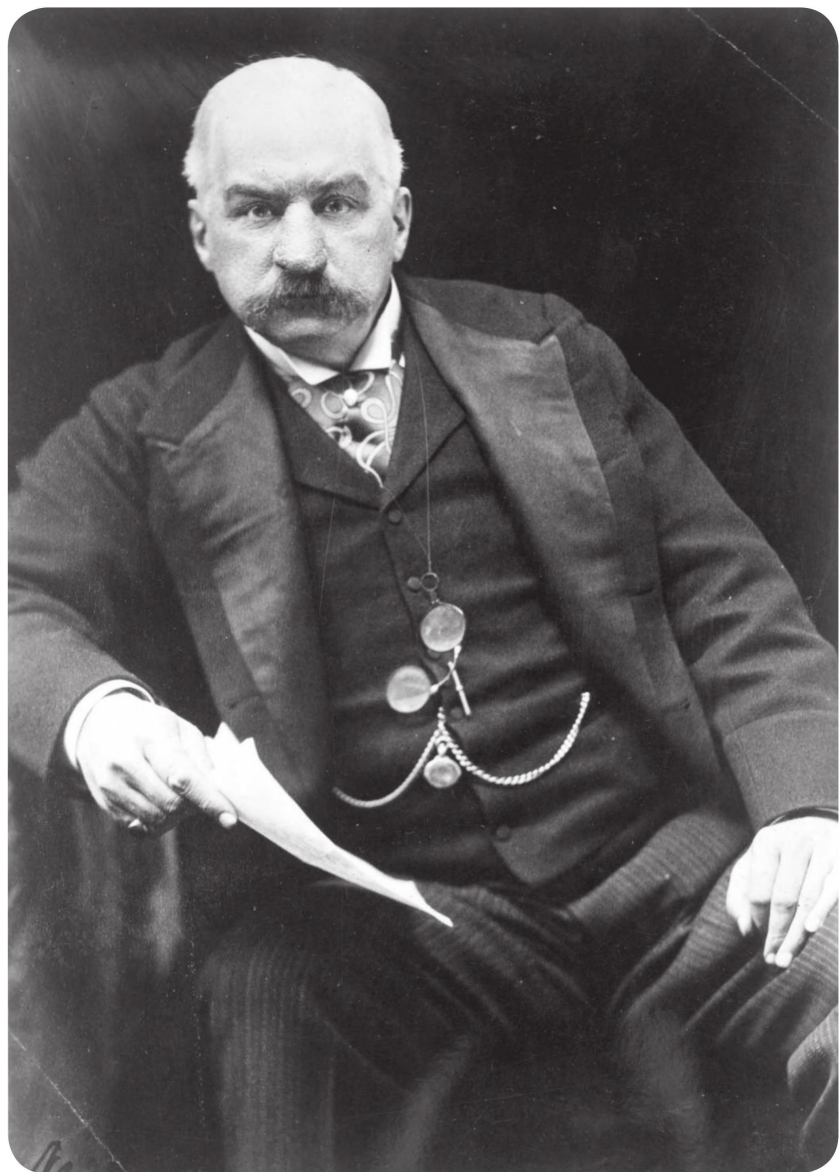




466 CHAPTER 17 combining of a number of firms engaged in the same enterprise Horizontal into a single corporation. The consolidation of many different railroad lines into one Integration company was an example. Another method, which became popular in the 1890s, was Vertical integration"-the taking over of all the different businesses on which a company relied for its primary function (as in the case of Carnegie Steel). The most celebrated corporate empire of the late nineteenth century was John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil, a great Rockefeller's combination created through both horizontal and vertical integration. Shortly after the Civil War, Rockefeller launched a refining company in Cleveland and immediately began trying to eliminate his competition. Allying himself with other wealthy capitalists, he proceeded methodically to buy out competing refineries. In 1870, he formed the Standard Oil Company of Ohio; within a few years it had acquired twenty of the twenty-five refineries in Cleveland, as well as plants in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York City, and Baltimore. So far, Rockefeller had expanded only horizontally. But soon he began expanding vertically as well. He built his own barrel factories, terminal warehouses, and pipelines. Standard Oil owned its own freight cars and developed its own marketing organization. By the 1880s, Rockefeller had established such dominance within the petroleum industry that to much of the nation he served as the leading symbol of monopoly. He controlled access to 90 percent of the refined oil in the United States. Rockefeller and other industrialists saw consolidation as a way to cope with what they believed was the greatest curse of the modern economy: "cutthroat competition." Most businessmen claimed to believe in free enterprise and a competitive marketplace, but in fact they feared the existence of too many competing firms, convinced that substantial competition could spell instability and ruin for all. A successful enterprise, many capitalists believed (but did not say publicly), was one that could eliminate or absorb its competitors. As the movement toward combination accelerated, new vehicles emerged to facilitate it. The railroads began making so-called pool arrangements-informal agreements among various companies to stabilize rates and divide markets (arrangements known as cartels that would later become illegal). But the pools did not work very well. If even a few firms in an industry were



unwilling to cooperate (as was almost always the case), the pool arrangements collapsed. The Trust and the Holding Company The failure of the pools led to new techniques of consolidation, resting less on cooperation than on centralized control. At first, the most successful such technique was the creation of the "trust"-pioneered by Standard Oil in the early 1880s and perfected by the banker J. P. Morgan. Over time, "trust" became a term for any great economic combination. But the trust was in fact a particular kind of organization. Under a trust agreement, stockholders in individual corporations transThe Trust ferred their stocks to a small group of trustAgreement ees exchange for shares in the trust . itself. Owners of trust certificates often had no direct control over the decisions of the trustees; they simply received a share of the profits of the combination. The trustees themselves, on the other hand, might literally own only a few companies but could exercise effective control over many. In 1889, the State of New Jersey helped produce a third form of consolidation by changing its laws of incorporation to permit companies to buy up other companies. Other states soon followed. That made the trust unnecessary and permitted actual corporate mergers. Rockefeller, for example, quickly relocated Standard Oil to New Jersey and created there what became known as a "holding company"-a central corporate body that would buy up the stock of various members of the Standard Oil trust and establish direct, formal ownership of the corporations in the trust. J. PIERPONT MORGAN This arresting portrait captures something of the intimidating power of J. Pierpont Morgan, the most powerful financier in America for decades until his death in 1913. (© The Granger Collection, New York)



## INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 467 CAPITALISM AND ITS

**CRITICS** The rise of big business produced many critics. Farmers and workers saw in the growth of the new corporate power centers a threat to notions of a republican society in which wealth and authority were widely distributed. Middle-class critics pointed to the corruption that the new industrial titans seemed to produce in their own enterprises and in local, state, and national politics. The growing criticisms challenged the captains of industry to defend the new corporate economy, to convince the public (and themselves) that it was compatible with the ideology of individualism and equal opportunity that had long been central to the American self-image.

**The "Self-Made Man"** The most common rationale for modern capitalism rested squarely on the older ideology of individualism. The new industrial economy, its defenders argued, was not reducing opportunities for individual advancement, but expanding them. It was providing every individual with a chance to succeed and attain great wealth. There was an element of truth in such claims, but only a small one. Before the Civil War there had been few millionaires in America; by 1892 Myth of the \* y Self-Made there were more than 4,000. Some Man were in fact what almost all millioniiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii \_ \_ \_ \_ aires claimed to be: "self-made men." Andrew Carnegie had worked as a bobbin boy in a Pittsburgh cotton mill; John D. Rockefeller had begun as a clerk in a Cleveland commission house; E. H. Harriman, a great railroad tycoon, had begun as a broker's office boy. But most of the new business tycoons had begun their careers from positions of wealth and privilege.

**"MODERN COLOSSUS OF (RAIL) ROADS"** Cornelius Vanderbilt, known as the "Commodore," accumulated one of America's great fortunes by consolidating several large railroad companies under his control in the 1860s. His name became a synonym not only for enormous wealth, but also (in the eyes of many Americans) for excessive corporate power—as suggested in this cartoon, showing him standing astride his empire and manipulating its parts. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ds-05068)) By the end of the nineteenth century, as a result of corporate Rapid consolidation, 1 percent of the corporations Corporate America were able to control more than Consolidation 33 percent of the manufacturing. A system of economic organization was emerging that lodged enormous power in the hands of a very

few men: the great bankers of New York such as J. P. Morgan, industrial titans such as Rockefeller (who gained control of a major bank), and others. Whether or not this relentless concentration of economic power was the only way or the best way to promote industrial expansion became a major source of debate in America. But it is clear that, whatever else they may have done, the industrial giants of the era were responsible for substantial economic growth. They were integrating operations, cutting costs, creating a great industrial infrastructure, stimulating new markets, creating jobs for a vast new pool of unskilled workers, and opening the way to large-scale mass production. They were also creating the basis for some of the greatest public controversies of their era. Nor was their rise to power and prominence always a result simply of hard work and ingenuity, as they liked to claim. It was also a result of ruthlessness, arrogance, and, at times, rampant corruption. The railroad magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt expressed the attitude of many corporate tycoons with his belligerent question: "What do I care about the law? H'aint I got the power?" So did his son William, with his oft-quoted statement: "The public be damned."

Industrialists made large financial contributions to politicians, political parties, and government officials in exchange for assistance and support. And more often than not, politicians responded as they hoped. Cynics said that n:



[illegible]

PHILANTHROPY THE WORD PHILANTHROPY ORIGINALLY meant love of humanity or goodwill toward fellow humans, but over time the term has come to mean large-scale giving by wealthy individuals. Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie accumulated a huge fortune in industry but devoted the last two decades of his life to philanthropy, establishing more than 2,500 libraries in the United States, endowing universities, and building Carnegie Hall in New York City and the Peace Palace in The Hague. In 1911, he established the Carnegie Corporation of New York "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding/" Carnegie articulated his philosophy of the obligation of the wealthy to use their fortunes to improve the world in the essay "Wealth," published in North American Review in 1889 and excerpted in the first source document below. Investor and philanthropist Warren Buffett is the chairman and chief executive officer of Berkshire Hathaway, a conglomerate holding company whose assets include GEICO, The Pampered Chef, Fruit of the Loom, See's Candies, and Benjamin Moore & Co., among many others. Known as the "Sage of Omaha," Buffett was born in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1930 and still resides in the house he bought there in 1957 for \$31,500. He made his first stock purchase at age 11 when he bought shares of Cities Service Preferred. Today Buffett is one of the world's richest men, with an estimated net worth of \$45 billion in 2010. In 2006, Buffett announced that he intended to give away most of his fortune during his lifetime, rather than having the funds distributed after his death. The majority of Buffett's wealth will go to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the charitable foundation established by his close friend, bridge partner, and fellow philanthropist Bill Gates.

ANDREW CARNEGIE-1889 Wealth \ Andrew Carnegie This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: first, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community-the man of wealth

thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves. . . . In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by almsgiving. Those worthy of assistance, except in rare cases, seldom require assistance. The really valuable men of the race never do, except in cases of accident or sudden change. Everyone has, of course, cases of individuals brought to his own knowledge where temporary assistance can do genuine good, and these he will not overlook. But the amount which can be wisely given by the l \_ \_ J 468 iimiimiiiiiiiiimiii





with that decision. Now, Bill and Melinda Gates and I are asking hundreds of rich Americans to pledge at least 50% of their wealth to charity. So I think it is fitting that I reiterate my intentions and explain the thinking that lies behind them. First, my pledge: More than 99% of my wealth will go to philanthropy during my lifetime or at death. Measured by dollars, this commitment is large. In a comparative sense, though, many individuals give more to others every day. Millions of people who regularly contribute to churches, schools, and other organizations thereby relinquish the use of funds that would otherwise benefit their own families. The dollars these people drop into a collection plate or give to United Way mean forgone movies, dinners out, or other personal pleasures. In contrast, my family and I will give up nothing we need or want by fulfilling this 99% pledge. Moreover, this pledge does not leave me contributing the most precious asset, which is time. Many people, including I'm proud to say-my three children, give extensively of their own time and talents to help others. Gifts of this kind often prove far more valuable than money. A struggling child, befriended and nurtured by a caring mentor, receives a gift whose value far exceeds what can be bestowed by a check. My sister, Doris, extends significant person-to-person help daily. Eve done little of this. 5 \_ > 469 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

A What I can do, however, is to take a pile of Berkshire Hathaway stock certificates—"claim checks" that when converted to cash can command far-ranging resources-and commit them to benefit others who, through the luck of the draw, have received the short straws in life. To date about 20% of my shares have been distributed (including shares given me by my late wife, Susan Buffett). I will continue to annually distribute about 4% of the shares I retain. At the latest, the proceeds from all of my Berkshire shares will be expended for philanthropic purposes by 10 years after my estate is settled. Nothing will go to endowments; I want the money spent on current needs. This pledge will leave my lifestyle untouched and that of my children as well. They have already received significant sums for their personal use and will receive more in the future. They live comfortable and productive lives. And I will continue to live in a manner that gives me everything I could possibly want in life. Some material things make my life more enjoyable; many, however, would not. I like having an expensive private plane, but owning a half-dozen homes would be a burden. Too often, a vast collection of possessions ends up possessing its owner. The asset I most value, aside from health, is interesting, diverse, and long-standing friends. My wealth has come from a combination of living in America, some lucky genes, and compound interest. Both my children and I won what I call the ovarian lottery. (For starters, the odds against my 1930 birth taking place in the U.S. were at least 30 to 1. My being male and white also removed huge obstacles that a majority of Americans then faced.) My luck was accentuated by my living in a market system that sometimes produces distorted results, though overall it serves our country well. I've worked in an economy that rewards someone who saves the lives of others on a battlefield with a medal, rewards a great teacher with thank-you notes from parents, but rewards those who can detect the mispricing of securities with sums reaching into the billions. In short, fate's distribution of long straws is wildly capricious. The reaction of my family and me to our extraordinary good fortune is not guilt, but rather gratitude. Were we to use more than 1% of my claim checks on ourselves, neither our happiness nor our well-being would be enhanced. In contrast, the remaining 99% can have a huge effect on the health and welfare of others. That reality sets an obvious course for me and my

## MAKE CONNECTIONS

1. Does it appear that, according to his philanthropic pledge, Warren Buffett is a believer in Carnegie's "gospel of wealth"? 2. What similarities are there between Buffett's beliefs concerning wealth and personal fortune and Carnegie's? Do you see any significant differences between the two men's views on the responsibilities of the wealthy? 3. Do you think Carnegie would say that Warren Buffett, according to his philanthropic pledge, fulfills the "duty of the man of wealth"? 470 iiiiiiiiiiimimmmiii

INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY • 471 Standard Oil did everything to the Ohio legislature except refine it. A member of the Pennsylvania legislature once reportedly said: "Mr. Speaker, I move we adjourn unless the Pennsylvania Railroad has more business for us to transact." The average industrialist of the late nineteenth century was not, however, a Rockefeller or a Vanderbilt. For every successful millionaire, there were dozens of aspiring businessmen whose efforts failed. Some industries fell under the monopolistic control of a single firm or a small group of large firms. But most industries remained fragmented, with many small companies struggling to carve out a stable position for themselves in an uncertain, highly competitive environment. The annals of business did indeed include real stories of individuals rising from rags to riches. They also included stories of people moving from riches back to rags. Survival of the Fittest Most tycoons liked to claim that they had attained their wealth and power through hard work, acquisitiveness, and thrift—the traditional virtues of Protestant America. Those who succeeded, they argued, deserved their success. "God gave me my money," explained John D. Rockefeller, expressing the assumption that riches were a reward for worthiness. Those who failed, they said, had earned their failure—through their own laziness, stupidity, or carelessness. "Let us remember," said a prominent Protestant minister, "that there is not a poor person in the United States who was not made poor by his own shortcomings." Such assumptions helped strengthen a popular social theory of the late nineteenth century: Social Darwinism, the application of Charles Darwin's laws of evolution, Darwinism and natural selection among species to human society. Just as only the fittest survived in the process of evolution, Social Darwinists claimed, so in human society only the fittest individuals survived and flourished in the marketplace. The English philosopher Herbert Spencer was the first and most important proponent of this theory. Society, he argued, benefited from the elimination of the unfit and the survival of the strong and talented. Spencer's books were popular in America in the 1870s and 1880s. And his teachings found prominent supporters among American intellectuals, most notably William Graham Sumner of Yale University who promoted similar ideas in lectures, articles, and a famous 1906 book, *Folkways*. Sumner did not agree with everything Spencer wrote, but

he did share Spencer's belief that individuals must have absolute freedom to struggle, to compete, to succeed, or to fail. Many industrialists seized on the theories of Spencer and Sumner to justify their own power. "The growth of a large business is merely the survival of the fittest," Rockefeller proclaimed. "This is not an evil tendency in business. It is merely the working out of the law of nature and a law of God." Social Darwinism appealed to businessmen because it seemed to legitimize their success and confirm their virtues. It also appealed to them because it placed their activities within the context of traditional American ideas of freedom and individualism. Above all, it appealed to them Status Quo because it justified their tactics. Social Darwinists insisted that all attempts by labor to raise wages by forming unions and all endeavors by government to regulate economic activities would fail, because economic life was controlled by a natural law, the law of competition. And Social Darwinism coincided with another "law" that seemed to justify business practices and business dominance: the law of supply and demand as defined by Adam Smith and the classical economists. The economic system, they argued, was like a great and delicate machine functioning by the "invisible hand" of market forces. But Social Darwinism and the ideas of classical economics did not have much to do with the realities of the corporate economy. At the same time that businessmen were celebrating the virtues of competition and the free market, they were actively seeking to protect themselves from competition and to replace the natural workings of the marketplace with control by great combinations. Rockefeller's great Standard Oil monopoly was the clearest example of the effort to free an enterprise from competition. Many other businessmen made similar attempts on a smaller scale. Vicious competitive battle-something Spencer and Sumner celebrated and called a source of healthy progress-was in fact the very thing that American businessmen most feared and tried to eliminate. The Gospel of Wealth Some businessmen attempted to temper the harsh philosophy of Social Darwinism with a more gentle, if in some ways equally self-serving, idea: the "gospel of wealth." People of great wealth, advocates of this idea argued, had not only great power but great responsibilities as well. It was their duty to use their riches to advance social progress. Andrew Carnegie elaborated on the creed in his 1901 book. The Gospel of Wealth, in which he wrote that the wealthy

should consider all revenues in excess of their own needs as "trust funds" to be used for the good of the community; the person of wealth, he said, was "the mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren." Carnegie was only one of many great industrialists who devoted large parts of their fortunes to philanthropic works-much of it to libraries and schools, institutions he believed would help the poor to help themselves. The notion of private wealth as a public blessing existed alongside another popular concept: the notion of great wealth Russell as something available to all. Russell H. Conwell Conwell, a Baptist minister, became the most prominent spokesman for the idea by delivering one lecture, "Acres of Diamonds," reportedly more than 6,000 times between 1880 and 1900. Conwell told a series of stories, which he claimed were true, of individuals who had found opportunities for extraordinary wealth in their own backyards. (One such story involved a modest farmer who discovered a vast diamond mine in his own fields in the course of

The Novels of Horatio Alger A young boy, perhaps an orphan, makes his perilous way through life on the rough streets of the city by selling newspapers or peddling matches. One day, his energy and determination catch the eye of a wealthy man, who gives him a chance to improve himself. Through honesty, charm, hard work, and aggressiveness, the boy rises in the world to become a successful man. That, in a nutshell, is the story that Horatio Alger presented to his readers in novel after novel more than 100 of them in all— for over forty years. During Alger's lifetime, Americans bought many million copies of his novels. After his death in 1899, his books (and others written in his name) continued to sell at an astonishing rate. Alger was born in 1832 into a middle-class New England family, attended Harvard, and spent a short time as a Unitarian minister. He never experienced the hardships he later chronicled. In the mid-1850s, he turned to writing stories and books. His most famous novel, *Ragged Dick*, was published in 1868; but there were many others almost identical to it: *Tom, the Bootblack*; *Sink or Swim*; *Jed, the Poorhouse Bog*; *Phil, the Fiddler*; *Andy Grant's Pluck*. Most of his books were aimed at young people, and almost all of them were fables of a young man's rise "from rags to riches." The purpose of his writing, he claimed, was twofold. He wanted to "exert a salutary influence upon the class of whom [I] was writing, by setting before them inspiring examples of what energy, ambition, and an honest purpose may achieve." He also wanted to show his largely middle-class readers "the life and experiences of the friendless and vagrant children to be found in all our cities." Most Americans of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were attracted to Alger because his stories helped reinforce one of the most cherished of their national myths: that with willpower and hard work, anyone could become a "self-made man." That belief was all the more important in the late nineteenth century, when the rise of large-scale corporate industrialization was making it increasingly difficult for individuals to control their own fates. Alger placed great emphasis on the moral qualities of his heroes; their success was a reward for their virtue. But many of his readers ignored the moral message and clung simply to the image of sudden and dramatic success. After the author's death, his publishers responded to that yearning by abridging many of Alger's works to eliminate the parts of his stories

where the heroes do good deeds. Instead, they focused solely on the success of Alger's heroes in rising in the world. Alger had very mixed feelings about the new industrial order he described. His books were meant to reveal not just the opportunities for advancement it sometimes created, but also its cruelty. To Alger, the modern age working his land.) "I say to you," he told his rapt audiences, "that you have 'acres of diamonds' beneath you right here . . . that the men and women sitting here have within their reach opportunities to get largely wealthy. ... I say that you ought to get rich, and that it is your duty to get rich." Most of the millionaires in the country, Conwell claimed (inaccurately), had begun on the lowest rung of the economic ladder and had worked their way to success. Every industrious individual had the chance to do likewise. Horatio Alger was the most famous promoter of the success Horatio story. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. Alger 472-473.) Alger was originally a minister in a small town in Massachusetts but was driven from his pulpit as a result of a sexual scandal. He moved to New York, where he wrote his celebrated novels about poor boys who rise "from rags to riches"-more than 100 in all, which together sold more than 20 million copies. He became something of a folk hero in American culture. Few of his many fans were aware of his homosexuality. Like most other gay men of his era, he kept his private life carefully hidden, fearful that publicity would destroy his reputation and his career. Alternative Visions Alongside the celebrations of competition, the Justifications for great wealth, and the legitimization of the existing order stood a group of alternative philosophies, challenging the corporate ethos and at times capitalism itself. One such philosophy emerged in the work of the sociologist Lester Frank Ward. Ward was a Darwinist, but he rejected Lester Frank Ward's application of Darwinian laws to human society. In *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) and other books, he argued that civilization was governed not by natural selection but by human intelligence, which was capable of shaping society as it wished. Unlike Sumner, who believed that state intervention to remodel the environment was futile. Ward thought that an active government engaged in positive planning was society's best hope. The people, through their government, could intervene in the economy and adjust it to serve their needs. Other Americans skeptical of the laissez-faire ideas of the Social Darwinists adopted drastic approaches to reform. Some dissenters



joined the Socialist Labor Party, founded in the 1870s and led for many years by Daniel De Leon, an immigrant from the West Indies. De Leon attracted a modest following in the industrial cities, but the party failed to become a major political force. It never polled more than 82,000 votes. A dissident faction of his party, eager to forge ties with organized labor, broke away and in 1901 formed the more enduring American Socialist Party. Other radicals gained a wider following. One of the most influential was Henry George of California. His angrily eloquent iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

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FROM THE RANKS Alger's novels were even more popular after his death in 1899 than they had been in his lifetime. This is a reprint of the cover of one of his many "rags-to-riches" books. *Risen from the Ranks* is about the rise of a young boy, Harry Walton, who rises from newsboy to newspaper editor. (© The Granger Collection, New York) did not guarantee success through hard work alone; there had to be some providential assistance as well. That was one reason that in almost all his books, his heroes triumphed not just because of their own virtues or efforts, but because of some amazing stroke of luck as well. Over time Alger's admirers came to ignore his own misgivings about industrialism and to portray his books purely as celebrations of (and justifications for) laissez-faire capitalism and the accumulation of wealth. Today, though his books are largely forgotten, the name Horatio Alger lives on, representing the idea of individual advancement through (in a phrase Alger coined) "pluck and luck." An example of the transformation of Alger into a symbol of individual achievement is the Horatio Alger Award, established in 1947 by the American Schools and Colleges Association to honor living individuals who by their own efforts had pulled themselves up by their bootstraps in the American tradition." Among its recipients have been Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan, evangelist Billy Graham, and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How do Alger's novels both defend industrial capitalism and criticize it? 2. According to the essay, Alger placed great emphasis on the moral qualities of his heroes, but his publishers later eliminated that aspect of the novels. Why? 3. Do Alger's themes—"rags to riches," success as a reward for virtue, "pluck and luck"—live on in contemporary popular culture? If so, cite some examples where you find these themes portrayed. *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1879, became one of the best-selling nonfiction works in American publishing history. Henry George GeorSe tried to explain why poverty existed amid the wealth created by modern industry. "This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times," he wrote. "So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and

cannot be permanent.” George blamed social problems on the ability of a few monopolists to grow wealthy as a result of rising land values. An increase in the value of land, he claimed, was a result not of any effort by the owner, but of the growth of society around the land. It was an "unearned increment," and it was rightfully the property of the community. And so George proposed a "single tax," to replace all other taxes, which would return the increment to the people. The tax, he argued, would destroy monopolies, distribute wealth more equally, and eliminate poverty. Single-tax societies sprang up in many cities. George moved east to New York; and in 1886, with the support of labor and the socialists, he narrowly missed being elected mayor. Rivaling George in popularity was Edward Bellamy, whose utopian novel *Looking Backward*, published in 1888, sold more than 1 million copies. It described the experiences of a young Bostonian who went into a hypnotic sleep in 1887 and awoke Looking Year 2000 to find a new social order Backward where want, politics, and vice were unknown. The new society had emerged from a peaceful, evolutionary process. The large trusts of the late nineteenth century had continued to grow and combine until they formed a single great trust, controlled by the government, which absorbed all the businesses of all the citizens and distributed the abundance of the industrial economy equally among all the people. Society had become a great machine, "so logical in its principles and direct and simple in its workings" that it almost ran itself. "Fraternal cooperation" had replaced competition. Class divisions had disappeared. Bellamy labeled the philosophy behind this vision "nationalism," and his work inspired the formation of more than 160 Nationalist Clubs to propagate his ideas. The Problems of Monopoly

Relatively few Americans shared the views of those who questioned capitalism itself. But by the end of the century a growing number of people were becoming deeply concerned about a particular, glaring aspect of capitalism: the growth of monopoly (control of the market by large corporate combinations). Laborers, farmers, consumers, small manufacturers, conservative bankers and financiers, advocates of radical change—all began to assail monopoly and economic concentration. • 473 mmiiiiiiiiimiiiiiii

¥ C Horatio Alger's rags-to-riches tales captured the aspirations of many men of the late nineteenth 17 century, Louisa May Alcott's enormously popular novels helped give voice to the often-unstated ambitions of many young women. Alcott was born in 1832, the daughter of a prominent if generally impoverished reformer and educator, Bronson Alcott— a New England transcendentalist committed to abolishing slavery and advancing women's rights. Louisa May Alcott grew up wanting to write, one of the few serious vocations available to women. As a young adult, she wrote a series of popular adventure novels under the pen name A. M. Barnard, populated by conventional male heroes. While serving as a nurse in the Civil War, she contracted typhoid and recovered, but developed mercury poisoning through her treatment and suffered from it until her death in 1888. After the war, she chose a different path— writing realistic fiction and basing it on the lives and experiences of women. The publication of *Little Women* (1868, 1869) established Alcott as a major literary figure and as an enduring, if sometimes puzzling, inspiration for girls and, indeed, women of all ages. *Little Women*— and its successors *Little Men* (1871) and *Jo's Boys* (1886)— were unlike the formulaic Horatio Alger stories, in which young men inevitably rose from humble circumstances to great success. And yet they both echoed and altered the message of those books. The fictional March family in the novels was in fact modeled on Alcott's own impoverished if intellectually lively childhood, and much of *Little Women* is a chronicle of poverty, suffering, and even death. But it is also the story of a young girl— Jo March, modeled to some degree on Alcott herself— who struggles to build a life for herself that is not defined by conventional women's roles and ambitions. Jo March, like Louisa May Alcott, becomes a writer. She spurns a conventional marriage (to her attractive and wealthy neighbor Laurie). Unlike Alcott, who never married, Jo does find a husband— an older man, a German professor who does not support Jo's literary ambitions. Many readers have found this marriage troubling — and false to the message of the rest of the book. It seems to contradict Alcott's belief that women can have intellectual independence and achievement. But to Alcott, *The Novels of Louisa May Alcott CHILDREN OF WEALTH* Amy Elizabeth du Pont (1880-1962), the heiress of the American industrialist du Pont family, drives her younger sister,

Julia, in their own pony-driven buggy. The photograph, taken by Pierre A. Gentieu, shows the children enjoying themselves while traveling with their family in France. (© Hagley Museum & Library, Wilmington, Delaware, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library) 474  
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this unconventional marriage was a symbol of her own repudiation of an ordinary domestic life. "Girls write to ask who the little women marry, as if that was the only end and aim of a woman's life," Alcott wrote a friend after the publication of the first volume of the novel. "I won't marry Jo to Laurie to please any one." Jo's marriage to Professor Bhaer is in many ways a concession. "Jo should have remained a literary spinster [like Alcott herself]," she once wrote, "but so many enthusiastic ladies wrote to me clamorously demanding that she should marry Laurie, or somebody, that I didn't dare to refuse and out of perversity went and made a funny match for her." It is tempting to see Louisa May Alcott's life—as an independent woman, a writer, and an active suffragist—as a better model to her readers than the characters in her fiction. Jo March is willful, rebellious, stubborn, ambitious, and often selfish, not the poised, romantic, submissive woman of most sentimental novels of her time. She hates housekeeping and drudgery. She yearns at times to be a boy. She resists society's expectations—through her literary aspirations, her sharp temper, and ultimately her unconventional marriage. Through those qualities, she captured the imaginations of late-nineteenth-century female (© Bettmann/Corbis) readers and continues to capture the imaginations of readers today. Little Women has survived far longer than the Horatio Alger stories did precisely because it presents a story of growing up that, unlike Alger's, is not predictable but complicated, conflicted, and surprising.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Do the female characters of Alcott's novels reflect the actual status of women in the late nineteenth century?
2. In what ways are Alcott's novels similar to Alger's? How do they differ?
3. Little Women has continued to be popular as a novel, and it has been made several times into movies and at least once into a Broadway musical. What accounts for its enduring popularity? They blamed monopoly for creating artificially high prices and for producing a highly unstable economy. In the absence of competition, they argued, monopolistic industries could charge whatever prices they wished; railroads, in particular, charged very high rates along some routes because, in the absence of competition, they knew their customers had no choice but to pay them. Artificially high prices, moreover, contributed to the economy's instability, as production consistently outpaced demand.

Beginning in 1873, the economy fluctuated erratically, with severe recessions creating havoc every five or six years, each recession worse than the previous one, until finally, in 1893, the system seemed on the verge of total collapse. Hostility to monopoly was based on more than a concern about prices. Many Americans considered monopoly dangerous because the rise of large combinations seemed to threaten the ability of individuals to advance in the world. If a single person, or a small group, could control all economic activity in an industry, what opportunities would be left for others? To men, in particular, monopoly threatened the ideal of the wage-earning husband capable of supporting a family and prospering, because combinations seemed to reduce opportunities to succeed-to make less likely the idea of the "self-made man" memorialized in the novels of Horatio Alger. Monopoly, therefore, threatened not just competition, but certain notions of manhood as well. Adding to the resentment of monopoly was the emergence of a new class of enormously and conspicuously wealthy people, whose lifestyles became an affront to those struggling to stay afloat. According to one estimate early in the century, 1 percent of the families in America controlled nearly 88 percent of the nation's assets. Some of the wealthy-Andrew Carnegie, for example-lived unostentatiously and donated large sums to charities. Others, however, lived in almost grotesque luxury. Like a clan of feudal barons, the Vanderbilts maintained, in addition to many country estates, seven opulent mansions on seven blocks of New York City's Fifth Avenue. Other wealthy New Yorkers lavished vast sums on parties. The most notorious, a ball on which Mrs. Bradley Martin spent \$368,000, created such a furor that she and her husband fled to England to escape public abuse. Observing their flagrant displays of wealth were the fourfifths of the American people who lived modestly and at least Increasing 10 million people who lived below the Inequality commonly accepted poverty line. The standard of living was rising for everyone, but the gap between rich and poor was increasing. To those in difficult economic circumstances, the sense of relative deprivation could be almost as frustrating and embittering as poverty itself. INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN THE NEW ECONOMY I III III III MINIM III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III Mill III III III MINIM MINI III MINIM III III III III III III III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III

The American working class was both a beneficiary and a victim of the growth of industrial capitalism. Many workers in the late nineteenth century experienced a real rise in their standard of living. But they did so at the cost of arduous and . 475  
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476 CHAPTER 17 often dangerous working conditions, diminishing control over their own work, and a growing sense of powerlessness. The Immigrant Workforce The industrial workforce expanded dramatically in the late nineteenth century as demand for factory labor grew. There was a continuing flow of rural Americans into factory towns and cities-people disillusioned with or bankrupted by life on the farm and eager for new economic and social opportunities. And there was a great wave of immigration from Mexico, Asia, Canada, and above all Europe in the decades following the Civil War-an influx greater than that of any previous era. The 25 million immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1865 and 1915 were more than four times the number who had arrived in the fifty years before. In the 1870s and 1880s, most of the immigrants to eastern industrial cities came from the nation's traditional sources: New Sources of England, Ireland, and northern Europe. Immigration By the end of the century, however, the major sources of immigration had shifted, with large numbers of southern and eastern Europeans (Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, Slavs, and others) moving to America (among other nations) and into the industrial workforce. In the West, the major sources of immigration were Mexico and, until the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Asia. No reliable figures are available for either group, but an estimated 1 million Mexicans entered the United States in the first three decades of the twentieth century, many of them swelling the industrial workforce of western cities. The new immigrants were coming to America in part to escape poverty and oppression in their homelands. But they were also lured to the United States by expectations of new opportunities. Sometimes such expectations were realistic, but often they were the result of false promises. Railroads tried to lure immigrants into their western landholdings by distributing misleading advertisements overseas. Industrial employers actively recruited immigrant workers under the Contract Labor Law, which-until its repeal in 1885-permitted them to pay for the passage of workers in advance and deduct the amount later from their wages. Even after the repeal of the law, employers continued to encourage the immigration of unskilled laborers, often with the assistance of foreign-born labor brokers, such as the Greek and Italian padrones, who recruited work gangs of their fellow nationals. The arrival of these new groups introduced heightened

Heightened ethnic tensions into the dynamic of the Ethnic Tensions working class. Low-paid Poles, Greeks, and French Canadians began to displace higher-paid British and Irish workers in the textile factories of New England. Italians, Slavs, and Poles emerged as a major source of labor for the mining industry in the East, traditionally dominated by native workers or northern European immigrants. Chinese and Mexicans competed with Anglo-Americans and African Americans in mining, farmwork, and factory labor in California, Colorado, and Texas. Wages and Working Conditions The average standard of living for workers rose in the years after the Civil War, but for many laborers, the return for their labor remained very small. At the turn of the century, the average income of the American worker was \$400 to \$500 a year—below the \$600 figure widely considered the minimum for a reasonable level of comfort. Nor did workers have much job security. All workers were vulnerable to the boom-and-bust cycle of the industrial economy, and some lost their jobs because of technological advances or because of the cyclical or seasonal nature of their work. Even those who kept their jobs could find their wages suddenly and substantially cut in hard times. Few workers, in other words, were ever far from poverty. American laborers faced other hardships as APPROACHING SHORE This image of European immigrants aboard a ship approaching the American shore captures the first-generation Workers' experience to both the excitement and the tension of these newcomers to the United States. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-7307)) the patterns of agrarian life, there was a difficult



## INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 477 WOMEN ON THE

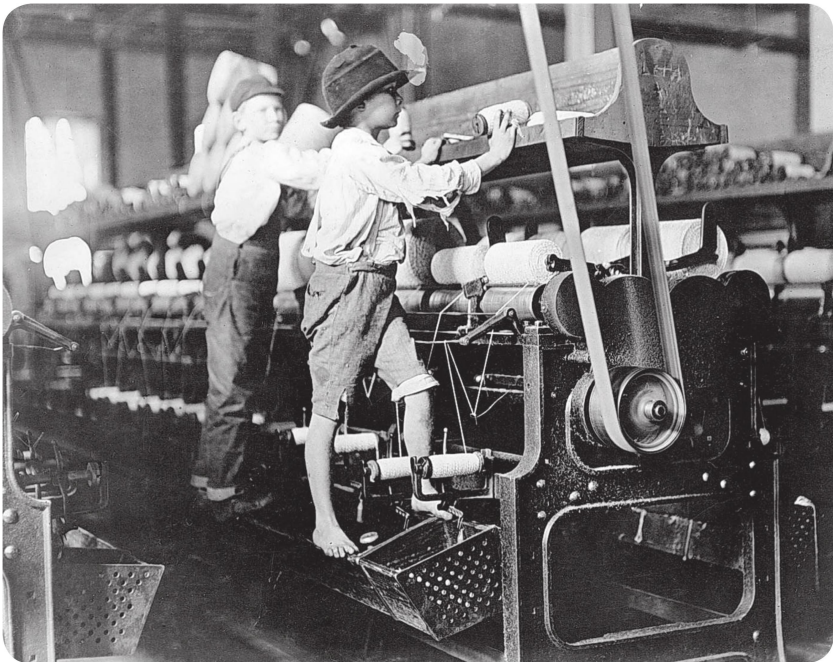
ASSEMBLY LINE This image, from 1902, shows women at work on the lock and drill department assembly line at the National Cash Register Company in Dayton, Ohio. The photograph suggests the growing scale of factory enterprise at the turn of the twentieth century. (© Everett Collection Historical/Alamy) adjustment to the nature of modern industrial labor: the performance of routine, repetitive tasks, often requiring little skill, on a strict and monotonous schedule. To skilled artisans whose once-valued tasks were now performed by machines, the new system was impersonal and demeaning. Factory laborers worked ten- to twelve-hour days, six days a week; in the steel industry they worked twelve hours a day. Many worked in appallingly unsafe or unhealthy factories. Industrial accidents were frequent and severe. Compensation to the victims, from either their employers or the government, was often limited, until many states began passing workmen's compensation laws in the early twentieth century. For many workers, the most disturbing aspect of factory labor in the new industrial system was their loss of control Loss of Control over conditions of their labor. Even . semiskilled workers and common laborers had managed to maintain some control over their labor in the relatively informal working conditions of the early and mid-nineteenth century. As the corporate form of organization spread, employers set out to make the factory more efficient (often in response to the principles of scientific management). That meant, they believed, centralizing control of the workplace in the hands of managers, ensuring that workers had no authority or control that might disrupt the flow of production. This loss of control, as much as the low wages and long hours, lay behind the substantial working-class militancy in the late nineteenth century. Women and Children at Work The decreasing need for skilled work in factories induced many employers to increase the use of unskilled women and children, whom they could hire for lower wages than adult males. By 1900, women made up 17 percent of the industrial workforce, a fourfold increase since 1870; and 20 percent of all women (well over 5 million) were wage earners. Some of these working women were single and took jobs to support themselves or their parents or siblings. Many others were married and had to work to supplement the inadequate earnings of their husbands; for many working-class families, two incomes were

required to support even a minimal standard of living. Many reformers, including many females, saw women as particularly vulnerable to exploitation and injury in the rough environment of the factory. They considered it inappropriate for women to work independently. The "problem" of women in the workforce became a significant public issue. In some communities the aversion to seeing married women work was so strong-among both men and women-that families struggled on inadequate wages rather than see a wife and mother take a job. Women industrial workers were overwhelmingly white and mostly young, 75 percent of them under twenty-five. The vast Poorly Paid majority were immigrants or the daughters of immigrants. There were some women in all areas of industry, even in some of the most arduous jobs. Most women, however, worked in a few industries where unskilled and semiskilled machine labor (as opposed to heavy manual labor) prevailed. The textile industry remained the largest single industrial employer of women. (Domestic service remained the most common female occupation overall.) Women worked for wages as low as \$6 to \$8 a week, well below the minimum necessary for survival (and well below the wages paid to men working the same jobs). At the turn of the century, the average annual wage for a male



478 CHAPTER 17 SPINDLE BOYS Young boys, some of them barefoot, clamber among the great textile machines in a Georgia cotton mill adjusting spindles. Many of them were the children of women who worked in the plants. The photograph is by Lewis Hine. (© Lewis Hine/ Corbis) industrial worker was \$597; for a woman, it was \$314. Even highly skilled women workers made about half what men doing the same job earned. Advocates of a minimum-wage law for women created a sensation when several women testified at a hearing in Chicago that low wages and desperate poverty had driven them to prostitution. (The testimony was not, however, sensational enough for the Illinois legislature, which promptly defeated the bill.) At least 1.7 million children under sixteen years of age were employed in factories and fields in 1900, more than twice the number of thirty years before. Ten percent of all girls aged ten to fifteen, and 20 percent of all boys, held jobs. This was partly because some families so desperately needed additional wages that parents and children alike were pressed into service. It was also because in some families the reluctance to permit wives to work led parents to send their children into the workforce to avoid forcing mothers to go. This did not, however, prevent reformers from seeing children ■w working in factories as a significant social Child-Labor problem. Under the pressure of outraged Laws public opinion, thirty-eight state legislatures passed child-labor laws in the late nineteenth century; but these laws were of limited impact. Sixty percent of child workers were employed in agriculture, which was typically exempt from the laws; such children often worked twelve-hour days picking or hoeing in the fields. And even for children employed in factories, the laws merely set a minimum age of twelve years and a maximum workday of ten hours, standards that employers often ignored. In the cotton mills of the South, children working at the looms all night were kept awake by having cold water thrown in their faces. In canneries, little girls cut fruits and vegetables sixteen hours a day. Exhausted children were particularly susceptible to injury while working at dangerous machines, and they were maimed and even killed in industrial accidents at an alarming rate. As much as the appalling conditions of women and child workers troubled the national conscience, conditions for many men were at least equally dangerous. In mills and mines, and on the railroads, the American

accident rate was higher than that of any industrial nation in the world. As late as 1907, an average of twelve railroad men a week died on the job. In factories, thousands of workers faced such occupational diseases as lead or phosphorus poisoning, against which few employers took precautions. The Struggle to Unionize Labor leaders attempted to fight back against the poor conditions in the workplace by adopting some of the same tactics their employers had used so effectively: creating large combinations, or unions. But by the end of the century their efforts had met with little success. There had been craft unions in America, representing small groups of skilled workers, since well before the Civil War. Alone, however, individual unions could not hope to exert National significant power in the new corporate Labor Union economy, and in the 1860s some labor leaders began to search for ways to combine the energies of the various labor organizations. The first attempt to federate separate unions into a single national organization came in 1866, when William H. Sylvester founded the National Labor Union-a polyglot association, claiming 640,000 members, that included a variety of reform groups having little



INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 479 4 \_ \_ KITIOE HANGED. Last Scenes in the Life of the King of the Molly Maguires. I AM NOT GUILTY. History of K-eWs Prominent Snare in the Many Murders in the Cca! Redon. o EVIDENCE EROM SPIES. workers agreed that "man should be the breadwinner," as one female union organizer said. But many argued that as long as conditions made it impossible for men to support their families, women should have full and equal opportunities in the workplace. Unions faced special difficulties during the recession years of the 1870s. Not only was there widespread unemployment; there was also widespread middle-class hostility toward the unions. When labor disputes with employers turned bitter Molly and violent, as they occasionally did, much Maguires of the public instinctively blamed the workers (or the "radicals" and "anarchists" they believed were influencing the workers) for the trouble, rarely the employers. Particularly alarming to middle-class Americans was the emergence of the "Molly Maguires," a militant labor organization in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. The Mollies operated within the Ancient Order of Hibernians, an Irish fraternal society. They attempted to intimidate the coal operators through violence and occasionally murder, and they added to the growing perception that labor activism was motivated by dangerous radicals. Much of the violence attributed to the Molly Maguires, however, was instigated or performed by informers and agents employed by the mine owners, who wanted a pretext for ruthless measures to suppress unionization. Little Excitement in Pottsville on the Occasion of the Execution. I BY TEUKGEAPH TO THE HERALD.] Pottsville, Pa., 3> cc, 18, 1878. The people of Pottsville have become so accustomed to executions of Molly Maguires that there is no excitement attendant upon this occasion\* Jack Xehoe, the terror of the coal fields, the braggart and desperado, passed a most miserable night\* The guards say that ho only got a few moments' sleep. He \_ j . . MOLLY MCGUIRES The Molly Maguires were known for their harsh, intimidating, and at times violent tactics against the owners and managers of anthracite coal mines. This newspaper notice announces the execution of Jack Kehoe— both high constable of Mahanoy County in Pennsylvania and a member of the Molly McGuires— who was found guilty of multiple murders in this coal-producing region. He was posthumously pardoned of these crimes



in 1979 suggesting that his cry "I am not guilty" was indeed true. (© American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, USA/ The Bridgeman Art Library) direct relationship with labor. After the Panic of 1873, the National Labor Union disintegrated and disappeared. The National Labor Union, like most of the individual unions that joined it, excluded women workers. Male workers argued (not entirely incorrectly) that women were used to drive down their wages; and they justified their hostility by invoking the ideal of domesticity. "Woman was created to be man's companion," a National Labor Union official said, "to be the presiding deity of the home circle." Most women

The Great Railroad Strike

Excitement over the Molly Maguires paled beside the near hysteria that gripped the country during the railroad strike of 1877, which began when the eastern railroads announced a 10 percent wage cut and which soon expanded into something approaching a class war. Strikers disrupted rail service National from Baltimore to St. Louis, destroyed Strike equipment, and rioted in the streets of Pittsburgh and other cities. State militias were called out, and in July President Hayes ordered federal troops to suppress the disorders in West Virginia. In Baltimore, eleven demonstrators died and forty were wounded in a conflict between workers and militiamen. In Philadelphia, state militia opened fire on thousands of workers and their families who were attempting to block the railroad crossings and killed twenty people. In all, more than 100 people died before the strike finally collapsed several weeks after it had begun. The great railroad strike was America's first major, national labor conflict, and it illustrated how disputes between workers and employers could no longer be localized in the increasingly national economy. It illustrated as well the depth of resentment among many American workers toward their employers (and toward the governments allied with them) and the lengths to which they were prepared to go to express that resentment. And finally, it was an indication of the frailty of the labor movement. The failure of the strike seriously weakened the railroad unions and damaged the reputation of labor organizations in other industries as well.

480 CHAPTER 17 The Knights of Labor The first genuinely national labor organization was the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869 under the leadership of Uriah S. Stephens. Membership was open to all who "toiled," a definition that included all workers and most business and professional people. The only excluded groups were lawyers, bankers, liquor dealers, and professional gamblers. Unlike most labor organizations of the time, the Knights welcomed women members-not just female factory workers, but domestic servants and women who worked in their own homes. Leonora Barry, an Irish immigrant who had worked in a New York hosiery factory, ran the Woman's Bureau of the Knights. Under her effective leadership, the Knights enlisted 50,000 women members (both black and white) and created over a hundred all-female locals. The Knights were loosely organized, without much central direction. Members met in local "assemblies," which took many different forms. They were loosely affiliated with a national "general assembly." Their program was similarly vague. Although they championed an eight-hour day and the abolition of child labor, the leaders were more interested in longrange reform of the economy. Leaders of the Knights hoped to replace the "wage system" with a new "cooperative system," in which workers would themselves control a large part of the economy. For several years, the Knights remained a secret fraternal organization. But in the late 1870s, under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly, the order moved into Dissolution 1 , , , . — — the open and entered a spectacular period OF THE Knights of °f expansion. By 1886, it claimed a total Labor membership of over 700,000, including iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii , , ill some militant elements that the moderate leadership could not always control. Local unions or assemblies associated with the Knights launched a series of strikes in the 1880s in defiance of Powderly's wishes. In 1885, striking railway workers forced the Missouri Pacific, a link in the Gould system, to restore wage cuts and recognize their union. But the victory was temporary. In the following year, a strike on another Gould railroad, the Texas and Pacific, was crushed, and the power of the unions in the Gould system was broken. Their failure helped discredit the organization. By 1890, the membership of the Knights had shrunk to 100,000. A few years later, the organization disappeared. The AFL Even before the Knights began to decline, a

rival organization based on a very different organizational concept appeared. In 1881, representatives of a number of existing craft unions formed the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. Five years later, it changed its name to the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and it soon became the most important and enduring labor group in the country. Rejecting the Knights' idea of one big union for everybody, the Federation was an association of autonomous craft unions and represented mainly skilled workers. It was generally hostile to organizing unskilled workers, who did not fit comfortably within the craft-based structure of existing organizations. Toward women, the AFL adopted an apparently contradictory policy. On the one hand, the male leaders of the AFL were hostile to the idea of women entering the Opposition paid workforce. Because women were weak, they believed, employers could easily take advantage of them by paying them less than to Female Employment KNIGHTS OF LABOR DELEGATES, 1886 The Knights of Labor was the first, and for many years the only, labor organization to welcome women unreservedly, as this portrait of delegates to the Knights 1886 convention indicates. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-12485))



INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 481 men. As a result, women workers drove down wages for everyone. "It is the so-called competition of the unorganized, defenseless woman worker, the girl and the wife, that often tends to reduce the wages of the father and husband," Samuel Gompers, the powerful leader of the AFL, once said. He talked often about the importance of women remaining in the home and argued (incorrectly) that "there is no necessity of the wife contributing to the support of the family by working." More than that, female labor was, the AFL newspaper wrote, "the knife of the assassin, aimed at the family circle." Gompers himself believed strongly that a test of a man's worth was his ability to support a family and that women in the workforce would undermine men's positions as heads of their families. Although hostile to the idea of women workers, the AFL nevertheless sought equal pay for those women who did work and even hired some female organizers to encourage unionization in industries dominated by women. These positions were, in fact, less contradictory than they seem. By raising the pay of women, the AFL could make them less attractive to employers and, in effect, drive them out of the workforce. Gompers accepted the basic premises of capitalism; his goal was simply to secure for workers a greater share of capitalism's material rewards. Gompers opposed the creation of a worker's party; he was generally hostile to any government efforts to protect labor or improve working conditions, convinced that what government could give it could also take away. The AFL concentrated instead on the relationship between labor and management. It supported the immediate objectives of most workers: better wages and working conditions. And while the AFL hoped to attain its goals by collective bargaining, it was ready to use strikes if necessary. As one of its first objectives, the AFL demanded a national eight-hour day and called for a general strike if workers did not achieve the goal by May 1, 1886. On that day, strikes and demonstrations calling for a shorter workday took place all over the country, most of them staged by AFL unions but a few by radical groups. In Chicago, a center of labor and radical strength, a strike was already in progress at the McCormick Square Harvester Company when the general strike began. City police had been harassing the strikers, and labor and radical leaders called a protest meeting at Haymarket Square. When the police

ordered the crowd to disperse, someone threw a bomb that killed seven officers and injured sixty-seven other people. The police, who had killed four strikers the day before, fired into the crowd and killed four more people. Conservative, property-conscious Americans, frightened and outraged, demanded retribution, even though no one knew who had thrown the bomb. Chicago officials finally rounded up eight anarchists and charged them with murder, on the grounds that their statements had incited whoever had hurled the bomb. All eight scapegoats were found guilty after a remarkably injudicious trial. Seven were sentenced to death. One of the condemned committed suicide, four were executed, and two had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. To most middle-class Americans, the Haymarket bombing was an alarming symbol of social chaos and radicalism. "Anarchism" now became a code word in the public mind for terrorism and violence, even though most anarchists were relatively peaceful visionaries dreaming of a new social order. For the next thirty years, the specter of anarchism remained one of the most frightening concepts in the American middle-class imagination. It also became a constant obstacle to the goals of the AFL and other labor organizations, and it was particularly devastating to the Knights of Labor, which, as the most radical of the major labor organizations, never recovered from the post-Haymarket hysteria. However much they tried to distance themselves from radicals, unions were always vulnerable to accusations of anarchism, as the violent strikes of the 1890s occasionally illustrated. The Homestead Strike The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, was the most powerful trade union in the country. Its members were skilled workers, in great demand by employers and thus able to exercise significant power in the workplace. Employers sometimes called such workers "little shopfloor autocrats," and they resented the substantial control over working conditions these skilled laborers often had. The union had a rulebook with fifty-six pages of what workers called "legislation" limiting the power of employers. In the emerging corporate world of the late nineteenth century, such challenges to management control were beginning to seem intolerable to many employers. By the mid- 1880s, the steel industry had introduced new production methods and new patterns of organization that were streamlining the steelmaking process and, at the same time, reducing the

companies' dependence on skilled labor. In the Carnegie system, the union had a foothold in only one of the corporation's three major factories- the Homestead plant Henry Clay near Pittsburgh. By 1890, Carnegie and his Frick chief lieutenant, Henry Clay Frick, had decided that the Amalgamated had to go, even at Homestead. Over the next two years, they repeatedly cut wages at Homestead. At first, the union acquiesced, aware that it was not strong enough to wage a successful strike. In 1892, the company stopped even discussing its decisions with the Amalgamated, in effect denying the union's right to negotiate. Finally, when Frick announced another wage cut at Homestead and gave the union two days to accept it, the Amalgamated called for a strike. Frick abruptly shut down the plant and called in 300 guards from the Pinkerton Detective Agency to enable the company to hire nonunion workers. The hated Pinkertons were well-known strikebreakers, and their mere presence was often enough to incite workers to violence. The Pinkertons approached the plant by river on barges on July 6, 1892. The strikers prepared for them by pouring oil on the water and setting it on fire, and they met the guards at the docks with guns and dynamite. After several hours of pitched

482 CHAPTER 17 battle, during which three guards and ten strikers were killed and many others injured, the Pinkertons surrendered and were escorted roughly out of town. But the workers' victory was temporary. The governor of Pennsylvania, at the company's request, sent the state's entire The Union National Guard contingent, some 8,000 Defeated troops, to Homestead. Production resumed, with strikebreakers now protected by troops. Public opinion turned against the strikers when a radical made an attempt to assassinate Frick. Slowly, workers drifted back to their jobs; and finally-four months after the strike began-the Amalgamated surrendered. By 1900, every major steel plant in the Northeast had broken with the Amalgamated, which now had no power to resist. Its membership shrank from a high of 24,000 in 1891 (two-thirds of all eligible steelworkers) to fewer than 7,000 a decade later. Its decline was symbolic of the general erosion of union strength in the late nineteenth century, as factory labor became increasingly unskilled and workers thus became easier to replace. The AFL unions were often powerless in the face of these changes. The Pullman Strike A dispute of greater magnitude and equal bitterness, if less violence, was the Pullman strike in 1894. The Pullman Palace Car Company manufactured sleeping and parlor cars for railroads, which it built and repaired at a plant near Chicago. The company built a 600-acre town, named Pullman, and rented its trim, orderly houses to the employees. George M. Pullman, owner of the company, considered the town a model solution to the industrial problem; he referred to the workers as his "children." But many residents chafed at the regimentation and the high rents. In the winter of 1893-1894, the Pullman Company slashed wages by about 25 percent, citing the declining revenues the depression that began in 1883 was causing. At the same time, Pullman refused to reduce rents in its model town, which were 20 to 25 percent higher than rents for comparable accommodations in surrounding areas. Workers went on strike Eugene Debs and persuaded the militant American . Railway Union, led by Eugene V. Debs, to support them by refusing to handle Pullman cars and equipment. Opposing the strikers was the General Managers' Association, a consortium of twenty-four Chicago railroads. It persuaded its member companies to discharge switchmen who refused to handle Pullman cars. Every time this happened, Debs's

union instructed its members who worked for the offending companies to walk off their jobs. Within a few days thousands of railroad workers in twenty-seven states and territories were on strike, and transportation from Chicago to the Pacific coast was paralyzed. Most state governors responded readily to appeals from strike-threatened businesses; but the governor of Illinois, John Peter Altgeld, was a man with demonstrated sympathies for workers and their grievances. Altgeld had criticized the trials of the Haymarket anarchists and had pardoned the convicted HiTirrir\* \*tt% ■ I'M i» Hi (Mi t ih mk> r— , THE PULLMAN STRIKE These two images portray two aspects of the great Pullman strike of 1894. The photograph above shows U.S. troops, ordered to Chicago to quell the strike, camping on the lakefront. The drawing below shows freight cars and an engine destroyed by striking workers. These images were published together in Harper's Weekly to illustrate the ferocity of the Pullman battle. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-96506)) men who were still in prison when he took office. He refused to call out the militia to protect employers now. Bypassing Altgeld, railroad operators asked the federal government to send regular army troops to Illinois, on the pretext that the strike was preventing the movement of mail on the trains. President Grover Cleveland and Attorney General Richard Olney, a former railroad lawyer and a bitter foe of unions, complied. In July 1894, over Altgeld's objections, the president ordered 2,000 troops to the Chicago area. A federal court issued an injunction forbidding the union to continue the strike.





INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 483 When Debs and his associates defied it, they were arrested and imprisoned. With federal troops protecting the hiring of new workers and with the union leaders in a federal jail, the strike quickly collapsed. Sources of Labor Weakness The last decades of the nineteenth century were years in which labor, despite its organizing efforts, made few real gains and suffered many important losses. In a rapidly expanding industrial economy, wages for workers rose hardly at all, and not nearly enough to keep up with the rising cost of living. Labor leaders won a few legislative victories: the abolition by Congress in 1885 of the Contract Labor Law; the establishment by Congress in 1868 of an eight-hour day on public works projects and in 1892 of an eight-hour day for government employees; state laws governing hours of labor and safety standards; and gradually some guaranteed compensation for workers injured on the job. But many of these laws were not enforced, and neither strikes nor protests seemed to have much effect. The end of the century found most workers with less political power and considerably less control of the workplace than they had had forty years before. Workers failed to make greater gains for many reasons. The principal labor organizations represented only a small percentage of the industrial workforce. Four percent of all workers (fewer than 1 million) belonged to unions in 1900. The AFL, the most important, excluded unskilled workers, who were emerging as the core of the industrial workforce, and along with them most women, blacks, and recent immigrants. Women responded to this exclusion in 1903 by forming their own organization, the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). But after several frustrating years of attempting to unionize women, the WTUL turned the bulk of its attention to securing protective legislation for women workers, not general organization and mobilization of labor. Other divisions within the workforce contributed further to union weakness. Tensions between different ethnic and racial groups kept laborers divided. Another source of labor weakness was the shifting nature of the workforce. Many immigrant workers came to America intending to remain only briefly, to earn some money and return home. The assumption that they had no long-range future in this country (even though it was often a mistaken one) eroded their willingness to organize. Other workers-natives

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immigrants were in constant motion, moving from one job to another, one town to another, seldom in one place long enough to establish institutional ties or exert real power. A study of Newburyport, Massachusetts, over a thirty-year period shows that 90 percent of the workers there vanished from the town records in those years, many of them because they moved elsewhere. Even workers who stayed put often did not remain in the same job for long. Some real social mobility did exist. Workers might move from unskilled to semiskilled or skilled jobs during their lifetimes; their children might become foremen or managers. The gains were small, but they were enough to inspire considerable (and often unrealistic) hopes and to persuade some workers that they were not part of a permanent working class. Above all, workers made few gains in the late nineteenth century because of the strength of the forces arrayed against Corporate them. They faced corporate organizations Strength of vast wealth and power, which were generally determined to crush any efforts by workers to challenge their prerogatives-not just through brute force, but also through infiltration of unions, espionage within working-class communities, and sabotage of organizational efforts. And as the Homestead and Pullman strikes suggest, the corporations usually had the support of local, state, and federal authorities, who were willing to send in troops to "preserve order" and crush labor uprisings on demand. Despite the creation of new labor unions, despite a wave of strikes and protests that in the 1880s and 1890s reached startling proportions, workers in the late nineteenth century failed to create successful organizations or to protect their interests in the way the large corporations managed to do. In the battle for power within the emerging industrial economy, almost all the advantages seemed to lie with capital. LOOKING BACK In the four decades following the end of the Civil War, the United States propelled itself into the forefront of the industrializing nations of the world. Large areas of the nation remained overwhelmingly rural, to be sure, and the majority of the population was still engaged in activities closely tied to farming. Even so, America's economy, and along with it the nation's society and culture, were being profoundly transformed. New technologies, new forms of corporate management, and new supplies of labor helped make possible the rapid growth of the nation's industries and the

construction of its railroads. The factory system contributed to the growth of the nation's cities and at times created entirely new ones. Immigration provided a steady supply of new workers for the growing industrial economy. The result was a steady and substantial increase in national wealth, rising living standards for much of the population, and the creation of great new fortunes. But industrialization did not spread its fruits evenly. Large areas of the country, most notably the South, profited relatively little from economic growth as did large groups in the population, most notably minorities, women, and recent immigrants. Industrial workers experienced arduous labor conditions and wages that rose much more slowly than the profits

484 • CHAPTER 17 of the corporations for which they worked. Small merchants and manufacturers found themselves overmatched by great new combinations. Industrialists strove to create a rationale for their power and to persuade the public that everyone had something to gain from it. But many Americans remained skeptical of modern capitalism, and some-workers struggling to form unions. reformers denouncing trusts, women fighting to win protections for female laborers, socialists envisioning a new world, and many others-created broad and powerful critiques of the new economic order. Industrialization brought both progress and pain to late-nineteenth-century America. Controversies over its effects defined the era and would continue to define the first decades of the twentieth century. Key Terms/ People/Places/Events American Federation of Labor 480 Andrew Carnegie 464 Edward Bellamy 473 Eugene V. Debs 482 Frederick Winslow Taylor 462 Gospel of wealth 471 Haymarket bombing 48 1 Henry Clay Frick 48 1 Henry Ford 46 1 Henry George 472 Homestead strike 48 1 Horatio Alger 472 Horizontal integration 466 John D. Rockefeller 466 John Peter Altgeld 482 J. P. Morgan 464 Knights of Labor 480 Molly Maguires 479 National Labor Union 478 Pullman strike 482 Samuel Gompers 48 1 Scientific management 462 Social Darwinism 471 Vertical integration 466 Wilbur and Orville Wright 462 Women's Trade Union League 483

RECALL AND REFLECT 1. Who were some of the business and industrial titans of the late nineteenth century, and what did they contribute to America's industrial growth? 2. What changes took place in corporate organization in the late nineteenth century, and how did these changes affect the nation's economy? 3. What was the Social Gospel? 4. How did Social Darwinism attempt to justify the social consequences of industrial capitalism? 5. How did workers respond to the expansion of industrialization and the new industrial economy?

## INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY 485 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1859 First oil well drilled in Pennsylvania 1866 1869 Knights of Labor founded William H. Sylvis founds National Labor Union First transatlantic cable laid 1870 John D. Rockefeller founds Standard Oil 1873 Carnegie Steel founded Commercial and financial panic disrupts economy 1877 Railroad workers strike nationwide 1876 Alexander Graham Bell invents telephone 1879 Thomas A. Edison invents electric lightbulb 1886 Haymarket bombing blamed on anarchists 1888 Edward Bellamy publishes Looking Backward 1892 1893 Depression begins Workers strike Homestead plant 1894 Workers strike Pullman Company 1901 J. P Morgan creates United States Steel Corporation Spindletop oil field discovered in Texas 1906 1903 Wright brothers make first successful flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina Henry Ford produces his first automobiles 1881 American Federation of Labor founded

THE AGE OF THE CITY SNOW IN NEW YORK , 1902

Robert Henri Cozad (1865-1929) was one of a number of painters who, in the early twentieth century, created what became known as the "Ashcan" school of painting. These artists painted scenes of the urban underworld— tenements, saloons, boxing rings. (Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington) LOOKING AHEAD

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1. What were some of the problems that resulted from rapid urbanization, and how did urban governments respond to these problems?
2. How did the sources of immigration to America shift in the late nineteenth century, and what was the native response to the change?
3. How did the rise of mass consumption affect leisure and entertainment?





SETTING THE STAGE THE INDUSTRIALIZATION AND COMMERCIALIZATION of America changed the face of society in countless ways. Nowhere were those changes more profound than in the growth of cities and the creation of an urban society and culture. Having begun its life as a primarily agrarian republic, the United States in the late nineteenth century was becoming an urban nation. The change did not come easily. Cities grew so rapidly that their facilities and institutions could not keep pace. Housing, transportation, sewers, social services, governments— all lagged far behind the enormous demands the new urban population was placing on them. The enormous diversity of many urban populations required cities to assimilate different and sometimes clashing population groups— a challenge that has continued to face the nation into the present. But despite their many problems, cities continued to grow in both size and influence. People flocked to them to take advantage of the economic and educational opportunities they offered, to escape what many considered the boredom of rural life, and to experience the new forms of entertainment that cities were helping to advance. As centers of wealth, cities also became the sites of great civic projects that have defined the identity of many urban centers ever since. Cities across the United States, and around much of the world, set out in these years to build public parks, museums, theaters, opera houses, monumental railroad stations, imposing libraries, and great boulevards. The city of a century ago, like the city of today, symbolized many of the greatest achievements and desires of modern society and also many of its greatest fears. THE URBANIZATION OF AMERICA

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iiii ii iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimiiii mi mm hi in iiiiiiiiiiiiii m hi in mi imiiiiii  
Mini mi hi immiiii in hi in hi iii iimiiiiiii^ The great migration from the countryside to the city was not unique to the United States. It was occurring simultaneously throughout much of the Western world in response to industrialization and the factory system. America, a society with little experience of great cities, found urbanization both jarring and alluring. The Lure of the City "We cannot all live in cities," the journalist Horace Greeley wrote shortly after the Civil War, "yet nearly all seem determined to do so." The urban population of America increased sevenfold Rapid Urban centur^ a^ter Civil War. And in 1920, the census revealed that

Growth f̄r ^rst t™e' a majority of the American people lived in "urban" areas. communities of 2,500 people or more. New York City and its environs grew from 1 million in 1860 to over 3 million in 1900. Chicago had 100,000 residents in 1860 and more than a million in 1900. Cities were experiencing similar growth in all areas of the country. Natural increase accounted for only a small part of the urban growth. In fact, urban families experienced a high rate of infant mortality, a declining fertility rate, and a high death rate from disease. Without immigration, cities would have grown slowly, if at all. The city attracted people from the countryside because it offered conveniences, entertainments, and cultural experiences unavailable in rural communities. Cities gave women the opportunity to act in ways that in smaller communities would have been seen to violate "propriety." They gave gay men and lesbian women space in which to build a culture (even if still a mostly hidden one) and experiment sexually at least partly insulated from the hostile gaze of others. But most of all, cities attracted people because they offered more and better-paying jobs than were available in rural America or in the foreign economies many immigrants were fleeing. People moved to cities, too, because new forms of transportation made it easier for them to get there. Railroads made simple, quick, and inexpensive what once was a daunting journey from parts 487

## 488 CHAPTER 18

Seattle (1852) Portland Salem. (1845) (1841) • Eureka (1850) Reno  
 \* (1868) Qan . Sacramento Francisco < 1848 > • Fresno (1872)  
 Santa . Barbara . Los Angeles . Helena (1864) Bismarck (1873)  
 Settled areas (more than 2 persons per square mile) Industrial areas  
 Sparsely settled . Billings (1887) • Boise (1863) Pierre (1880).  
 Cheyenne 'Salt Lake — City (18A7) Denver\* (1858) Fargo (1871)  
 Minneapolis\* (1817) Milwaukee (1836). Des Moines Sioux Falls -  
 (1857)\* D ... Burlington\* Rochester Syracuse (1812). . (1825)  
 Buffalo jTWf. Omaha (1854)i (1843) Chicago 1 (1830) St. Joseph  
 \* > (1843) Indianapolis . (1819) Kansas □ St. Louis City (1853)  
 CEAi Honolulu (1880) • Lahaina . Phoenix (1867) . Tucson . Santa Fe  
 'Albuquerque \* El Paso Amarillo \*(1887) Topeka (1854) Wichita  
 '(1868) Tulsa' ~l ... \_ \_ (1880). "7, ,, , Little Rock 'Oklahoma (1820)  
 City (1889) Augusta Portsmouth □ Boston Providence\* 'Fall River  
 Detroit. (1803) 'New Haven Toledo\* . Cleveland I " New York (1833)  
 □ Pittsburgh "Philadelphia . Columbus □ Baltimore (1812) ' J  
 'Washington, D.C. 4'Cjncinnati p Jlr. iX Rjphmond\* Ft. Worth  
 (1843) . Dallas (1841) Memphis ,\*(1819) Birmingham (1871) '  
 Louisville Raleigh Nashvillq~ • Columl • Atlanta (1837) 0 100 200  
 km Hilo 500 1 ,000 km Austin .(1838) Baton Rouge\* \*San Antonio '  
 Houston (1836) 'Jackson (182 1\*) Tallahassee —7 \ ST (1824) .  
 Pensacola New Orleans Montgomery (1818) Corpus Christi (1840)  
 Charleston Savannah Jacksonville •(1822) 'Gainesville (1853) •  
 Tampa (1849) URBAN POPULATION CENTERS ■  
 1,000,000-5,000,000 □ 500,000-1,000,000 • 100,000-500,000 .  
 Under 100,000 'Miami (1870) THE UNITED STATES IN 1900 This  
 map helps illustrate the enormous increase in the nation's urban  
 population in the nineteenth century. The map of America in 1800,  
 on p. 194 in Chapter 7, reveals a nation with very few significant  
 cities and with a population clustered largely along the eastern  
 seaboard. By 1900, a much larger area of the United States had  
 consistent areas of settlement, and many more of those areas  
 consisted of towns and cities— including three cities (Chicago, New  
 York, and Philadelphia) with populations of over a million and a  
 considerable number of other cities with 100,000 or more people.  
 Also striking, however, is the amount of land in the West with very  
 light settlement or no settlement. • Do climate and geography help

explain the variable patterns of settlement? of the American countryside to nearby cities. The development of large, steam-powered ocean liners created a highly competitive shipping industry, allowing Europeans and Asians to cross the oceans to America much more cheaply and quickly than they had in the past. Migrations As a result of urbanization, the late nineteenth century became an age of unprecedented geographic mobility, as Americans \_ left the declining agricultural regions of Mobility the East at a dramatic rate. Some who left . were moving to the newly developing farmlands of the West. But many were moving to the cities of the East and the Midwest. Among those leaving rural America for industrial cities in the late nineteenth century were young rural women, for whom opportunities in the farm economy were limited. As farms grew larger, more commercial, and more mechanized, they became increasingly male preserves; and since much of the workforce on many farms consisted of unskilled and often transient workers, there were fewer family units than before. Farm women had once been essential for making clothes and other household goods, but those goods were now available in stores or through catalogs. Hundreds of thousands of women moved to the cities, therefore, in search of work and community. Southern blacks were also beginning what would be a nearly century-long exodus from the countryside into the cities. Their withdrawal was a testament to the poverty, debt.

## THE AGE OF THE CITY 489 Population (millions) 76.0

69.5 63.0 56.6 50.2 45.0 39.9 35.7 31.5 1860 1865 1870 1875

1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 Year POPULATION GROWTH,

1860-1900 This chart illustrates the rapid increase in the nation's population in the last forty years of the nineteenth century. As you can see, the American population more than doubled in those years.

• What were the principal factors behind this substantial population growth? violence, and oppression African Americans encountered in the late-nineteenth-century rural South. The opportunities they found in cities were limited. Factory jobs for blacks were rare, and professional opportunities almost nonexistent. Urban blacks tended to work as cooks, janitors, domestic servants, and in other low-paying service occupations. Because many such jobs were

considered women's work, black women often outnumbered black men in the cities. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were substantial African American communities (10,000 people or more) in over thirty cities-many of them in the American South, but some (New York City, Chicago, Communities Washington, D.C., Baltimore) in the North . or in border states. Much more substantial African American migration would come during World War I and after; but the black communities established in the late nineteenth century paved the way for the great population movements of the future. The most important source of urban population growth in the late nineteenth century, however, was the arrival of great numbers of new immigrants from abroad: 10 million between 1860 and 1890, 18 million more in the three decades after that. Some

came from Canada, Mexico, Latin America, and particularly on the West Coast-China and Japan. But by far the greatest number came from Europe. After 1880, the flow of new arrivals began for the first time to include large numbers of people from southern and eastern Europe: Italians, Greeks, Slavs, Slovaks, Russian Jews, Armenians, and others. By the 1890s, more than half of all immigrants came from these new regions, as opposed to less than 2 percent in the 1860s. m m Population increase Total immigration 6.39 6.39 652

6-51 a \* 4.19 i 4.20 i 5.17 1 5.19 \* 2.98 1.51 ■ 1.73 1.09 2.27 2.12

1.56 \ Thousands of persons 8.56 IMMIGRATION'S CONTRIBUTION

TO POPULATION GROWTH, 1860-1920 Immigration, mostly from Europe, was responsible for about 20 percent of the nation's population growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. • What factors drew so many immigrants to the United States in these years? 1861- 1866- 1871- 1876- 1881- 1886- 1891- 1896- 1901- 1906- 1911- 1916— 1865 1870 1875 1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 1905 1910 1915 1920 Year

AMERICA IN THE WORLD Global Migrations |T| fj large waves of immigration that transformed American society in the late nineteenth 1 FI C and early twentieth centuries were not unique to the United States. They were part of a worldwide movement of peoples that affected every continent. These epic migrations were the product of two related forces: population growth and industrialization. The population of Europe grew faster in the second half of the nineteenth century than it had ever grown before — almost doubling between 1850 and the beginning of World War I. The population growth was a result of growing economies able to support more people and productive agriculture that helped end debilitating famines. But the rapid growth nevertheless strained the resources of many parts of Europe and affected, in particular, rural people, who were now too numerous to live off the available land. Many decided to move to other parts of the world, where land was more plentiful or jobs were more available. At the same time, industrialization drew millions of people from rural areas into cities — sometimes cities in their own countries, but often industrial cities in other, more economically advanced nations. From 1800 to the start of World War I, 50 million Europeans migrated to new lands overseas people from almost all areas of Europe, but, in the later years of the century (when migration reached its peak), mostly from poor rural areas in southern and eastern Europe. Italy, Russia, and Poland were among the biggest sources of late-nineteenth-century migrants. Almost two-thirds of these immigrants came to the United States. But nearly 20 million Europeans migrated to other lands, to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina, and other parts of South America. Many of these migrants moved to vast areas of open land in these countries and established themselves as farmers. Many others settled in the industrial cities that were growing up in all these regions. It was not only Europeans who were transplanting themselves in these years. Vast numbers of migrants— usually poor, desperate people— left Asia, Africa, and the Pacific islands in search of better lives. Most of them could not afford the journey abroad on their own. They moved instead as indentured servants, agreeing to a term of servitude in their new land in exchange for food, shelter, and SPECIAL IfrMS™ VIRGIN SOIL NEAR THE RAILWAY AW CLOSE TO SCHOOLS, MARKETS. CHURCHES^ ARE PREPARED EACH

YEARTOR BRITISH MMERS d\*MODEME CAPITAL PAYMENTS IN  
EASY INSTALMENTS fur riJfrmm iwjtickUh.i A + t'Ur — (Private  
Collection/© Peter Newark American Pictures/Bridgeman Images)  
In earlier stages of immigration, most new immigrants from Europe  
(with the exception of the Irish) were at least modestly prosperous  
and educated. Germans and Scandinavians in particular had headed  
west on their arrival, either to farm or to work as businessmen,  
merchants, professionals, or skilled laborers in midwestern cities  
such as St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee. Most of the new  
immigrants of the late nineteenth century, however, lacked the  
capital to buy farmland and lacked the education to establish  
themselves in professions. So, like the poor Irish immigrants before  
the Civil War, they settled overwhelmingly in industrial cities,  
where most of them took unskilled jobs. The Ethnic City By 1890,  
the population of some major urban areas consisted of a majority of  
foreign-born immigrants and their children: 87 percent of the  
population of Chicago, 80 percent in New York City, 84 percent in  
Milwaukee and Detroit. (London, the largest industrial city in  
Europe, by contrast, had a population that was 94 percent native.)  
New York had more Irish than Dublin and more Germans than  
Hamburg. Chicago eventually had more Poles than Warsaw. Equally  
striking was the diversity of the new immigrant populations. In  
other countries experiencing heavy immigration ^ \_ in this period,  
most of the new arrivals were The Diverse \* 1 American coming  
from one or two sources: Argentina, City for example, was  
experiencing great migrations too, but almost everyone was coming  
from Italy and Spain. In the United States, however, no single  
national group dominated. In the last four decades of the nineteenth  
century, substantial groups arrived from Italy, Germany,  
Scandinavia, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Great Britain, Ireland,  
Poland, Greece, Canada, Japan, China, Holland, Mexico, and many  
other nations. In some towns, a dozen different ethnic groups found  
themselves living in close proximity. Most of the new immigrants  
were rural people, and their adjustment to city life was often  
painful. To help ease the transition, many national groups formed  
close-knit ethnic communities within the cities: Italian, Polish,  
Jewish, Slavic, Chinese, French-Canadian, Mexican, and other  
neighborhoods (often called "immigrant ghettos") that attempted to  
re-create in the New World many of the features of the Old. 490 •

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



THE AGE OF THE CITY • 491 transportation. Recruiters of indentured servants fanned out across China, Japan, areas of Africa and the Pacific islands, and, above all, India. French and British recruiters brought hundreds of thousands of Indian migrants to work in plantations in their own Asian and African colonies. Chinese laborers were recruited to work on plantations in Cuba and Hawaii; mines in Malaya, Peru, South Africa, and Australia; and railroad projects in Canada, Peru, and the United States. African indentured servants moved in large numbers to the Caribbean, and Pacific islanders tended to move to other islands or to Australia. The migration of European peoples to new lands was largely voluntary. Most migrants moved to the United States, where indentured servitude was illegal. Non-European migration brought relatively small numbers of people to the United States, but together, these various forms of migration produced one of the greatest population movements in the history of the world and transformed not just the United States, but much of the globe as well.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What were some of the negative factors that motivated European and non-Europeans to leave their home countries for the United States? What were some of the positive factors in the United States that attracted them?
2. Why did European empires encourage and facilitate the migration of Europeans and non-Europeans to new lands?
3. Why did more Europeans than non-Europeans migrate to the United States?

Other Northwestern and Eastern European SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE, 1860-1900 This pie chart shows the sources of European immigration in the late nineteenth century. The largest number of immigrants continued to come from traditional sources (Britain, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia), but the beginnings of what in the early twentieth century would become a major influx of immigrants from new sources— southern and eastern Europe in particular— are already visible here. Immigration from other sources— Mexico, South and Central America, and Asia — was also significant during this period.

• Why would these newer sources of European and other kinds of immigration create controversy among older-stock Americans? Some ethnic neighborhoods consisted of people who had migrated to America from the same province, town, or village. Even when the population was more diverse, however, the immigrant neighborhoods offered

newcomers much that was familiar. They could find newspapers and theaters in their native languages, stores selling their native ^ foods, churches or synagogues, and fraBenefits OF . , ..... Ethnic ternai organizations that provided links Communities with their national pasts. Many immigrants also maintained close ties with their native countries. They stayed in touch with relatives who had remained behind. Some (perhaps as many as a third in the early years) returned to Europe or Asia or Mexico after a short time; others helped bring the rest of their families to America. The cultural cohesiveness of the ethnic communities clearly eased the pain of separation from the immigrants' native lands. What role it played in helping immigrants become absorbed into the economic life of America is a more difficult question to answer. It is clear that some ethnic groups (Jews and Germans in particular) advanced economically more rapidly than others (for example, the Irish). One explanation is that, by huddling together in ethnic neighborhoods, immigrant groups tended to reinforce the cultural values of their previous societies. When those values were particularly well suited to economic advancement in an industrial society-as was, for example, the high value Jews placed on education-ethnic identification may have helped members of a group to improve their lots. When other values predominated-maintaining community solidarity, sustaining family ties, preserving orderprogress could be less rapid. Assimilation Despite the substantial differences among the various immigrant communities, virtually all groups of the foreign-born had certain things in common. Most immigrants, of course, shared the experience of living in cities (and of adapting from a rural past to an urban present). Most were young; the majority of newcomers were between fifteen and forty-five years old. And in virtually all communities of foreign-born immigrants, the strength of ethnic ties had to compete against another powerful force: the desire for assimilation. Many of the new arrivals from abroad had come to America with romantic visions of the New World. And however disillusioning they might find their first conAmericanization tact with the United States, they usually

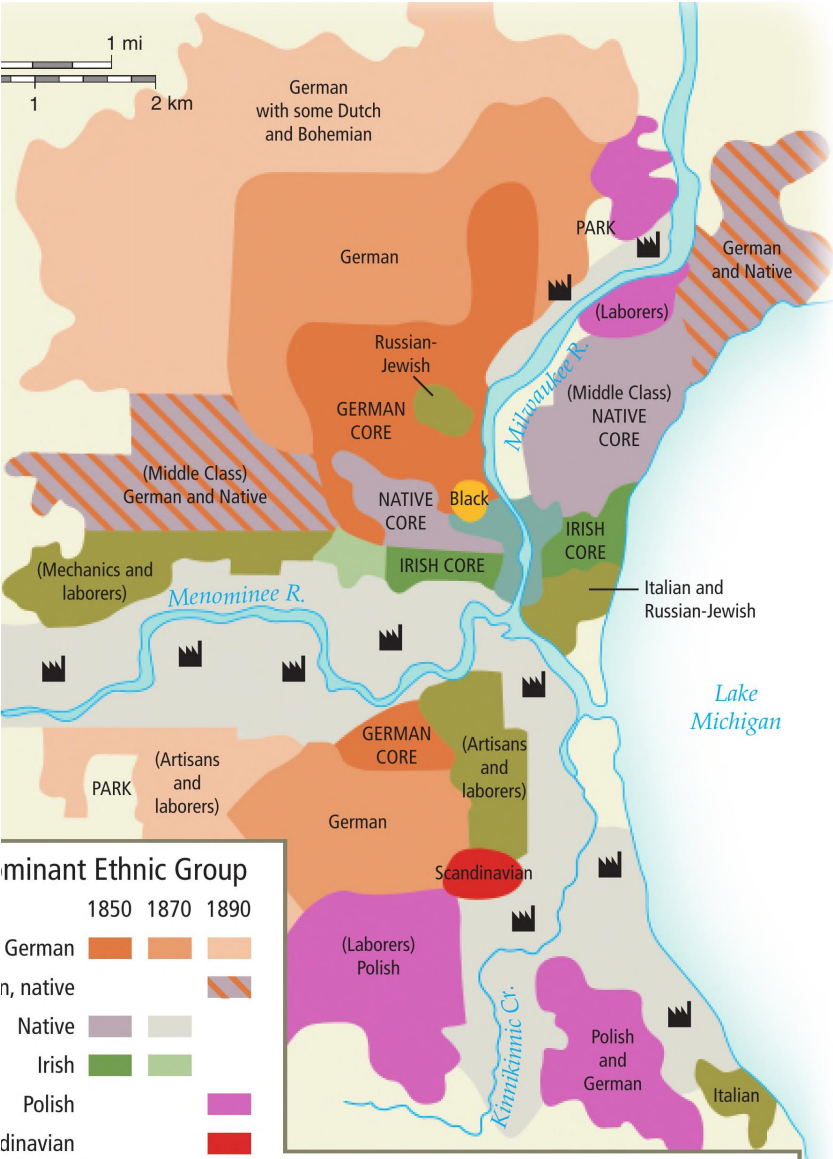
492 CHAPTER 18 German with some Dutch and Bohemian Italian and Russian-Jewish Predominant Ethnic Group 1850-1870  
 1890 German ■ German, native ijp| Native Irish Polish Scandinavian Black Mixed (all dates) (Artisans PARK and laborers)  
 Lake Michigan Central business district Mil Industrial zones ^ marriages and to control almost every Changing -, . , , Gender Roles moment of their daughters lives until  
 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiMiiiii marriage But out of either choice or economic necessity, many immigrant women (and even more of the American-born daughters of immigrants) began working outside the home and developing friendships, interests, and attachments outside the family. The result was not the collapse of the family-centered cultures of immigrant communities; those cultures proved remarkably durable. But there were adjustments to the new and more fluid life of the American city, and often considerable tension in the process. Assimilation was not entirely a matter of choice. Nativeborn Americans encouraged it, both deliberately and inadvertently, in countless ways. Public schools taught children in English, and employers often insisted that workers speak English on the job. Although there were merchants in immigrant communities who sold ethnically distinctive foods and clothing, most stores by necessity sold mainly American products, forcing immigrants to adapt their diets, wardrobes, and lifestyles to American norms. Church leaders were often native-born Americans or assimilated immigrants who encouraged their parishioners to adopt American ways. Some even reformed their theology and liturgy to make it more compatible with the norms of the new country. Reform Judaism, imported from Germany to the United States in the midnineteenth century, was an effort by American Jewish leaders (as it had been among German leaders) to make their faith less "foreign" to the dominant culture of a largely Christian nation.

### ETHNIC AND CLASS SEGREGATION IN MILWAUKEE, 1850-1890

This map illustrates the complex pattern of settlement in Milwaukee, a pattern that was in many ways typical of many industrial cities, in the late nineteenth century. Two related phenomena— industrialization and massive immigration from abroad— shaped the landscape of the city in these years. By 1890, first- and second-generation immigrants made up 84 percent of the city's population. Note the complicated distribution of ethnic

groups in distinctive neighborhoods throughout the city, and note too the way in which middle-class people (especially "native-born" middle-class people, which included many people of German descent whose families had been in the United States for generations) isolated themselves from the areas in which the working class lived. • What were some of the advantages and disadvantages of this ethnic clustering to the immigrants who lived in these communities? retained the dream of becoming true "Americans." Even some first-generation immigrants worked hard to rid themselves of all vestiges of their old cultures, to become thoroughly Americanized. Second-generation immigrants were even more likely to attempt to break with the old ways, to try to assimilate completely into what they considered the real American culture. Some even looked with contempt on parents and grandparents who continued to preserve traditional ethnic habits and values. The urge to assimilate put a particular strain on relations between men and women in immigrant communities. Many of the foreign-born came from cultures in which women were more subordinate to men, and more fully lodged within the family, than most women in the United States. In some immigrant cultures, parents expected to arrange their children's Exclusion The arrival of so many new immigrants, and the way many of them clung to old ways and created culturally distinctive communities, provoked fear and resentment among some Nativism native-born Americans, just as earlier arriv. als had done. Some people reacted against the immigrants out of generalized fears and prejudices, seeing in their "foreignness" the source of all the disorder and corruption of the urban world. "These people," a Chicago newspaper wrote shortly after the Haymarket bombing, referring to striking immigrant workers, "are not American, but the very scum and offal of Europe . . . Europe's human and inhuman rubbish." Native-born Americans on the West Coast had a similar cultural aversion to Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants. Other native laborers were often incensed by the willingness of the immigrants to accept lower wages and to take over the jobs of strikers. The rising nativism provoked political responses. In 1887, Henry Bowers, a self-educated lawyer obsessed with a hatred of Immigration Catholics and foreigners, founded the Restriction American Protective Association, a group League committed to stopping the immigrant tide. By 1894, membership in the organization had reportedly

reached 500,000, with chapters throughout the Northeast and Midwest. That same year a more genteel organization, the Immigration Restriction League, was founded in



THE AGE OF THE CITY 493 PUSHCART VENDOR Many immigrants to American cities aspired to be merchants. But many people with such aspirations could not afford to rent or buy a shop. So they set up business instead in pushcarts, which they parked along sidewalks and from which they sold a variety of wares. This pushcart was photographed with its owner on the Lower East Side of Manhattan around the end of the nineteenth century. (© The Granger Collection, New York) Boston by five Harvard alumni. It was dedicated to the belief that immigrants should be screened, through literacy tests and other standards designed to separate the desirable from the undesirable. The league avoided the crude conspiracy theories and the rabid xenophobia of the American Protective Association. Its sophisticated nativism made it possible for many educated, middle-class people to support the restrictionist cause. Even before the rise of these new organizations, politicians were struggling to find answers to the "immigration question." In 1882 Congress had responded to strong anti-Asian sentiment in California and elsewhere and restricted Chinese immigration, even though the Chinese made up only 1.2 percent of the population of the West Coast (see pp. 434-437). In the same year, Congress denied entry to "undesirables'-convicts, paupers, the mentally incompetent-and placed a tax of 50 cents on each person admitted. Later legislation of the 1890s enlarged the list of those barred from immigrating and increased the tax. PRO-IMMIGRATION This political cartoon from 1880, by Joseph Keppler, expresses the view that people from all over the world should be welcomed into the ever-expanding United States. While opposition to immigration from the restrictionist camp was great, immigrants were seen by many employers as a large and cheap labor supply necessary to support a rapidly growing economy. (© The Granger Collection, New York) WELCOME TO ALL!



"We may safely say that the present influx of immigration to the United States."





to be entirely natural-even though almost all of Central Park was carefully designed and constructed. Central Park was from the start one of the most popular and admired public spaces in the world, and as a result Olmsted and Vaux were recruited to design great parks and public spaces in other cities: Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. CENTRAL PARK BAND CONCERT By the late nineteenth century, New York City's Central Park was already considered one of the great urban landscapes of the world. To New Yorkers, it was an irresistible escape from the crowded, noisy life of the rest of the city. But the park itself sometimes became enormously crowded as well, as this well-dressed audience at a band concert makes clear. (© The Granger Collection, At the same time that cities were creating great parks, they were also creating great public buildings: libraries, art galleries, natural history museums, theaters, concert halls, and opera houses. New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art was only the largest and best known of many great museums taking shape in the late nineteenth century; others were created in such cities as Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. In one city after another, new and lavish public libraries appeared as if to confirm the city's role as a center of learning and knowledge. Wealthy residents of cities were the principal force behind the creation of the great public buildings and at times even parks. As their own material and social aspirations grew, they wanted the public life of the city to provide them with amenities to match their expectations. Becoming an important patron of a major cultural institution was an especially effective route to social distinction. But this philanthropy, whatever the motives behind it, also produced valuable assets for the city as a whole. As the size and aspirations of the great cities increased, urban leaders launched monumental projects to remake the way their cities looked. Inspired by massive city rebuilding projects in Paris, London, Berlin, and other European cities, some American cities began to clear away older neighborhoods and streets and "City create grand, monumental avenues lined Beautiful" with new > more impressive buildings. A parMovement ticularly important event in inspiring this effort to remake the city was the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, a world's fair constructed to honor the 400th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage to America. At the center of the wildly popular exposition was a



THE AGE OF THE CITY • 495

cluster of neoclassical buildings-the "Great White City" constructed in the fashionable "beaux-arts" style of the time, arranged symmetrically around a formal lagoon. It became the inspiration for what became known as the "city beautiful" movement, led by the architect of the Great White City, Daniel Burnham. The movement aimed to impose a similar order and symmetry on the disordered life of cities around the country. "Make no little plans," Burnham liked to tell city planners. His influence led to the remaking of cities all across the country from Washington, D.C., to Chicago and San Francisco. Only rarely, however, were planners able to overcome the obstacles of private landowners and complicated urban politics. They rarely achieved more than a small portion of their dreams. There were no reconstructions of American cities to match the elaborate nineteenth-century reshaping of Paris and London. The effort to remake the city did not just focus on redesigning the existing landscape. It occasionally led to the creation of entirely new ones. In Boston in the late 1850s, a large area of marshy tidal land was gradually filled in to create the neighborhood known as "Back Bay." The landfill project took more than a century to complete and was one of the largest public works projects ever undertaken in America to that point. But Boston was not alone. Chicago reclaimed large areas from Lake Michigan as it expanded and at one point raised the street level for the entire city to help avoid the problems the marshy land created. In Washington, D.C., another marshy site, large areas were filled in and slated for development. In New York and other cities, the response to limited space was not so much creating new land as annexing adjacent territory. A great wave of annexations expanded the boundaries of many American cities in the 1890s and beyond. Housing the Well-to-Do One of the greatest problems of this precipitous growth was finding housing for the thousands of new residents who were pouring into the cities every day. For the prosperous, however, housing was seldom a worry. The availability of cheap labor and the reduced cost of building let anyone with even a moderate income afford a house. Many of the richest urban residents lived in palatial mansions in the heart of the city and created lavish "fashionable districts"-Fifth Avenue in New York City, Back Bay and Beacon Hill in Boston, Society Hill in Philadelphia, Lake Shore

Drive in Chicago, Nob Hill in San Francisco, and many others. The moderately well-to-do (and as time went on, increasing numbers of wealthy people as well) took advantage of the less expensive land on the edges of the city and settled in Growth of new suburbs, linked to the downtowns by Suburbs trains or streetcars or improved roads. Chicago in the 1870s, for example, boasted nearly 100 residential suburbs connected with the city by railroad and offering the joys of "pure air, peacefulness, quietude, and natural scenery." Boston, too, saw the development of some of the earliest "streetcar suburbs"-Dorchester, Brookline, and others-which catered to both the wealthy and the middle class. New Yorkers of moderate means settled in new suburbs on the northern fringes of Manhattan and commuted downtown by trolley or riverboat. Real estate developers worked to create and promote suburban communities that would appeal to nostalgia for the countryside that many city dwellers felt. Affluent suburbs, in particular, were notable for lawns, trees, and houses designed to look manorial. Even modest communities strove to emphasize the opportunities suburbs provided for owning land. Housing Workers and the Poor Most urban residents, however, could not afford either to own a house in the city or to move to the suburbs. Instead, they stayed in the city centers and rented. Because demand was so high and space so scarce, they had little bargaining power in the process. Landlords tried to squeeze as many rent-paying residents as possible into the smallest available space. In Manhattan, for example, the average population density in 1894 was 143 people per acre-a higher rate than that of the most crowded cities of Europe (Paris had 127 per acre, Berlin 101) and far higher than in any other American city then or since. In some neighborhoods-the Lower East Side of New York City, for example-density was more than 700 people per acre, among the highest levels in the world. Landlords were reluctant to invest much in immigrant housing, confident they could rent dwellings for a profit regardless of their conditions. In the cities of the South-Charleston, New Orleans, Richmond-poor African Americans lived in crumbling former slave quarters. In Boston, they moved into cheap threestory wooden houses ("triple deckers"), many of them decaying fire hazards. In Baltimore and Philadelphia, they crowded into narrow brick row houses. And in New York, as in many other cities, more than a million people lived in tenements. The word "tenement" had originally referred simply to a multiple-

family rental building, but by the late nineteenth century it was being used to describe slum dwellings only. The first Tenements tenements, built in New York City in 1850, . had been hailed as a great improvement in housing for the poor. "It is built with the design of supplying the laboring people with cheap lodgings," a local newspaper commented, "and will have many advantages over the cellars and other miserable abodes which too many are forced to inhabit." But tenements themselves soon became "miserable abodes," with many windowless rooms, little or no plumbing or central heating, and often a row of privies in the basement. A New York state law of 1870 required a window in every bedroom of tenements built after that date; developers complied by adding small, sunless air shafts to their buildings. Most of all, tenements were incredibly crowded, with three, four, and, sometimes many more people crammed into each small room. Jacob Riis, a Danish immigrant and New York newspaper Jacob Riis reporter and photographer, shocked many  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii middle-class  
Americans with his sensational (and some claimed sensationalized) descriptions and

families living in tenements, in New York and in many other cities, earned their livelihoods as they could. This woman, shown here with some of her children, was typical of many working-class mothers who found income-producing activities they could pursue in the home (in this case, laundry). This room, dominated by large vats and piles of other people's laundry, is also the family's home, as the crib and religious pictures make clear. (© Bettmann/Corbis) pictures of tenement life in his 1890 book. How the Other Half Lives. Slum dwellings, he said, were almost universally sunless, practically airless, and "poisoned" by "summer stenchess." "The hall is dark and you might stumble over the children pitching pennies back there." But the solution many reformers (including Riis) favored, and that governments sometimes adopted, was to raze slum dwellings without building any new or better housing to replace them. Urban Transportation Urban growth posed monumental transportation challenges. Old downtown streets were often too narrow for the heavy traffic that was beginning to move over them. Most were without a hard, paved surface producing either a sea of mud or a cloud of dust. In the last decades of the Transportation nineteenth century, more and more streets  
 iiii were paved, usually with wooden blocks, bricks, or asphalt; but paving could not keep up with the number of new thoroughfares the expanding cities were creating. By 1890, Chicago had paved only about 600 of its more than 2,000 miles of streets. But it was not simply the conditions of the streets that impeded urban transportation. It was the numbers of people who needed to move every day from one part of the city to another, numbers that mandated the development of mass transportation. Streetcars drawn on tracks by horses had been introduced into some cities even before the Civil War. But the horsecars were not fast enough, so many communities developed new forms of mass transit. In 1870, New York opened its first elevated railway, whose noisy, filthy steam-powered trains moved rapidly above the city streets on massive iron structures. New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities also experimented with cable cars, towed by continuously moving underground  
 iiii cables. Richmond, Virginia, introduced the



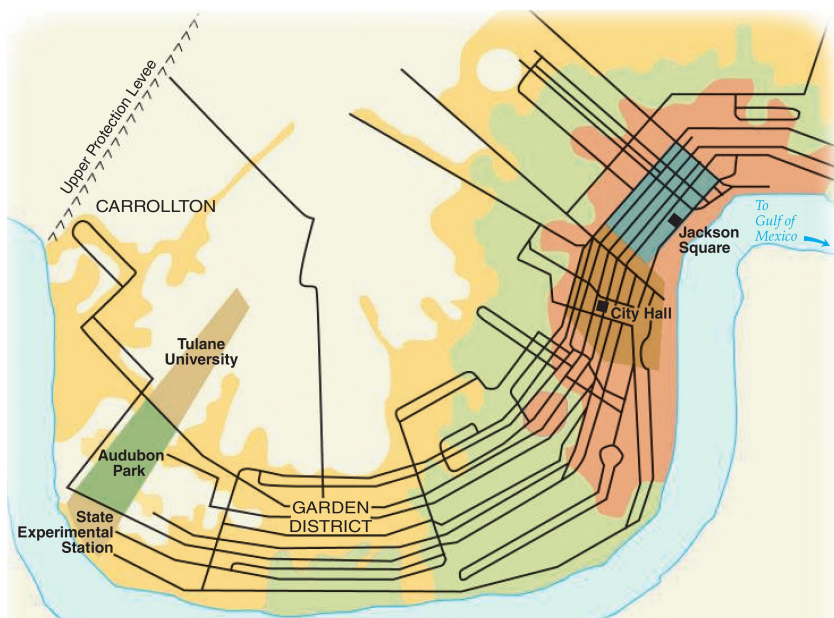
THE AGE OF THE CITY \* 497 Tulane University 'Audubon  
Park GARDEN State Experimental Station DISTRICT ^ A A PA ^ A  
CARROLLTON r Jackson Mexico Square Mississippi River Vieux  
Carre (Old Quarter) Business center Streetcar lines by 1900 Built up  
by 1841 Built up by 1878 Built up by 1900 STREETCAR SUBURBS  
IN NINETEENTHCENTURY NEW ORLEANS This map of streetcar  
lines in New Orleans reveals a pattern that repeated itself in many  
cities: changing residential patterns emerging in response to new  
forms of transportation. The map reveals the movement of  
population outward from the central city as streetcar lines emerged  
to make access to the downtown easier. Note the dramatic growth  
of residential suburbs in the last forty years of the nineteenth  
century in particular. • What other forms of mass transportation  
were emerging in American cities in these years? first electric  
trolley line in 1888, and by 1895 such systems were operating in  
850 towns and cities. In 1897, Boston opened the first American  
subway when it put some of its trolley lines underground. At the  
same time, cities were developing new techniques of road and  
bridge building. One of the great technological marvels of the 1880s  
was the completion of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City, a  
dramatic steelcable suspension span designed by John A. Roebling.  
The "Skyscraper" Cities were growing upward as well as outward.  
Until the mid-nineteenth century, almost no buildings more than  
four or five stories high could be constructed. Construction  
techniques were such that it was difficult and expensive to build  
adequate structural supports for tall buildings. There was also a  
limit to the number of flights of stairs the users of buildings could  
be expected to climb. But by the 1850s, there had been successful  
experiments with machine-powered passenger elevators; and by the  
1870s, new methods of construction using cast iron and steel beams  
made it easier to build tall buildings. Not long after the Civil War,  
therefore, tall buildings began to appear in the major cities. The  
Equitable Building in New York City, completed in 1870 and rising  
seven and a half floors above the street, was one of the first in the  
nation to be built with an elevator. A few years later, even taller  
buildings of ten and twelve stories were appearing elsewhere in  
New York, in Chicago, and in other growing cities around the  
country. With each passing decade, the size and number of tall  
buildings increased until, by the 1890s, the term "skyscraper"



## became a popular description of them. STRAINS OF URBAN LIFE

The increasing congestion of the cities and the absence of adequate public services produced many hazards. Crime, fire, disease, indigence, and pollution all placed strains on the capacities of metropolitan institutions, and both governments and private institutions were for a time poorly equipped to respond to them.

**Fire and Disease** One serious problem was fires. In one major city after another, fires destroyed large downtown areas, where many buildings were still constructed of wood. Chicago and Boston suffered "great fires" in 1871. Other cities-among them Baltimore and San Francisco, where a tremendous earthquake produced a



498 CHAPTER 18 catastrophic fire in 1906-experienced similar disasters. The great fires were terrible and deadly experiences, but they also encouraged the construction of fireproof buildings and the development of professional fire departments. They also forced cities to rebuild at a time when new technological and architectural innovations were available. Some of the modern, high-rise downtowns of American cities arose out of the rubble of great fires.

Development of Professional Fire Departments

Environmental Degradation Modern notions of environmentalism were unknown to most Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But the environmental degradation of many American cities was a visible and disturbing fact of life in those years. The frequency of great fires, the dangers of disease and plague, the extraordinary crowding of working-class neighborhoods were all examples of the environmental costs of industrialization and rapid urbanization. Improper disposal of human and industrial waste was a common feature of almost all large cities in these years. Such practices contributed to the pollution of rivers and lakes and also, in many cases, to the compromising of the city's drinking water. This was particularly true in poor neighborhoods with primitive plumbing (and sometimes no indoor plumbing), outdoor privies that leaked into the groundwater, and overcrowded tenements. The presence of domestic animals-horses, which were the principal means of transportation until the late nineteenth century, but in poor neighborhoods also cows, pigs, and other animals contributed as well to the environmental problems. Air quality in many cities was poor as well. Few Americans had the severe problems that London experienced in these years with its "fog" created by the debris from the burning of soft coal. But air pollution from factories and from stoves and furnaces in offices, homes, and other buildings was constant and at times severe. The incidence of respiratory infection and related diseases was much higher in cities than it was in nonurban areas, and it accelerated rapidly in the late nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, reformers were actively crusading to improve the environmental conditions of cities and were beginning to achieve some notable successes. By 1910, most large American cities had constructed sewage disposal systems, often at great cost, to protect the drinking water of their inhabitants and to prevent the

great bacterial plagues that impure water had helped create in the past—such as the 1873 yellow fever epidemic in Memphis that killed more than 5,000 people. Alice Hamilton, a physician who became an investigator for the U.S. Bureau of Labor, was a pioneer in the identification of pollution in the workplace. She documented Public Health ways in which improper disposal of such potentially dangerous substances as lead Service

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii THE GREAT FIRE IN CHICAGO This haunting photograph shows the intersection of State and Madison Streets, which Chicagoans liked to call "the world's busiest intersection," in the aftermath of the great fire of 1871. It destroyed much of the city's downtown. Horse-drawn streetcars are shown here traveling the ghostly, still smoke-filled streets. At left, posters advertise the new locations of displaced stores and offices—prompting the photographer to attach the optimistic title "Back in Business" to this image. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) (she was one of the first physicians to identify lead poisoning), chemical waste, and ceramic dust was creating widespread sickness. And despite considerable resistance from many factory owners, she did bring such problems to public attention and, in some states at least, inspired legislation to require manufacturers to solve them. In 1912, the federal government created the Public Health Service, which was charged with preventing such occupational diseases as tuberculosis, anemia, and carbon dioxide poisoning, which were common in the garment industry and other trades. It attempted to create common health standards for all factories; but since the agency had few powers of enforcement, it had limited impact. It did, however, establish the protection of public health as a responsibility of the federal government and also helped bring to public attention the environmental forces that endangered health. The creation of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration in 1970, which gave government the authority to require employers to create safe and healthy workplaces, was a legacy of the Public Health Service's early work. Urban Poverty Above all, perhaps, the expansion of the cities created widespread and often desperate poverty. Despite the rapid growth of urban economies, the sheer number of new residents ensured that many people would be unable to earn enough for a decent subsistence. Public agencies and private philanthropic organizations offered very limited relief. They were generally dominated by middle-class people, who tended to

believe that too much assistance would breed dependency and that poverty was the fault of the poor themselves-a result of laziness or alcoholism

THE AGE OF THE CITY • 499 or other kinds of irresponsibility. Most tried to restrict aid to the "deserving poor"-those who truly could not help themselves (at least according to the standards of the organizations themselves, which conducted elaborate "investigations" to separate the "deserving" from the "undeserving"). Other charitable societies-for example, the Salvation Army, which began operating in America in 1879, one year after it was founded in London-concentrated more on religious revivalism than on the relief of the homeless and hungry. Tensions often arose between native Protestant philanthropists and Catholic immigrants over religious doctrine and standards of morality. Middle-class people grew particularly alarmed over the rising number of poor children in the cities, some of them orphans or runaways, living alone or in small groups scrounging for food. These "street arabs," as they were often called, attracted more attention from reformers than any other group-although that attention produced no serious solutions to their problems. Crime and Violence Poverty and crowding naturally bred crime and violence. Much of it was relatively minor, the work of pickpockets, con High Crime artists, swindlers, and petty thieves. But some was more dangerous. The American murder rate rose rapidly in the late nineteenth century (even as such rates were declining in Europe), from 25 murders for every million people in 1880 to over 100 by the end of the century-a rate slightly higher than the relatively high rates of the 1980s and 1990s. That reflected in part a very high level of violence in some nonurban areas: the American South, where rates of lynching and homicide were particularly high; and the West, where the rootlessness and instability of new communities (cow towns, mining camps, and the like) created much violence. But the cities contributed their share to the increase in crime as well. Native-born Americans liked to believe that crime was a result of the violent proclivities of immigrant groups, and they cited the rise of gangs and criminal organizations in various ethnic communities. But native-born Americans were as likely to commit crimes as immigrants. The rising crime rates encouraged many cities to develop larger and more professional police forces. In the early nineteenth century, police forces had often been private and informal organizations; urban governments had resisted professionalized law enforcement.

By the end of the century, however, professionalized public police departments were a part of the life of virtually every city and town. They worked closely with district attorneys and other public prosecutors, who were also becoming more numerous and more important in city life. Police forces themselves could also spawn corruption and brutality, particularly since jobs on them were often filled through political patronage. And complaints about police dealing differently with white and black suspects, or with rich and poor communities, were common in the late nineteenth century. Some members of the middle class, fearful of urban insurrections, felt the need for even more substantial forms of protection. Urban national guard groups (many of them created and manned by middle-class elites) built imposing armories on the outskirts of affluent neighborhoods and stored large supplies of weapons and ammunition in preparation for uprisings that, in fact, never occurred. The Machine and the Boss Newly arrived immigrants, many of whom could not speak English, needed help in adjusting to American urban life: its laws, its customs, usually its language. Some ethnic communities created their own self-help organizations. But for many residents of the inner cities, the principal source of assistance was the political machine. The urban machine was one of America's most distinctive political institutions. It owed its existence to the power vacuum that the chaotic growth of cities (and the 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 II 1 1 III 1 1 I II 1 1 H I I Mil I ID 1 1 (1 1 1 1 ID 1 1 II 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 II 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 very limited growth of city governments) PUCK MAGAZINE Puck was the first successful humor magazine published in the United States. Issues were published from 1871 to 1918. It offered political cartoons, caricatures, and satire on the issues of the day. This cover takes on the graft and corruption of Tammany Hall. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC4-7884))

# Puck

Printed at No. 10, N. Y. P. O. at the New York Mail House.



## A RATIONAL LAW, OR—TAMMANY.

TAMMANY.—Goin' to wait till dere reformers repeal dat law, are yer? Put me back and you won't send me repeat! See?

500 CHAPTER 18 had created. It was also a product of the potential voting power of large immigrant communities. Any politician who could mobilize that power stood to gain enormous influence, if not public office. And so there emerged a group of urban "bosses," themselves often of foreign birth or parentage. Many were Irish, because they spoke English and because some had acquired previous political experience from the long Irish struggle against the English at home. Almost all were men (in most states women could not yet vote). The principal function of the political boss was simple: to win votes for his organization. That meant winning the loyalty of his constituents. To do so, a boss might provide potential voters with occasional relief-baskets of groceries, bags of coal. He might step in to save those arrested for petty crimes from jail. He rewarded many of his followers with patronage: with jobs in city government or in such city agencies as the police (which the machine's elected officials often controlled); with jobs building or operating the new transit systems; and with opportunities to rise in the political organization itself. Machines were also vehicles for making money. Politicians enriched themselves and their allies through various forms of graft and corruption. Some of it might be fairly open-what Graft and George Washington Plunkitt of New York Corruption City's Tammany Hall called "honest graft." For example, a politician might discover in advance where a new road or streetcar line was to be built, buy an interest in the land near it, and profit when the city had to buy the land from him or when property values rose as a result of the construction. But there was also covert graft: kickbacks from contractors in exchange for contracts to build streets, sewers, public buildings, and other projects; the sale of franchises for the operation of such public utilities as street railways, waterworks, and electric light and power systems. The most famously corrupt city boss was William M. Tweed, boss of New York City's Tammany Hall in the 1860s and 1870s, whose excesses finally landed him in jail in 1872. Middle-class critics saw the corrupt machines as blights on the cities and obstacles to progress. In fact, political organizations were often responsible not just for corruption, but also for modernizing city infrastructures, for expanding the role of government, and for creating stability in a political and social climate that otherwise would have lacked a center. The motives of the bosses may have



been largely venal, but their achievements were sometimes greater than those of the scrupulous reformers who challenged them. Several factors made boss rule possible. One was the power of immigrant voters, who were less concerned with middle-class Reasons for ideas of political morality than with obtainBoss Rule ing the services that machines provided and reformers did not. Another was the link between the political organizations and wealthy, prominent citizens who profited from their dealings with bosses. Still another was the structural weakness of city governments. The boss, by virtue of his control over his machine, formed an "invisible government" that provided an alternative to what was often the inadequacy of the regular government. The urban machine was not without competition. Reform groups frequently mobilized public outrage at the corruption of the bosses and often succeeded in driving machine politicians from office. Tammany, for example, saw its candidates for mayor and other high city offices lose almost as often as they won in the last decades of the nineteenth century. But the reform organizations typically lacked the permanence of the machine. Thus, many critics of machines began to argue for more-basic reforms: for structural changes in the nature of city government.

### THE RISE OF MASS CONSUMPTION

For urban middle-class Americans, the last decades of the nineteenth century were a time of dramatic advances. Indeed, it was in those years that a distinctive middle-class culture began to exert a powerful influence over American life. Much of the Middle Class rest American society-the majority of Culture the population, which was neither urban . nor middle class-advanced less rapidly or not at all; but almost no one was unaffected by the rise of a new urban, consumer culture. Patterns of Income and Consumption American industry could not have grown as it did without the expansion of markets. The growth of demand occurred at almost all levels of society, a result not just of the new techniques of production and mass distribution that were making consumer goods less expensive, but also of rising incomes. Incomes in the industrial era were rising for almost everyone, although at highly uneven rates. The most conspicuous result of the new economy was the creation of vast fortunes. But more important for society as a whole were the growth and increasing Rising Income ProsPerity of the middle class. The salaries of . clerks, accountants, middle managers, and other "white-collar" workers rose on average by a third

between 1890 and 1910-and in some parts of the middle class, salaries rose by much more. Doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, for example, experienced a particularly dramatic increase in the prestige and profitability of their professions. Working-class incomes rose too in those years, although from a much lower base and considerably more slowly. Iron- and steelworkers, despite the setbacks their unions suffered, saw their hourly wages increase by a third between 1890 and 1910; but industries with large female, African American, or Mexican workforces-shoes, textiles, paper, laundries, many areas of commercial agriculture-saw very small increases, as did almost all industries in the South. Also important to the new mass market were the development of affordable products and the creation of new merchandising techniques, which made many consumer goods available to a broad market for the first time. A good example

THE AGE OF THE CITY 501 New of such changes was the  
emerMerchandising gence of ready-made clothing. Techniques t t-  
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||||| AAA \*~AA'~  
V^CLlly UUI1LUI y y most Americans had made their own clothing-  
usually from cloth they bought from merchants, at times from  
fabrics they spun and wove themselves. Affluent people contracted  
with private tailors to make their clothes. But the invention of the  
sewing machine and the spur that the Civil War (and its demand for  
uniforms) gave to the manufacture of clothing created an enormous  
industry devoted to producing ready-made garments. By the end of  
the century, almost all Americans bought their clothing from stores.  
Partly as a result, much larger numbers of people became concerned  
with personal style. Interest in women's fashion, for example, had  
once been a luxury reserved for the affluent. Now middle-class and  
even working-class women could strive to develop a distinctive  
style of dress. New homes, even modest ones, now included clothes  
closets. Even people in remote rural areas could develop stylish  
wardrobes by ordering from the new mail-order houses. Another  
example of the rise of the mass market was the way Americans  
bought and prepared food. The development and mass production  
of tin cans in the 1880s created a large new industry devoted to  
packaging and selling canned food and (as a result of the techniques  
Gail Borden, an inventor and politician, developed in the 1850s)  
condensed milk. Refrigerated railroad cars made it possible for  
perishables-meats, vegetables, dairy products, and other foodstuffs-  
to travel long distances without spoiling. The development of  
artificially frozen ice made it possible for many more households to  
afford iceboxes. Among other things, the changes meant improved  
diets and better health; life expectancy rose six years in the first two  
decades of the twentieth century. Chain Stores and Mail-Order  
Houses Changes in marketing also altered the way Americans  
bought Chain Stores g°ds. Small local stores faced competition .  
from new "chain stores." The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company  
(A & P) began creating a national network of grocery stores as early  
as the 1850s and expanded it rapidly after the Civil War. F. W.  
Woolworth opened his first "Five and Ten Cent Store" in Utica, New  
York, in 1879 and went on to build a national chain of dry goods  
stores. Chain stores were able to sell manufactured goods at lower

prices than the local, independent stores because the chains had so much more volume. From the beginning, the chains faced opposition from the established merchants they threatened to displace, and from others who feared that they would jeopardize the character of their communities. (Similar controversies have continued DEPARTMENT STORES Department stores often created "events" to help promote sales of their many wares. Here, Strawbridge and Clothier department store creates quite a stir on Market Street in Philadelphia in 1907. (© Corbis) into the twenty-first century over the spread of large chains such as Wal-Mart and Barnes & Noble.) But most customers, however loyal they might feel to a local merchant, found it difficult to resist the greater variety and lower prices the chains provided them. Chain stores were slow to reach remote, rural areas, which remained dependent on poorly stocked and often very expensive country stores. But rural people gradually gained access to the new consumer world through the great mail-order houses. In 1872, Montgomery Ward—a Chicago-based traveling salesman—distributed a catalog of consumer goods in association with the farmers' organization, the Grange (see p. 520). By the 1880s, he was offering thousands of items at low prices to farmers throughout the Midwest and beyond. He soon faced stiff competition from Sears Roebuck, first established by Richard Sears in Chicago in 1887. Together, the bulky catalogs from Ward and Sears changed the lives of many isolated people introducing them to (and explaining for them) new trends of fashion and home decor as well as making available new tools, machinery, and technologies for the home. Department Stores In larger cities, the emergence of great department stores (which had appeared earlier in Europe) helped transform buying habits and turn shopping into an alluring and glamorous activity. Marshall Field in Chicago created one of the first American department

stores, and others soon followed: Macy's in New York City, Abraham and Straus in Brooklyn, Jordan Marsh and Filene's in Boston, Wanamaker's in Philadelphia. Social Consequences of Mail-Order Catalogs



502 CHAPTER 18 Department stores transformed the concept of shopping in several ways. First, they brought together under one roof an enormous array of products that had previously been sold in separate shops. Second, they sought to create an atmosphere of wonder and excitement, to make shopping a glamorous activity. Department stores were elaborately decorated to suggest great luxury and elegance. They included restaurants and tearooms and comfortable lounges, to suggest that shopping could be a social event as well as a practical necessity. They hired well-dressed salesclerks, mostly women, to provide attentive service to their mostly female customers. Third, department stores-like mail-order houses-took advantage of economies of scale to sell merchandise at lower prices than many of the individual shops with which they competed. Women as Consumers The rise of mass consumption had particularly dramatic effects on American women. Women's clothing styles changed much more rapidly and dramatically than men's, which encouraged frequent purchases. Women generally bought and prepared food for their families, so the availability of new food products changed not only the way everyone ate, but also the way women shopped and cooked. The consumer economy produced new employment opportunities for women as salesclerks in department stores and as waitresses in the rapidly proliferating restaurants. And it spawned the creation of a new movement in which women were to play a vital role: the consumer protection movement. The National Consumers League, formed in the 1890s under the leadership of Florence Kelley, a prominent social reformer, attempted to mobilize the power of women as consumers to force retailers and manufacturers to improve wages and working conditions for women workers. By defining themselves as consumers, many middle-class women were able to find a stance from which they could become active participants in public life. Indeed, the mobilization of women behind consumer causes-and eventually many other causes-was one of the most important political developments of the late nineteenth century. National Consumers League LEISURE IN THE CONSUMER SOCIETY

||||| Closely related to the growth of consumption was an increasing interest in leisure, in part because time away from work was

expanding rapidly for many people. Members of the urban middle and professional classes had increasingly large blocks of time in which they were not at work-evenings, weekends, even vacations (previously almost unknown among salaried workers). Working hours in many factories declined, from an average of nearly seventy hours a week in 1860 to under sixty in 1900. Industrial workers might still be on the job six days a week, but many of them had more time off in the evenings. Even farmers found that the mechanization of agriculture gave them more free time. The lives of many Americans were becoming compartmentalized, with clear distinctions between work and leisure. Redefining Leisure The growth of free time produced a redefinition of the idea of "leisure." In earlier eras, relatively few Americans had considered leisure a valuable thing. On the contrary, many equated it with laziness or of Leisure sloth. "Rest," as in the relative inactivity many Americans considered appropriate for the Sabbath, was valued because it offered time for spiritual reflection and prepared people for work. But leisure-time spent amusing oneself in nonproductive pursuits-was not only unavailable to most Americans, but faintly scorned as well. But with the rapid expansion of the economy and the increasing number of hours workers had away from work, it became possible to imagine leisure time as a normal part of the lives of many people. Industrial workers, in pursuit of shorter hours, adopted the slogan "Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, and eight hours for what we will." Others were equally adamant in claiming that leisure time was both a right and an important contribution to an individual's emotional and even spiritual health. The economist Simon Patten was one of the first intellectuals to articulate this new view of leisure, which he tied closely to the rising interest in consumption. Patten, in *The Theory of Prosperity* (1902), *The New Basis of Civilization* (1910), and Simon Patten other works, challenged the centuries-old . assumption that the normal condition of civilization was a scarcity of goods. "We are now in the transition stage," he wrote, "from this pain economy [the economy of scarcity] to a pleasure economy." The principal goal of such an economy, he claimed, "should be an abundance of goods and the pursuit of pleasure." As Americans became more accustomed to leisure as a normal part of their lives, they began to look for new experiences with which to entertain themselves. Leisure Entertainment usually meant "going

out," spending leisure time in public places where there would be not only entertainment, but also other people. Thousands of working-class New Yorkers flocked to the amusement park at Coney Island, for example, not just for the rides and shows, but for the excitement of the crowds as well. So did the thousands who spent evenings in dance halls, vaudeville houses, and concert halls. Affluent New Yorkers enjoyed afternoons in Central Park, where a principal attraction was seeing other people (and being seen by them). Moviegoers were attracted not just by the movies themselves, but also by the energy of the audiences at the lavish "movie palaces" that began to appear in cities in the early twentieth century.



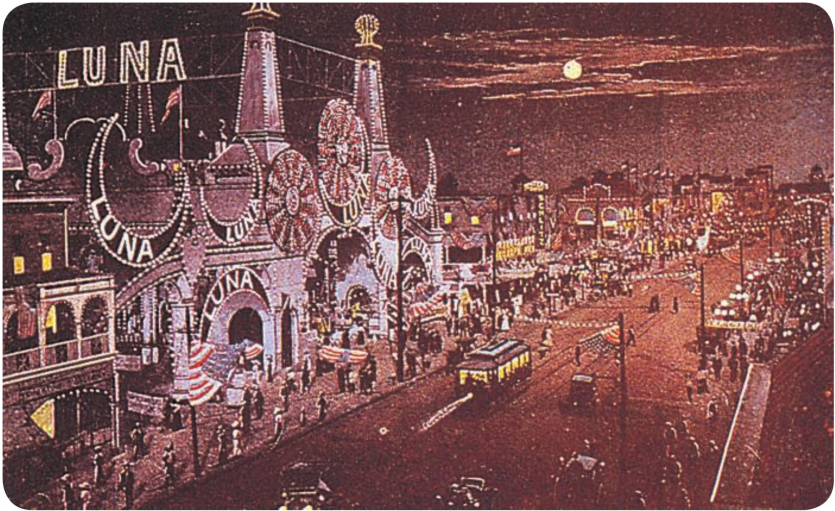
THE AGE OF THE CITY • 503 just as sports fans were drawn by the crowds as well as by the games. Mass entertainment did not always bridge differences of class, race, or gender. Saloons and most sporting events tended to be male preserves. Shopping (itself becoming a valued leisure-time activity) and going to tearooms and luncheonettes were more characteristic of female leisure. Theaters, pubs, and clubs were often specific to particular ethnic communities or particular work groups. There were, in fact, relatively few places where people of widely diverse backgrounds gathered together. When the classes did meet in public spaces-as they did, for example, in city parks-there was often conflict over what constituted appropriate public behavior. Elites in New York City, for example, tried to prohibit anything but quiet, "genteel" activities in Central Park, while working-class people wanted to use the public spaces for sports and entertainments. But even divided by class, ethnicity, and gender, leisure and popular entertainment did help sustain a vigorous public culture. Spectator Sports The search for forms of public leisure hastened the rise of organized spectator sports, especially baseball, which by the end of the century was well on its way to becoming the national pastime (see "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 384-385). A game much like baseball, known as "rounders" and derived from cricket, had enjoyed limited popularity in Great Britain in the early nineteenth century. Versions of the game began to appear in America in the early 1830s, well before Abner Doubleday supposedly "invented" baseball. (Doubleday, in fact, had little to do with the creation of baseball and actually cared little for sports. Alexander Cartwright, a member of a New York City baseball club in the 1840s, defined many of the rules and features of the game as we know it today.) By the end of the Civil War, interest in baseball had grown rapidly. More than 200 amateur or semiprofessional teams or clubs existed, many of which joined a national association and agreed on standard rules. The first salaried team, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, was formed in Major League 1, , , Baseball 1869. Other cities soon fielded profes. sional teams, and in 1876, at the urging of Albert Spalding, they banded together in the National League. A rival league, the American Association, soon appeared. It eventually collapsed, but in 1901 the American League emerged to replace it. In 1903, the first modern World Series was played, in which the

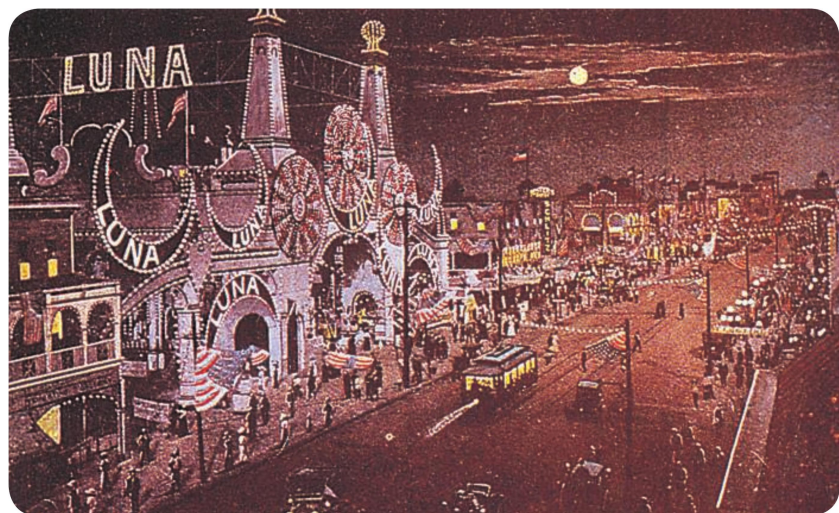
American League Boston Red Sox beat the National League Pittsburgh Pirates. By then, baseball had become an important business and a great national preoccupation (at least among men), attracting paying crowds in the thousands. The second most popular game, football, appealed at first to an elite segment of the male population, in part because it originated in colleges and universities. The first intercollegiate football game in America occurred between Princeton and Rutgers in 1869, and soon the game became entrenched as part of collegiate life. Early intercollegiate football bore only an indirect relation to the modern game; it was more similar to what is now known as rugby. By the late 1870s, however, the game was becoming standardized and was taking on the outlines of its modern form. As college football grew in popularity, it spread to other sections of the country, notably to the midwestern state Growth of universities, which were destined soon to College replace the eastern schools as the great powers of the game. It also began to exhibit Football

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii THE AMERICAN NATIONAL GAME Long before the modern major leagues began, local baseball clubs were active throughout much of the United States, establishing the game as the "national pastime." This print of a "grand match for the championship" depicts an 1866 game at Elysian Fields, a popular park just across the river from New York City in Hoboken, New Jersey. (© National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Inc.)



Coney Island y\ y\ t ^ who lived in the crowded cities of early-twentieth-century America yearned 1 u \J r LIDat times for ways to escape the noise, smells, heat, and stress of the urban world. Wealthy families could travel to resorts or country houses. But most city dwellers could not afford to venture far, and for them ambitious entrepreneurs tried to provide dazzling escapes close to home. The most celebrated such escape was Coney Island in Brooklyn, New York— which became for a time the most famous and popular urban resort in America. With its broad oceanfront beach, Coney Island, located in Brooklyn, had been an attractive destination for visitors since the early nineteenth century. In the 1870s and 1880s, investors built railroad lines from the city to the beach and began to create spectacular amusements to induce New Yorkers to visit. But the real success of Coney Island began in the 1890s, when the amusements and spectacles reached a new level. Sea Lion Park, which opened in 1895, showcased trained sea lions and exotic water rides. Steeplechase Park opened two years later, attracting visitors with a mechanical steeplechase ride in which visitors could pretend to be jockeys, and POSTCARD FROM LUNA PARK Visitors to Coney Island sent postcards to friends and relatives by the millions, and those cards were among the most effective promotional devices for the amusement parks. This one shows the brightly lit entrance to Luna Park, Coney Island's most popular attraction for many years. (© Bettmann/Corbis) stunt rooms with moving floors and powerful blasts of compressed air. By then, Coney Island was a popular site for real horse racing, boxing matches, and other sports. It was THE ELEPHANT HOTEL One of the early attractions of Coney Island as it became a popular resort was this hotel, built inside a large wooden elephant. This picture, taken in 1890, shows Coney Island at a point when development was still relatively modest. (© Photo Collection Alexander Alland, Sr./Corbis) the taints of professionalism that have marked it ever since. Some schools used "ringers," tramp athletes who were not even registered as students. In an effort to eliminate such abuses, Amos Alonzo Stagg, athletic director and coach at the University of Chicago, led in forming the Western Conference, or Big Ten, in 1896, which established rules governing eligibility. Football also became known for a high level of violence on the field; eighteen college students died of football-related injuries and over a hundred





**STEEPLECHASE PARK** Steeplechase Park opened in 1897 and immediately began attracting crowds eager to ride the mechanical steeplechase shown here. (© UIG/Getty Images) also attracting gambling casinos, saloons, and brothels. From the beginning, among affluent middle-class people at least, Coney Island had a reputation as a rough and unsavory place. But to the working-class immigrants and lower-middle-class people, it was a place of wonder, excitement, and escape. The greatest Coney Island attraction, Luna Park, opened in 1903. It provided not just rides and stunts, but lavish reproductions of exotic places and spectacular adventures: Japanese gardens, Venetian canals with gondoliers, a Chinese theater, a simulated trip to the moon, and reenactments of such disasters as burning buildings, earthquakes, and even the volcanic eruption that destroyed Pompeii. A year later, a competing company opened Dreamland, which tried to outdo even Luna Park with a 375-foot tower, a three-ring circus, chariot races, and a Lilliputian village inspired by Gulliver's Travels. (A fire destroyed Dreamland in 1911.) The popularity of Coney Island in these years was phenomenal. Thousands of people flocked to the large resort hotels that lined the beaches. Many thousands more made day trips out from the city by train and (after 1920) subway. In 1904, the average daily attendance at Luna Park alone was 90,000 people. On weekends, the Coney Island post office handled over 250,000 postcards, through which visitors helped spread the reputation of the resort across the nation. Coney Island's popularity reflected a number of powerful impulses among urban Americans at the turn of the century. It provided visitors with an escape from the heat and crowding of the vast metropolis around it. It gave people who had few opportunities for travel a simulated glimpse of exotic places and events that they would never be able to experience in reality. For immigrants, many of whom lived in insular ethnic communities, Coney Island provided a way of experiencing American mass culture on an equal footing with people of backgrounds different from their own. Almost everyone who found Coney Island appealing did so in part because it provided an escape from the genteel standards of behavior that governed so much of American life at the time. In the amusement parks of Coney Island, people delighted in finding themselves in situations that in any other setting would have seemed embarrassing or improper: women's

skirts blown above their heads with hot air; people pummeled with water and rubber paddles by clowns; hints of sexual freedom as strangers were forced to come into physical contact with one another on rides and amusements and as men and women revealed themselves to each other wearing bathing suits on the beach. Coney Island remained popular throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and it continues to attract visitors today (although in much smaller numbers). But its heyday was in the years before World War I, when the exotic sights and thrilling adventures it offered had almost no counterparts elsewhere in American culture. When radio, movies, and eventually television began to offer their own kind of mass escapism, Coney Island gradually ceased to be the dazzling, unmatched marvel it had seemed to earlier generations. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did Coney Island reflect the new culture of mass consumption? 2. What new ideas about leisure help account for the popularity of Coney Island in the early twentieth century? 3. What forms of popular culture today continue the Coney Island tradition of offering escapism, adventure, and excitement to a mass audience? the urban working classes, had become by the 1880s a more popular and in some places more reputable sport, particularly after the adoption of the Marquis of Queensberry rules (by which fighters wore padded gloves and fought in three-minute rounds). The first modern boxing hero, John L. Sullivan, became heavyweight champion of the world in 1882. Even so, boxing remained illegal in some states until after World War I. Horse racing, popular since colonial times, became increasingly commercialized with the construction of large tracks and the establishment of large-purse races such as the Kentucky Derby. Even in their infancy, spectator sports were closely associated with gambling. There was elaborate betting-some of it organized by underground gambling “sAND syndicates-on baseball and football almost . from the start. One of the most famous incidents in the history of baseball was the alleged “throwing” of the 1919 World Series by the Chicago White Sox because of gambling (an incident that became known as the “Black Sox Scandal”). That event resulted in the banning of some of the game’s most notable figures from the sport for life and the establishment of the office of commissioner of baseball 505 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



Steeple Chase.  
Coney Island, N. Y



506 CHAPTER 18 to "clean up" the game. Boxing was troubled throughout its history by the influence of gambling and the frequent efforts of managers to "fix" fights in the interests of bettors. Horse racing as it became commercialized was openly organized around betting, with the race tracks themselves establishing odds and taking bets. The rise of spectator sports and gambling was largely a response to the desire of men to create a distinctively male culture in cities. But not all sports were the province of men. A number of sports were emerging in which women became important participants. Golf and tennis seldom attracted crowds in the late nineteenth century, but both experienced a rapid increase in participation among relatively wealthy men and women. Bicycling and croquet also enjoyed widespread popularity in the 1890s among women as well as men. Women's colleges were beginning to introduce their students to strenuous sports as well-track, crew, swimming, and (beginning in the late 1890s) basketball-challenging the once prevalent notion that vigorous exercise was dangerous to women. Music and Theater Many ethnic communities maintained their own theaters, in which immigrants listened to the music of their homelands and heard comedians making light of their experiences in the New World. Italian theaters often drew on the traditions of Italian opera to create sentimental musical events. The Yiddish theater built on the experiences of American Ethnic Theater  
Jews-and was the training ground for a remarkable group of musicians and playwrights who later went on to play a major role in mainstream, English-speaking theater. Urban theaters also introduced one of the most distinctively American entertainment forms: the musical comedy, which evolved gradually from the comic operettas of European theater. George M. Cohan, an Irish vaudeville entertainer, became the first great creator of musical comedies in the early twentieth century; in the process of creating his many shows, he wrote a series of patriotic songs-"Yankee Doodle Dandy," "Over There," and "You're a Grand Old Flag"that remained popular many decades later. Irving Berlin, a veteran of the Yiddish theater, wrote more than 1,000 songs for the musical theater during his long career, including such popular favorites as "Alexander's Ragtime Band" and "God Bless America." Vaudeville, a form of theater adapted from French models, was the

most popular urban entertainment in the first decades Vaudeville twentieth century. Even saloons and small community theaters could afford to offer their customers vaudeville, which consisted of a variety of acts (musicians, comedians, magicians, jugglers, and others) and was, at least in the beginning, inexpensive to produce. As the economic potential of vaudeville grew, some promoters most prominently Florenz Ziegfeld of New York staged much more elaborate spectacles. Vaudeville was also one of the few entertainment media open to black performers. They brought to it elements of the minstrel shows they had earlier developed for black audiences in the late nineteenth century. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 420-421.)

**THE FLORADORA SEXTET** The Floradora Sextet was a popular vocal group of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and became fixtures on the vaudeville and burlesque stages of many cities and resorts. They are shown here in an elaborately costumed production number at the famous Weber and Fields Music Hall in New York City, which opened in 1896. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



## THE AGE OF THE CITY 507 The Movies

The most important form of mass entertainment (until the invention of radio and television) was the movies. Thomas Edison and others had created the technology of the motion picture in the 1880s. Not long after, short films became available to individual viewers through "peep shows" in pool halls, penny arcades, and amusement parks. Soon larger projectors made it possible to project the images onto big screens, which permitted substantial audiences to see films in theaters. By 1900, Americans were becoming attracted in large numbers to these early movies-usually plotless films of trains or waterfalls or other spectacles designed mainly to show off the technology. D. W. Griffith carried the motion picture into a new era with his silent epics- *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), and others-which introduced serious plots and elaborate productions to filmmaking. Some of these films-most notably *The Birth of a Nation*, with its celebration of the Ku Klux Klan and its demeaning portraits of African Americans-also contained notoriously racist messages, an indication, among other things, that the audiences for these early films were overwhelmingly white. Nevertheless, motion pictures were the first truly mass entertainment medium, reaching all areas of the country and almost all groups in the population. Working-Class Leisure

Leisure had a particular importance to working-class men and women-in part because it was a relatively new part of their lives and in part because it stood in such sharp contrast to the grueling environments in which many industrial workers labored. More than most other groups in society, workers spent their leisure time on the streets-walking alone or in groups, watching street entertainers, meeting friends, talking and joking. For people with time but little money, the life of the street was an appealing source of camaraderie and energy. Another important setting for the leisure time of workingclass men was the neighborhood saloon, which became a place where a worker could be sure of encountering a regular circle of friends. Saloons were often ethnically specific, in part because they served particular neighborhoods dominated by particular national groups. They also became political centers. Saloonkeepers were especially important figures in urban political machines, largely because they had regular contact with so many men in a neighborhood. When the Anti-Saloon League and other temperance

organizations attacked the saloon, one of the reasons they cited was that eliminating saloons would weaken political machines.

Opponents also noted correctly that saloons were sometimes places of crime. Importance of the Saloon

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii A NICKELODEON

Before the rise of the great movie palaces, urban families flocked to "nickelodeons," small theaters that charged five cents for admission and showed many different films each day, including serials—dramas that drew audiences back into theaters day after day with new episodes of a running story. (© The Granger Collection, New York) violence, and prostitution—an entryway into the dark underworld of urban life. Boxing was a particularly popular sport among workingclass men. Many workers could not afford to attend the great public boxing matches pairing such popular heroes as John L. Sullivan and "Gentleman Jim" Corbett. But there were less glittering boxing matches in small rings and even in saloonsbare-knuckled fights organized by ethnic clubs and other groups that gave men an opportunity to demonstrate their strength and courage, something that the working world did not always provide them. The Fourth of July The Fourth of July played a large role in the lives of many working-class Americans. That was in part because in an age of w six-day (and sometimes seven-day) workTmportancf of the Fourth weeks and before regular vacations, it was of July for niany decades one of the few full days . of leisure—other than the Sabbath, during which activities were often restricted by law—that many workers had. Fourth of July celebrations were one of the highlights of the year in many ethnic, working-class communities. In Worcester, Massachusetts, for example, the Ancient Order of Hibernians (an Irish organization) sponsored boisterous picnics for the Irish working class of the city. Competing with them were Irish temperance organizations, which offered more sober and "respectable" entertainments to those relatively few workers who wished to avoid the heavy drinking at the Hibernian affairs. Other ethnic groups organized their own Fourth of July events-picnics, games, parades-making the day a celebration not just of the nation's independence, but of the cultures of



508 CHAPTER 18 immigrant communities. The city's affluent middle class, in the meantime, tended to stay away, remaining indoors or organizing family picnics at resort areas outside the city. Mass Communications Urban industrial society created a vast market for new methods of transmitting news and information. Between 1870 and 1910, the circulation of daily newspapers increased nearly ninefold (from under 3 million to more than 24 million), a rate three times as great as the rate of population increase. And while standards varied widely from one paper to another, American journalism began to develop the beginnings of a professional identity. Salaries of reporters increased; many newspapers began separating the reporting of news from the expression of opinion; and newspapers themselves became important businesses. One striking change was the emergence of national press services, which made use of the telegraph to supply news and features to papers throughout the country and which contributed as a result to the standardization of the product. By the turn of the century, important newspaper chains had emerged as well. The most powerful was William Randolph Hearst's, which by 1914 controlled nine newspapers and two magaEmergence of zines' Hearst and rival Publisher JosePh Newspaper Pulitzer helped popularize what became Chains known as "yellow journalism"-a deliberately sensational, often lurid style of reporting presented in bold graphics, designed to reach a mass audience. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 536-537.) Another major change occurred in the nature of American magazines. Beginning in the 1880s, new kinds of magazines appeared that were designed for a mass audience. One of the pioneers was Edward W. Bok, who took over the Ladies' Home Journal in 1899 and, by targeting a mass female audience, built its circulation to over 700,000. HIGH CULTURE IN THE AGE OF THE CITY I ill

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||||| In addition to the important changes in popular culture that accompanied the rise of cities and industry, there were profound changes in the realm of "high culture"-in the ideas and activities of intellectuals and elites. Even the notion of a distinction between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" culture was relatively new to

the industrial era. In the early nineteenth century, many cultural activities attracted people of widely varying backgrounds and targeted people of all classes. By the late nineteenth century, however, elites were developing a cultural and intellectual life quite separate from the popular amusements of the urban masses. The Literature of Urban America Some writers and artists-the local-color writers of the South, for example, and Mark Twain, in such novels as *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*- responded to the new industrial civilization by evoking an older, more natural world. But others grappled directly with the modern order. One of the strongest impulses in late-nineteenth- and early- twentieth-century American literature was the effort to Social re-create urban social reality. This trend Realism toward realism found an early voice in Stephen Crane, who-although best known for his novel of the Civil War, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895)was the author of an earlier, powerful indictment of the plight of the working class. Crane created a sensation in 1893 when he published *Mayyie: A Girl of the Streets*, a grim picture of urban poverty and slum life. Theodore Dreiser was even more influential in encouraging writers to abandon the genteel traditions of earlier times and turn to the social dislocations and injustices of the present. He did so both in *Sister Carrie* and in other, later novels (including *An American Tragedy*, published in 1925). Many of Dreiser's contemporaries followed him in chronicling the oppression of America's poor. In 1901 Frank Norris published *The Octopus*, an account of a struggle between oppressed wheat farmers and powerful railroad interests in California. The socialist writer Upton Sinclair published *The Jungle* in 1906, a novel designed to reveal the depravity of capitalism. It exposed abuses in the American meatpacking industry; and while it did not inspire the kind of socialist response for which Sinclair had hoped, it did help produce legislative action to deal with the problem. Kate Chopin, a southern writer who explored the oppressive features of traditional marriage, encountered widespread public abuse after publication of her shocking novel *The Awakening* in 1899. It described a young wife and mother who abandons her family in search of personal fulfillment. It was formally banned in some communities. William Dean Howells, in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1884) and other works, described what he considered the shallowness and corruption in the search for wealth. Other critics of American society responded to the new civilization not by attacking



it but by withdrawing from it. The historian Henry Adams published a classic autobiography in 1906, *The Education of Henry Adams*, in which he portrayed himself as a man disillusioned with and unable to relate to his society, even though he continued to live in it. The novelist Henry James lived the major part of his adult life in England and Europe and produced a series of coldly realistic novels—*The American* (1877), *Portrait of a Lady* (1881), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and others—that showed his ambivalence about the character of modern, industrial civilization. The growing popularity of literature helped spawn a remarkable network of clubs, mostly formed and populated by women, to bring readers together to talk about books. Reading clubs proliferated rapidly in cities and even small towns, among African American as well as white women. They made literature a social experience for hundreds of thousands of women and created a tradition that has continued into the twenty-first century.

## THE AGE OF THE CITY 509 Art in the Age of the City

American art through most of the nineteenth century had been overshadowed by the art of Europe. Many American artists studied and even lived in Europe. But others broke from the Old World traditions and experimented with new styles. Winslow Homer was vigorously American in his paintings of New England maritime life and other native subjects. James McNeil Whistler was one of the first Western artists to appreciate the beauty of Japanese color prints and to introduce Oriental concepts into American and European art. By the first years of the new century, some American artists were turning decisively away from the traditional academic Ashcan style, a style perhaps best exemplified in School America by the brilliant portraitist John Singer Sargent. Instead, many younger painters were exploring the same grim aspects of modern life that were becoming the subject of American literature. Members of the so-called Ashcan school produced work startling in its naturalism and stark in its portrayal of the social realities of the era. John Sloan portrayed the dreariness of American urban slums; George Bellows caught the vigor and violence of his time in paintings and drawings of prize fights; Edward Hopper explored the starkness and loneliness of the modern city. The Ashcan artists were also among the first Americans to appreciate expressionism and abstraction; and they showed their interest in new forms in 1913 when they helped stage the famous and controversial Armory Show in New York City, which displayed works of the French Postimpressionists and of some American moderns. The work of these and other artists marked the beginning in America of an artistic movement known as modernism, a movement that had counterparts in many other areas of cultural and intellectual life as well. Rejecting the heavy reliance on established forms that characterized the "genteel tradition" of the nineteenth-century art world, modernists rejected the grip of the past and embraced new subjects and new forms. Where the genteel tradition emphasized the "dignified" and "elevated" aspects of civilization (and glorified the achievements of gifted elites), modernism gloried in the ordinary, even the coarse. Where the genteel tradition placed great importance on respect for the past and the maintenance of "standards," modernism looked to the future and gloried in the new. Eventually, modernism developed strict orthodoxies of its own. But in its early stages, it seemed to

promise an escape from rigid, formal traditions and an unleashing of individual creativity. acceptance of the theory of evolution, associated most prominently with the English naturalist Charles Darwin. Darwinism argued that the human species had evolved from earlier forms of life (and most recently from simian creatures similar to apes) through a process of "natural selection." It challenged the biblical story of the Creation and almost every other tenet of traditional American religious faith. History, Darwinism suggested, was not the working out of a divine plan, as most Americans had always believed. It was a random process dominated by the fiercest or luckiest competitors. The theory of evolution met widespread resistance at first from educators, theologians, and even many scientists. By the end of the century, however, the evolutionists had converted most members of the urban professional and educated classes. Even many middle-class Protestant religious leaders had accepted the doctrine, making significant alterations in theology to accommodate it. Evolution had become enshrined in schools

**The Impact of Darwinism**

The single most profound intellectual development in the late nineteenth century was the widespread

**ON THE STEPS**

This painting is by George Luks (1867-1933), an American artist who belonged to the so-called Ashcan school. Luks and others revolted against what they considered the sterile formalism of academic painting and chose instead to portray realistic scenes of ordinary life. In 1913 they stirred the art world with a startling exhibition in New York, known as the Armory Show. In it they displayed not only their own work (which was relatively conventional in technique, even if sometimes daring in its choice of subjects), but also the work of innovative European artists, who were already beginning to explore wholly new artistic forms. (© David David Gallery/SuperStock)



510 CHAPTER 18 and universities; few serious scientists any longer questioned its basic validity. Unseen by most urban Americans at the time, however, the rise of Darwinism was contributing to a deep schism between the new, cosmopolitan culture of the city-which was receptive to new ideas such as evolution-and a traditional, provincial culture located mainly (although not wholly) in rural areas-which remained wedded to fundamentalist religious beliefs and older values. Thus the late nineteenth century saw not only the rise of a liberal Protestantism in tune with new scientific discoveries but also the beginning of an organized Protestant fundamentalism, rejecting evolution, which would make its presence felt politically in the 1920s and again in the late twentieth century and beyond. Darwinism helped spawn other new intellectual currents. There was the Social Darwinism of William Graham Sumner "Pragmatism" and others, which industrialists used so . enthusiastically to justify their favored position in American life. But there were also more sophisticated philosophies, among them a doctrine that became known as "pragmatism," which seemed peculiarly a product of America's changing material civilization. William James, a Harvard psychologist (and brother of the novelist Henry James), was the most prominent publicist of the new theory, although earlier intellectuals such as Charles S. Peirce and later ones such as John Dewey were also important to its development and dissemination. According to the pragmatists, modern society should rely for guidance not on inherited ideals and moral principles but on the test of scientific inquiry. No idea or institution (not even religious faith) was valid, they claimed, unless it worked and unless it stood the test of experience. "The ultimate test for us of what a truth means," James wrote, "is the conduct it dictates or inspires." A similar concern for scientific inquiry was intruding into the social sciences and challenging traditional orthodoxies. Economists such as Richard T. Ely and Simon Patten argued for a more active and pragmatic use of scientific discipline. Sociologists such as Edward A. Ross and Lester Frank Ward urged applying the scientific method to the solution of social and political problems. Historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles Beard argued that economic factors more than spiritual ideals had been the governing force in historical development. John Dewey proposed a new approach to

education that placed less emphasis on the rote learning of traditional knowledge and more on a flexible, democratic approach to schooling, one that enabled students to acquire knowledge that would help them deal with the realities of their society. The relativistic implications of Darwinism also promoted Growth of anthropology and encouraged some scholars to begin examining other cultures—most significantly, perhaps, the culture of American Indians—in new ways. A few white Americans began to look at Indian society as a coherent culture with its own norms and values that were worthy of respect and preservation, even though different from those of white society. But such ideas about Native Americans found very little support outside a few corners of the intellectual world until much later in the twentieth century.

**DEMPEY AND FIRPO** The artist George Bellows began painting fight scenes in the first years of the twentieth century, when boxing appealed primarily to working-class urban communities. By 1924, when he painted this view of the Dempsey-Firpo fight, prizefighting had become one of the most popular sports in America. (© Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, USA/Bridgeman Images)

**Toward Universal Schooling** A society that was coming to depend increasingly on specialized skills and scientific knowledge was, of course, a society with a high demand for education. The late nineteenth century, therefore, was a time of rapid expansion and reform of American schools and universities. One example was the spread of free public primary and secondary education. In 1860, there were only 100 public high schools in the entire United States. By 1900, the number had reached 6,000, and by 1914 over 12,000. By 1900, compulsory school attendance laws were in effect in thirty-one states and territories. But education was still far from universal. Rural areas lagged far behind urban-industrial ones in funding public education. And in the South, many blacks had no access to schools. Educational reformers, few of whom shared the relativistic views of anthropologists, sought to provide educational opportunities for the Indian tribes as well, in an effort to "civilize" them and help



William Graham Sumner was an influential scholar who was appointed the first professor of sociology at Yale. A dynamic writer and teacher, he is best known for his promotion of "Social Darwinism"—a now-discredited theory that used the theory of evolution to explain differences among peoples. (© The Granger Collection, New York) them adapt to white society. In the 1870s, reformers recruited small groups of Indians to attend Hampton Institute, a primarily black college. In 1879, Richard Henry Pratt, a former army officer, organized the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania. Carlisle emphasized the kind of practical "industrial" education that Booker T. Washington had urged at his school at Tuskegee. Equally important, it isolated Indians from their tribes and tried to force them to assimilate to white norms. The purpose, Pratt said, was to "kill the Indian and save the man." Carlisle inspired other, similar schools in the West. Ultimately, the reform efforts failed, both because of Indian resistance and because of inadequate funding, incompetent administration, and poor teaching. Colleges and universities were also proliferating rapidly in the late nineteenth century. They benefited particularly from the Morrill Land Grant Act of the Civil War era, by which the federal "Land-Grant" government had donated land to states for Institutions the establishment of colleges. After 1865,

states in the South and West took particular advantage of the law. In all, sixty-nine "land-grant" institutions were established in the last decades of the century—among them the state university systems of California, Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Other universities benefited from millions of dollars contributed by business and financial tycoons. Rockefeller, Carnegie, and others gave generously to such schools as the University of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Northwestern, Princeton, Syracuse, and Yale. Other philanthropists founded new universities or reorganized and renamed older ones to perpetuate their family names—Vanderbilt, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Duke, Tulane, and Stanford. Education for Women The post-Civil War era saw, too, an important expansion of educational opportunities for women, although such opportunities continued to lag far behind those available to men and were almost always denied to black women. Most public high schools accepted women



readily, but opportunities for higher education were few. At the end of the Civil War, only three American colleges were coeducational. In the years after the war, some of the land-grant colleges and universities in the Midwest and Colleges such private universities as Cornell and Wesleyan began to admit women along with men. But coeducation provided fewer opportunities than the creation of a network of women's colleges. Mount Holyoke, which had begun its life in 1836 as a "seminary" for women, became a full-fledged college in the 1880s. At about the same time, new female institutions were emerging: Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Wells, and Goucher. A few of the larger private universities created separate colleges for women on their campuses (Barnard at Columbia and Radcliffe at Harvard, for example). Proponents of women's colleges saw the institutions as places where female students would not be treated as "second-class citizens" by predominantly male student bodies and faculties. The female college was part of an important phenomenon in the history of modern American women: the emergence of a distinctive women's community. Most faculty members and many administrators were women (often unmarried). And the life of the college produced a spirit of sorority and commitment among educated women that had important effects in later years, as women became the leaders of many reform activities. Most female college graduates eventually married, but many married at a later age than their non-collegeeducated counterparts and in some cases continued to pursue careers after marriage and motherhood. A significant minority, perhaps over 25 percent, did not marry, but devoted themselves exclusively to careers. A leader at Bryn Mawr remarked, "Our failures marry." That was surely rhetorical excess. The growth of female higher education clearly became for some women a liberating experience, persuading them that they had roles to perform in society in addition to those of wives and mothers.



512 CHAPTER 18 LOOKING BACK The extraordinary growth of American cities in the last decades of the nineteenth century led to both great achievements and enormous problems. Cities became centers of learning, art, and commerce. They produced great advances in technology, transportation, architecture, and communications. They provided their residents-and their many visitors-with varied and dazzling experiences, so much so that many rural people left the countryside to move to the city, and many more dreamed of doing so. But cities were also places of congestion, filth, disease, and corruption. With populations expanding too rapidly for services to keep up, most American cities in this era struggled with makeshift governments and makeshift techniques to solve the basic problems of providing water, disposing of sewage, building roads, providing public transportation, fighting fire, stopping crime, and preventing or curing disease. City governments, many of them dominated by political machines and ruled by party bosses, were often models of inefficiency and corruption-although in their informal way they also provided substantial services to the working-class and immigrant constituencies who needed them most. They also managed, despite the administrative limitations of most municipal governments, to oversee great public projects: the building of parks, museums, opera houses, and theaters, usually in partnership with private developers. The city brought together races, ethnic groups, and classes of extraordinary variety-from the families of great wealth that the new industrial age was creating to the vast working class, much of it consisting of immigrants, that crowded into densely packed neighborhoods sharply divided by ethnicity. The city also produced new forms of popular culture. It produced new opportunities (and risks) for women. It created temples of consumerism: shops, boutiques, and, above all, the great department stores. And it created forums for public recreation and entertainment: parks, theaters, athletic fields, amusement parks, and later movie palaces. Urban life created such great anxiety among those who lived within the cities and among those who observed them from afar that in some cities middle-class people armed themselves to prepare for the insurrections they expected from the poor. But, in fact, American cities adapted reasonably successfully over time to the great demands their growth made of them and learned to govern

themselves, if not entirely honestly and efficiently, at least adequately to allow them to survive and grow. Key Terms/People/Places/Events Alice Hamilton 498 Henry James 508 Theodore Dreiser 508 Armory Show 509 Jacob Riis 495 Upton Sinclair 508 Ashcan school 509 Kate Chopin 508 William James 510 "City beautiful" movement 494 National Consumers League 502 William M. Tweed 500 Darwinism 509 Stephen Crane 508 Yellow journalism 508 D. W. Griffith 507 Tammany Hall 500

**RECALL AND REFLECT**

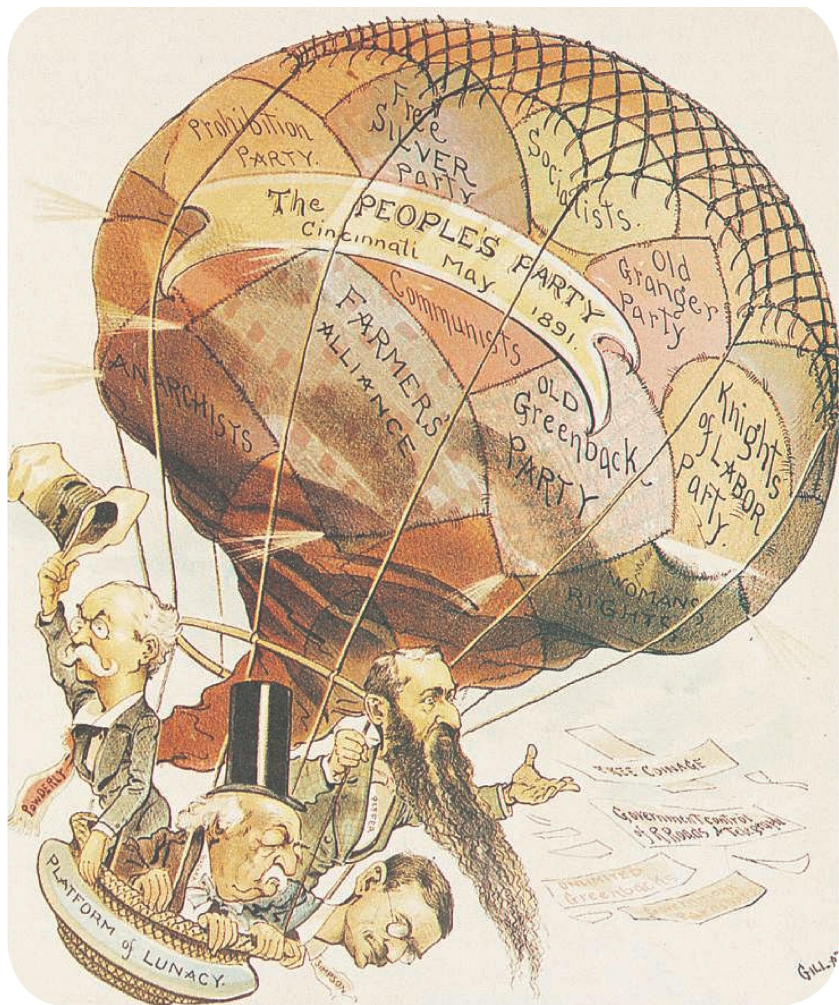
1. What groups of people were most likely to move to the cities of late-nineteenth-century America, and why?
2. What was the relationship between immigration and urbanization in the late nineteenth century?
3. In what way did the serious art and literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries function as social criticism? What were these artists and writers criticizing?
4. How did the new consumer economy affect roles and expectations for women?
5. What was Darwinism and what was its impact on American intellectual life?

## SIGNIFICANT EVENTS THE AGE OF THE CITY 513 1859

New York City's Central Park opened 1894 Immigration Restriction League founded 1869 Princeton and Rutgers play first intercollegiate football game 1870 New York City opens elevated railroads 1899 Kate Chopin publishes *The Awakening* 1871 Great fires destroy much of Chicago and Boston 1872 Tammany's Boss Tweed convicted of corruption 1895 First Coney Island amusement park opens Stephen Crane publishes *The Red Badge of Courage* Boston opens first subway in America 1900 Theodore Dreiser publishes *Sister Carrie* 1901 1876 Baseball's National League founded Baseball's American League founded 1882 1903 Boston Red Sox win first World Series Congress restricts Chinese 1906 • immigration Upton Sinclair publishes *The O* 1883 Jungle Brooklyn Bridge opened Earthquake and fire destroy much of San Francisco o 1910 1884 ^ O National College Athletic First steel girder "skyscraper" Association founded to regulate built in Chicago 1913 • college football • 1890 Ashcan school artists stage Jacob Riis publishes *How the Armory Show* in New York City *Other Half Lives* m 1915 1891 ^ o w D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a* James Naismith invents Nation debuts basketball o 1893 Columbian Exposition opens in Chicago

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1. What were the major social and economic problems that beset the United States in the late nineteenth century, and how did the two major political parties respond to these problems? 2. What was Populism, what were its goals, and to what degree were these goals achieved? 3. How did the United States become an imperial power?



## SETTING THE STAGE THE UNITED STATES

APPROACHED THE end of the nineteenth century as a fundamentally different nation from what it had been at the beginning of the Civil War. With rapid change came cascading social and political problems— problems that the weak and conservative governments of the time showed little inclination or ability to address. A catastrophic depression began in 1893, rapidly intensified, and created devastating hardship for millions of Americans. Farmers, particularly hard hit by the depression, responded by creating an agrarian political movement known as Populism. American workers, facing massive unemployment, staged large and occasionally violent strikes. Not since the Civil War had American politics been so polarized and impassioned. The presidential election of 1896 pitted the agrarian hero William Jennings Bryan against the solid, conservative William McKinley. Supported by the mighty Republican Party and many eastern groups that looked with suspicion and unease at the agricultural demands coming from the West, McKinley won an easy victory. Although McKinley did little in his first term in office to resolve the problems and grievances of the time, the economy revived nevertheless. Having largely ignored the depression, however, McKinley took a great interest in another great national cause: the plight of Cuba in its war with Spain. In the spring of 1898, the United States declared war on Spain and entered the conflict in Cuba— a brief but bloody war that ended with an American victory four months later. The conflict had begun as a way to support Cuban independence from the Spanish. But a group of fervent and influential imperialists worked to convert the war into an occasion for acquiring overseas possessions. Despite a powerful anti-imperialist movement, the acquisition of the former Spanish colonies proceeded— only to draw Americans into yet another imperial war, this one in the Philippines, where the Americans, not the Spanish, were the targets of local enmity. THE POLITICS OF EQUILIBRIUM

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Electoral Stability The most striking feature of late-nineteenth-century politics was the remarkable stability of the party system. From the end of Reconstruction until the late 1890s, the electorate was divided almost precisely evenly between the Republicans and



the Democrats. Sixteen states were solidly and consistently Republican, and fourteen states (most in the South) were solidly and consistently Democratic. Only five states (most importantly New York and Ohio) were usually in doubt, and their voters generally decided the results of national elections. The Republican Party captured the presidency in all but two of the elections of the era, but in the five presidential elections beginning in 1876, the average popular-vote margin separating the Democratic and Republican candidates was 1.5 percent. The congressional balance was similarly stable, with the Republicans generally controlling the Senate and the Democrats generally controlling the House. As striking as the balance between the parties was the intensity of public loyalty to them. In most of the country, Americans viewed their party affiliations with a passion and enthusiasm that is difficult for later generations to understand. Voter turnout in presidential elections between 1860 and 1900 averaged over 78 percent of all eligible voters (as compared with on^\*bout 50 percent in most recent elections). Even in nonpresidential . years, from 60 to 80 percent of the voters turned out to cast ballots for congressional and local candidates. Large groups of potential voters were disenfranchised in these years: women in most states; almost all blacks and many poor whites in the South. But for adult white males, there were few franchise restrictions. What explains this extraordinary loyalty to the two political parties? It was not, certainly, that the parties took distinct positions on important public issues. They did so rarely. Party loyalties reflected other factors. Region was perhaps the most important. To white southerners, loyalty to the Democratic Party was a matter of unquestioned faith. It was the vehicle by which they had triumphed over Reconstruction and preserved white supremacy. To many northerners, white 515

516 CHAPTER 19 and black. Republican loyalties were equally intense. To them, the party of Lincoln remained a bulwark against slavery and treason. Religious and ethnic differences also shaped party loyalties. The Democratic Party attracted most of the Catholic voters, recent immigrants, and poorer workers-groups that often overlapped. The Republican Party appealed to northern Protestants, citizens of old stock, and much of the middle class-groups that also had considerable overlap. Among the few substantive issues on which the parties took clearly different stands were matters connected with immigrants. Republicans tended to support measures restricting immigration and to favor temperance legislation, which many of them believed would help discipline immigrant communities. Catholics and immigrants viewed such proposals as assaults on them and their cultures and opposed them; the Democratic Party followed their lead. Party identification, then, was usually more a reflection of ^w cultural inclinations than a calculation of Cultural Basis of Party economic interest. Individuals might affilIdentification iate with a party because their parents had done so, or because it was the party of their region, their church, or their ethnic group. The National Government One reason the two parties managed to avoid substantive issues was that the federal government (and, to some degree, state and local governments as well) did relatively little. The government in Washington was responsible for delivering the mail, maintaining a military, conducting foreign policy, and collecting tariffs and taxes. It had few other responsibilities and few institutions with which it could have undertaken additional responsibilities even if it had chosen to do so. There were significant exceptions. The federal government had been supporting the economic development of the nation for decades. In the late nineteenth century, that mostly meant giving tremendous subsidies to railroads, usually in the form of grants of federal land, to encourage them to extend their lines deeper into the nation. And as President Cleveland's intervention in the Pullman strike suggests, the government was also not averse to using its military and police power to protect capitalists from challenges from their workers. In addition, the federal government administered a system of annual pensions for Union Civil War veterans who had retired from work and for their widows. At its peak, this pension Civil War system was making payments to a

majority Pension of male citizens (black and white) of System the North and to many women as well. Some reformers hoped to make the system permanent and universal. But their efforts failed, in part because the Civil War pension system was awash in party patronage and corruption. Other reformers-believers in "good government"-saw elimination of the pension system as a way to fight graft, corruption, and party rule. When the Civil War generation died out, the pension system died with it. In most other respects, however, the United States in the late nineteenth century was a society without a modern, national government. The most powerful institutions were the two political parties (and the bosses and machines that dominated them) and the federal courts. Presidents and Patronage The power of party bosses had an important effect on the power of the presidency. The office had great symbolic importance, but its occupants were unable to do very much except distribute government appointments. A new president and his tiny staff had to make almost 100,000 appointments (most of them in the post office, the only really large government agency); and even in that function, presidents had limited latitude, since they had to avoid offending the various factions within their own parties. Sometimes that proved impossible, as the presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881) demonstrated. By the end of his term, two groups-the Stalwarts, led by Roscoe Conkling of Stalwarts and New York' and the Half-Breeds, captained Half-Breeds by James G. Blaine of Maine- were competing for control of the Republican Party. ii PRESIDENT CHESTER A. ARTHUR Although originally a Stalwart and a follower of Roscoe Conkling, upon becoming president on the assassination of James A. Garfield, Chester A. Arthur attempted to reform the spoils system. The Pendleton Act, passed by Congress in 1883, required that some civil service jobs be filled by competitive examinations rather than patronage. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ppmsca-28490))

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GETTING HOT ENOUGH FOR HIM.

FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 517 Rhetorically, the Stalwarts favored traditional, professional machine politics, while the Half-Breeds favored reform. In fact, both groups were mainly interested in a larger share of the patronage pie. Hayes tried to satisfy both and ended up satisfying neither. The battle over patronage overshadowed all else during Hayes's unhappy presidency. His one important substantive initiative—an effort to create a civil service system—attracted no support from either party. And his early announcement that he would not seek reelection only weakened him further. (His popularity in Washington was not enhanced by the decision of his wife, a temperance advocate widely known as "Lemonade Lucy," to ban alcoholic beverages from the White House.) Hayes's presidency was a study in frustration. The Republicans managed to retain the presidency in 1880 in part because they agreed on a ticket that included a Stalwart and a Half-Breed. They nominated James A. Garfield, a veteran congressman from Ohio and a Half-Breed, for president and Chester A. Arthur of New York, a Stalwart, for vice president. The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, a minor Civil War commander with no national following. Benefiting from the end of the recession of 1879, Garfield won a decisive electoral victory, although his popular-vote margin was very thin. The Republicans also captured both houses of Congress. Garfield began his presidency by trying to defy the Stalwarts in his appointments and by showing support for civil service reform. He soon found himself embroiled in an ugly public quarrel with Conkling and the Stalwarts. It was never resolved. On July 2, 1881, only four months after his inauguration, Garfield was shot twice while standing in the Washington railroad station by an apparently deranged gunman (and unsuccessful office seeker) who shouted, "I am a Stalwart and Arthur is president now!" Garfield lingered for nearly three months but finally died, a victim as much of inept medical treatment as of the wounds themselves. Chester A. Arthur, who succeeded Garfield, had spent a political lifetime as a devoted, skilled, and open spoilsman and a close ally of Roscoe Conkling. But on becoming president, he tried to follow an independent course and even to promote reform, aware that the Garfield assassination had discredited the traditional spoils system. To the dismay of the Stalwarts, Arthur kept most of

Garfield's appointees in office and supported civil service reform. In 1883, Congress passed the first national civil service measure, the Pendleton Act, which required that some federal Jobs be filled by competitive written examinations rather than by patronage. Relatively few offices fell under civil service at first, but its reach extended steadily. Cleveland, Harrison, and the Tariff In the unsavory election of 1884, the Republican candidate for president was Senator James G. Blaine of Maine-known to his admirers as the "Plumed Knight" but to many others as a symbol of seamy party politics. A group of disgruntled "liberal Republicans," known by their critics as the "mugwumps," announced they would bolt the party and support an honest Democrat. Rising to the bait, the Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, the reform governor of New York. He differed from Blaine on no substantive issues but had acquired a reputation as an enemy of corruption. In a campaign filled with personal invective, what may have decided the election was the last-minute introduction of a religious controversy. Shortly before the election, a delegation Election °f Protestant ministers called on Blaine in of 1884 New York City; their spokesman. Dr. Samuel Burchard, referred to the Democrats as the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion." Blaine was slow to repudiate Burchard's indiscretion, and Democrats quickly spread the news that Blaine had tolerated a slander on the Catholic Church. Cleveland's narrow victory was probably a result of an unusually heavy Catholic vote for the Democrats in New York. Cleveland won 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182; his popular margin was only 23,000. Grover Cleveland was respected, if not often liked, for his stern and righteous opposition to politicians, grafters, pressure groups, and Tammany Hall. He had become famous as the "veto governor," as an official who was not afraid to say no. He was the embodiment of an era in which few Americans believed the federal government could, or should, do very much. Cleveland had always doubted the wisdom of protective tariffs. The existing high rates, he believed, were responsible for the annual surplus in federal revenues, which was tempting Congress to pass "reckless" and "extravagant" legislation, which he frequently vetoed. In December 1887, therefore, he asked Congress to reduce the tariff rates. Democrats in the House approved a tariff reduction, but Senate Republicans defiantly passed a bill of their own actually raising the rates. The resulting deadlock made the tariff an issue in the election of 1888.

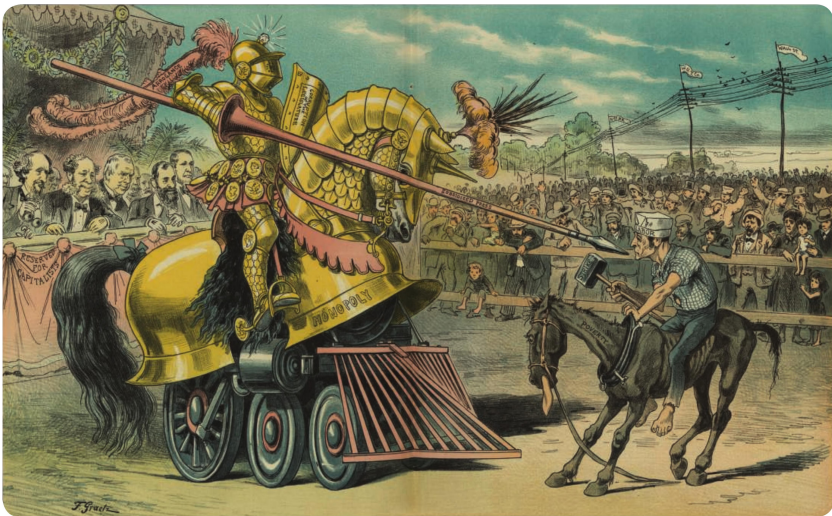
The Democrats renominated Cleveland and supported tariff reductions. The Republicans settled on former senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, who was obscure but respectable (the grandson of President William Henry Harrison); he endorsed high tariffs. The campaign was the first since the Civil War to involve a clear question of economic difference between the parties. It was also one of the most corrupt (and closest) elections in American history. Harrison won an electoral majority of 233 to 168, but Cleveland's popular vote exceeded Harrison's by 100,000. New Public Issues

Benjamin Harrison's record as president was little more substantial than that of his grandfather, who had died a month after taking office. Harrison had few visible convictions, and he made no effort to influence Congress. And yet during Harrison's passive administration, public opinion was beginning to force the government to confront some of the pressing social and economic issues of the day. Most notably, sentiment was rising in favor of legislation to curb the power of trusts. By the mid- 1880s, fifteen western and southern states had adopted laws prohibiting combinations that restrained competition. But corporations found it easy to escape limitations by incorporating in states, such as New Jersey and Delaware, that

cartoon appeared in *Puck*, a magazine popular for its satirical treatment of American politics. It expresses a common sentiment of the Populists and many others: that ordinary men and women (portrayed here by the pathetic figure of "labor" and by the grim members of the audience) were almost hopelessly overmatched by the power of corporate monopolies. The knight's shield, labeled "corruption of the legislature," and his spear, labeled "subsidized press," make clear that—in the view of the cartoonist at least—corporations had many allies in their effort to oppress workers. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ppmsca-2412)) Sherman offered them special privileges. If antitrust legislation was to be effective, its supporters believed, it would have to come from the national government. Responding to growing popular demands, both houses of Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act in July 1890, almost without dissent. Most members of Congress saw the act as a symbolic measure, one that would help deflect public criticism but was not likely to have any real effect on corporate power. For over a decade after its passage, the Sherman Act—indifferently enforced and steadily weakened by the courts—had almost no impact. As of 1901, the Justice Department had instituted many antitrust suits against labor unions, but only fourteen against business combinations; there had been few convictions. The Republicans were more interested, however, in the issue they believed had won them the 1888 election: the tariff. Representative William McKinley of Ohio and Senator Nelson A. Aldrich of Rhode Island drafted the Tariff highest protective measure ever proposed to Congress. Known as the McKinley Tariff, it became law in October 1890. But Republican leaders apparently misinterpreted public sentiment. The party suffered a stunning reversal in the 1890 congressional election. The Republicans' substantial Senate majority was slashed to 8; in the House, the party retained only 88 of the 323 seats. McKinley himself was among those who went down in defeat. Nor were the Republicans able to recover in the course of the next two years. In the presidential election of 1892, Benjamin Harrison once again supported protection; Grover Cleveland, renominated by the Democrats, once again opposed it. A new third party, the People's Party, with James B. Weaver as its candidate, advocated substantial economic reform. Cleveland won 277



electoral votes to Harrison's 145 and had a popular margin of 380,000. Weaver ran far behind. For the first time since 1878, the Democrats won a majority of both houses of Congress. The policies of Cleveland's second term were much like those of his first—devoted to minimal government and hostile to active efforts to deal with social or economic problems. Again, he supported a tariff reduction, which the House approved but the Senate weakened. Cleveland denounced the result but allowed it to become law as the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. It included only very modest reductions. But public pressure was growing in the 1880s for other reforms, among them regulation of the railroads. Farm organizations in the Midwest (most notably the Grangers) had persuaded several state legislatures to pass regulatory legislation in the early



CHLt SHACKLED BY THE TARIFF This 1894 cartoon by the political satirist Louis Dalrymple portrays an unhappy Uncle Sam bound hand and foot by the McKinley Tariff and by what tariff opponents considered a closely related evilmonopoly. Members of the Senate are portrayed as tools of the various industries and special interests protected by the tariff. The caption, "A Senate for Revenue Only," is a parody of the antitariff rallying cry, "A tariff for revenue only," meaning that duties should be designed only to raise money for the government, not to stop imports of particular goods to protect domestic industries. A particularly provocative element of the cartoon is the image of two African American legislators promoting another controversial issue: "free silver" (see pp. 525-527). (© The Granger Collection, New York) 1870s. But in 1886, the Supreme Court-in *Wabash , St. Louis, and Pacific Railway Co. v. Illinois*, known as the *Wabash case*-ruled one of the Granger Laws in Illinois unconstitutional. According to the Court, the law was an attempt to control interstate commerce and thus infringed on the exclusive power of Congress. Later, the federal courts limited the powers of the states to regulate commerce even within their own boundaries. Effective railroad regulation, it was now clear, could come only from the federal government. Congress responded to public pressure in 1887 with the Interstate Commerce Act, which banned discrimination in rates between long and short hauls, required that railroads publish their rate schedules and file them with the government, and declared that all interstate rail rates must be "reasonable and just"although the act did not define what that meant. A five-person agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), was to administer the act. But it had to rely on the courts to enforce its rulings. Interstate Commerce Act

THE STATE, WAR, AND NAVY BUILDING This sprawling Victorian office building was one of the largest in Washington, D.C., when it was constructed shortly after the Civil War. It housed the State, War, and Navy Departments until not long before World War II. It suggests both the degree to which the federal government was growing in the late nineteenth century and, more importantly, the degree to which it remained a tiny entity compared to what it would later become. This building, which stands directly next door to the White House, today houses a part (but only a part) of the president's staff. (The



520 CHAPTER 19 For almost twenty years after its passage, the Interstate Commerce Act—which was, like the Sherman Act, haphazardly enforced and narrowly interpreted by the courts—had little practical effect. THE AGRARIAN REVOLT No group watched the performance of the federal government in the 1880s with more dismay than American farmers. Suffering from a long economic decline, afflicted with a painful sense of obsolescence, rural Americans were keenly aware of the problems of the modern economy and particularly eager for government assistance in dealing with them. The result of their frustrations was the emergence of one of the most powerful movements of political protest in American history: what became known as Populism. The Grangers According to popular myth, American farmers were the most individualistic of citizens. In reality, however, farmers had been making efforts to organize for many decades. The first major farm organization appeared in the 1860s: the Grange. The Grange had its origins shortly after the Civil War in a tour through the South by a minor Agriculture Department Origins official, Oliver H. Kelley. Kelley was appalled by what he considered the isolation and drabness of rural life. In 1867 he left the government and. “THE GRANGE AWAKENING THE SLEEPERS” This 1873 cartoon illustrates the way the Grange embraced many of the same concerns that the Farmers’ Alliances and their People’s Party later expressed. A farmer is attempting to arouse passive citizens (lying in place of the “sleepers,” or cross ties on railroad tracks), who are about to be crushed by a train. The cars bear the names of the costs of the railroads’ domination of the agrarian economy. (© The Granger Collection, New York) A POPULIST GATHERING Populism was a response to real economic and political grievances. But like most political movements of its time, it was also important as a cultural experience. For farmers in sparsely settled regions in particular, it provided an antidote to isolation and loneliness. This gathering of Populist farmers in Dickinson County, Kansas, shows how the political purposes of the movement were tightly bound up with its social purposes. (© Kansas State Historical Society)





FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 521 with other department employees, founded the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, to which he devoted years of labor as secretary and from which emerged a network of local organizations. At first, the Grangers defined their purposes modestly. They attempted to bring farmers together to learn new scientific agricultural techniques-to keep farming "in step with the music of the age." The Grangers also hoped to create a feeling of community, to relieve the loneliness of rural life. The Grangers grew slowly for a time. But when the depression of 1873 caused a major decline in farm prices, membership rapidly increased. By 1875, the Grange claimed more than 800,000 members and 20,000 local lodges; it had chapters in almost every state but was strongest in the great stapleproducing regions of the South and the Midwest. As membership grew, the lodges in the Midwest began to focus less on the social benefits of organization and more on the economic possibilities. They attempted to organize marketing coEconomic operatives to allow farmers to circumvent the Grievances hated "middlemen" (people who managed the sale of farmers crops, taking a large cut of the profits for themselves). And they urged cooperative political action to curb monopolistic practices by railroads and warehouses. The Grangers set up cooperative stores, creameries, elevators, warehouses, insurance companies, and factories that produced machines, stoves, and other items. More than 400 enterprises were in operation at the height of the movement, and some of them forged lucrative relationships with existing businesses. One corporation emerged specifically to meet the needs of the Grangers: the first mail-order business, Montgomery Ward and Company, founded in 1872, which helped farmers escape from overpriced local stores. Eventually, however, most of the Grange enterprises failed, both because of the inexperience of their operators and because of the opposition of the middlemen they were challenging. The Grangers also worked to elect state legislators pledged to their program. Usually they operated through the existing Political parties, although occasionally they ran canProgram didates under such independent party la. bels as "Antimonopoly" and "Reform." At their peak, they managed to gain control of the legislatures in most of the midwestern states. Their purpose was to subject the railroads to government controls. The Granger laws of the early 1870s

imposed strict regulations on railroad rates and practices. But the new regulations were soon destroyed by the courts. That defeat, combined with the political inexperience of many Grange leaders and, above all, the temporary return of agricultural prosperity in the late 1870s, produced a dramatic decline in the power of the association. Some of the Granger cooperatives survived as effective economic vehicles for many years, but the movement as a whole dwindled rapidly. By 1880, its membership had shrunk to 100,000.

The Farmers' Alliances The successor to the Grange as the leading vehicle of agrarian protest began to emerge even before the Granger movement had faded. As early as 1875, farmers in parts of the South (most notably in Texas) were banding together in so-called Farmers' Alliances. By 1880, the Southern Alliance had more than 4 million members; and a comparable Northwestern Alliance was taking root in the plains states and the Midwest and developing ties with its southern counterpart. Like the Granges, the Alliances were principally concerned with local problems. They formed cooperatives and other marketing mechanisms. They established stores, banks, processing plants, and other facilities for their members to free them from the hated "furnishing merchants" who kept so many farmers in debt. Some Alliance leaders, however, also saw the movement as an effort to build a society in which economic competition might give way to cooperation. They argued for a sense of mutual, neighborly responsibility that would enable farmers to resist oppressive outside forces. Alliance lecturers traveled throughout rural areas attacking the concentration of power in great corporations and financial institutions and promoting cooperation as an alternative economic system. From the beginning, women were full voting members in most local Alliances. Many held offices and served as lecturers. A few, Mary Lease most notably Mary E. Lease, went on to become fiery Populist orators. (Lease was famous MARY E. LEASE The fiery Populist orator Mary E. Lease was a fixture on the Alliance lecture circuit in the 1890s. She made some 160 speeches in 1890 alone. Her critics called her the "Kansas Pythoness" but she was popular among populist farmers with her denunciations of banks, railroads, and "middlemen," and her famous advice to "raise less corn and more hell." (© Corbis)

522 CHAPTER 19 BEARING THE CROSS OF GOLD The cartoonist Grant Hamilton created this image of William Jennings Bryan shortly after he made his famous "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention, which led to his nomination for president. The cartoon highlights two of the most powerful images in Bryan's speech—a "crown of thorns" and a "cross of gold," both biblical references and both designed to represent the oppression that the gold standard imposed on working people. (© The Granger Collection, New York) for urging farmers to "raise less corn and more hell.") Others emphasized issues of particular concern to women, especially temperance. Like their urban counterparts, agrarian women argued that sobriety was a key to stability in rural society. Alliances (and the Populist Party they eventually created) advocated extending the vote to women in many areas of the country. Although the Alliances quickly became far more widespread than the Granges had ever been, they suffered from similar problems. Their cooperatives did not always work well, partly because the market forces operating against them were sometimes too strong to be overcome, partly because the cooperatives themselves were often mismanaged. These economic frustrations helped push the movement into a new phase at the end of the 1880s: the creation of a national political organization. In 1889, the Southern and Northwestern Alliances, despite continuing differences between them, agreed to a loose merger. The next year the Alliances held a national convention at Ocala, Florida, and issued the so-called Ocala Demands, which were, in effect, a party platform. In the 1890 off-year elections, candidates supported by the Alliances won partial or complete control of the legislatures in twelve states. They also won six governorships, three seats in the U.S. Senate, and approximately fifty in the U.S. House of Representatives. Many of the successful Alliance candidates were Democrats who had benefited often passively from Alliance endorsements. But dissident farmers drew enough encouragement from the results to contemplate further political action, including forming a party of their own. Sentiment for a third party was strongest among the members of the Northwestern Alliance. But several southern leaders supported the idea as well—among Birth of the People's Party them Tom Watson of Georgia, the only southern congressman elected in 1890 openly to identify with the



Alliance, and Leonidas L. Polk of North Carolina, perhaps the ablest mind in the movement. Alliance leaders discussed plans for a third party at meetings in



FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE • 523 Cincinnati in May 1891 and St. Louis in February 1892. Then, in July 1892, 1,300 exultant delegates poured into Omaha, Nebraska, to proclaim the creation of the new party, approve an official set of principles, and nominate candidates for the presidency and vice presidency. The new organization's official name was the People's Party, but its members were more commonly known as Populists. The election of 1892 (which restored Grover Cleveland to the presidency) demonstrated the potential power of the new movement. The Populist presidential candidate was James B. Weaver of Iowa, a former Greenbacker who received the nomination after the death of Leonidas Polk, the early favorite. Weaver polled more than 1 million votes, 8.5 percent of the total, and carried six mountain and plains states for 22 electoral votes. Nearly 1,500 Populist candidates won election to seats in state legislatures. The party elected three governors, five senators, and ten congressmen. It could also claim the support of many Republicans and Democrats in Congress who had been elected by appealing to populist sentiment. The Populist Constituency

The Populists dreamed of creating a broad political coalition. But populism always appealed principally to farmers, particularly to small farmers with little long-range economic security—people whose operations were minimally mechanized, if at all, who relied on one crop, and who had access only to limited credit. In the Midwest, the Populists were usually family farmers struggling to hold on to their land (or to get it back). In the South, there were many modest landowners too, but in addition there were significant numbers of sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Whatever their differences, however, most Populists had at least one thing in common: they were engaged in a type of farming that was becoming less viable in the face of new, mechanized, diversified, and consolidated commercial agriculture. Populists tended to be not only economically but also culturally marginal. The movement appealed above all to geographically isolated farmers who felt cut off from the mainstream of national life and resented their isolation. Populism gave such people an outlet for their grievances; it also provided them with a social experience, a sense of belonging to a community that they had previously lacked. The Populists were also notable for the groups they failed to attract. There were energetic efforts to include labor within the coalition. Representatives of the

Knights of Labor attended early organizational meetings; the new party added a labor plank to its platform-calling for shorter hours for workers and restrictions on immigration, and denouncing the use of private detective agencies as strikebreakers in labor disputes. On the whole, however. Populism never attracted significant labor support, in part because the economic interests of labor and the interests of farmers were often at odds. One exception was the Rocky Mountain states, where the Populists did have some significant success in attracting miners to their cause. They did so partly because local Populist "Free Silver"

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii leaders endorsed a demand for "free silver," the idea of permitting silver to become, along with gold, the basis of the currency so as to expand the money supply. In Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, and other areas of the Far West, silver mining was an important activity, and the People's Party enjoyed substantial, if temporary, success there. In the South, white Populists struggled with the question of whether to accept African Americans into the party. Their numbers and poverty made black farmers possibly valuable allies. There was an important black component to the "Colored movement-a network of "Colored Alliances" Alliances" that by 1890 had more than one and a quarter million members. But most white Populists were willing to accept the assistance of African Americans only as long as it was clear that whites would remain indisputably in control. When southern conservatives began to attack the Populists for undermining white supremacy, the interracial character of the movement quickly faded. Most of the Populist leaders were members of the rural middle class: professional people, editors and lawyers, or longtime politicians and agitators. Many active Populists were women. Some Populist leaders were somber, serious theoreticians; others were semihysterical rabble-rousers. In the South, in particular. Populism produced the first generation of what was to become a distinctive and enduring political breed-the "southern demagogue." Tom Watson in Georgia, Jeff Davis in Arkansas, and others attracted widespread popular support by arousing the resentment of poor southerners against the entrenched planter aristocracy. Populist Ideas The reform program of the Populists was spelled out first in the Ocala Demands of 1890 and then, even more clearly, in the Omaha platform of 1892. It proposed a system of "subtreasuries," which would replace and strengthen the cooperatives of Populist

Grangers and Alliances that had been exPlatform perimenting for years. The government would establish a network of warehouses, where farmers could deposit their crops. Using those crops as collateral, growers could then borrow money from the government at low rates of interest and wait for the price of their goods to go up before selling them. In addition, the Populists called for the abolition of national banks, the end of absentee ownership of land, the direct election of U.S. senators (which would weaken the power of conservative state legislatures), and other devices to improve the ability of the people to influence the political process. They called as well for regulation and (after 1892) government ownership of railroads, telephones, and telegraphs. And they demanded a system of government-operated postal savings banks, a graduated income tax, and the inflation of the currency. Eventually, the party as a whole embraced the demand of its western members for the remonetization of silver. Some Populists were openly anti-Semitic, pointing to the Jews as leaders of the obscure financial forces attempting to enslave

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE The Chautauquas  
it m j my and oratory were part of American life in the nineteenth century. Starting in 1826, lyceums were among the first public organizations to provide adults with both. Participants met in libraries, vacant schools, and elsewhere. Organizers estimated that 13,000 people attended public lectures. An even-larger movement to provide instructional lectures and speeches arose during the 1880s and 1890s from the Populist movement. Men and women flocked by the hundreds or even thousands to hear speeches and discussions provided by itinerant speakers. The most famous of these lectures were the Chautauquas, founded in the summer of 1874 by two enterprising men from the Chautauqua Lakes area in western New York State. Within a few years, the Chautauqua Assembly had expanded to include lectures on literary, scientific, theological, and practical subjects and was attracting ever-larger audiences for one- or two-week "schools." In 1883, the New York State legislature granted the Assemblies a charter and gave them the name "The Chautauqua University." So successful (and profitable) were the Chautauqua Assemblies that scores of towns and villages began establishing lecture series of their own— "Little Chautauquas"— throughout the Midwest. At the peak of this movement, a Chicago promoter organized traveling programs to tour rural areas across the United States— visiting more than 8,000 different communities within a single year. From 1904 through the mid-1920s, these "traveling Chautauquas" attracted enormous crowds and generated great excitement almost everywhere they went. On the day of a Chautauqua lecture, roads  
CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY This Chautauqua meeting occurred in Clarinda, Iowa. It was one of hundreds of such meetings during the 1880s and 1890s that met the need of thousands of people across the country for knowledge and learning. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-24372A)) were sometimes clogged for miles in every direction with buggies and, later, automobiles transporting farm families them. Others were anti-intellectual, anti-eastern, and anti-urban. A few of the leading Populists gave an impression of personal failure, brilliant instability, and brooding communion with mystic forces. Ignatius Donnelly, for example, wrote one book locating the lost isle of Atlantis, another claiming that Bacon had written Shakespeare's plays, and still another -Caesar's Column

(1891)-presenting a deranged vision of bloody revolution and the creation of a populist utopia. Tom Watson, once a champion of interracial harmony, ended his career baiting blacks and Jews. Yet the occasional bigotry of some Populists should not dominate the image of Populism as a whole, which was a serious effort to find solutions to real problems. Populists emphatically rejected the laissez-faire orthodoxies Populism's Ideological time > including the idea that the Challenge rights of ownership are absolute. They raised one of the most overt and powerful challenges of the era to the direction in which American industrial capitalism was moving.

THE CRISIS OF THE 1890s The agrarian protest was only one of many indications of the national political crisis emerging in the 1890s. There was a severe depression, widespread labor unrest and violence, and the continuing failure of either major party to respond to the growing distress. The rigid conservatism of Grover Cleveland, who took office for the second time just at the moment the economy collapsed, meant that the federal government did little to alleviate the crisis. Out of this growing sense of urgency came some of the most heated political battles in American history, culminating in the dramatic campaign of 1896, on which, many Americans came to believe, the future of the nation was hanging.

The Panic of 1893 The Panic of 1893 precipitated the most severe depression the nation had yet experienced. It began in March 1893, when the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, unable to meet payments on loans, declared bankruptcy. Two months later, the National Cordage Company failed as well. Together, the two corporate failures triggered a collapse of the stock market. And since many of the major New York banks were heavy investors in the stock market, a wave of bank failures soon began. That caused a contraction of credit, which meant that many of the new, aggressive, and loan-dependent businesses soon went bankrupt. There were other, longer-range causes of the financial collapse. Depressed prices in agriculture since Overexpansion and Weak Demand 1887 had weakened the purchasing power of farmers, the largest group in the population. Depression conditions in Europe caused a loss of American markets abroad and a withdrawal by foreign investors of gold invested in the United States. Railroads and other major industries had expanded too rapidly, well

dressed in their best clothes, carrying picnic baskets, straining excitedly to see the tents, posters, and crowds. Chautauqua speakers were drawn from many walks of life, but they included some of the greatest figures of the age: William Jennings Bryan, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, Eugene V. Debs, and many others. The Chautauquas themselves also made some speakers rich and famous. The Philadelphia minister Russell Conwell, for example, made a great name (and a great fortune) with his famous "Acres of Diamonds" lectures, which he delivered thousands of times over the course of several decades, preaching a simple and attractive message: "Get rich ... for money is power and power ought to be in the hands of good people." Conwell's sermon was characteristic of one kind of popular Chautauqua eventlectures that stressed self-improvement. Other such lectures stressed religion and health. The Chautauqua circuit was one of the best ways for a speaker to reach large numbers of people, which is one reason why so many progressive leaders and feminist reformers eagerly joined in. It was, for a time, one of the most powerful forms of communication in the nation. The traveling Chautauquas declined during the 1920s and almost vanished in the 1930s— victims of radio, movies, and the automobile; the spread of public education to rural areas; and the reckless BRYAN AT CHAUTAUQUA William Jennings Bryan, the most famous orator of the early twentieth century, was a fixture at Chautauqua meetings, not only at the original Chautauqua in New York but also at the traveling and tented Chautauquas that spread across the country. Here he is shown speaking in Madison, Wisconsin. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC4-4646))

overexpansion of ambitious organizers. But the original Chautauqua Assembly in upstate New York survived, although in much-diminished form. It exists today as a resort that continues to offer lectures and other educational events to a large and dedicated clientele.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. During a time when they faced so many economic problems, why would farmers have found the Chautauquas so appealing?
2. Why would so many prominent public figures have participated in the Chautauquas?
3. Can you think of any parallels today to the Chautauqua movement of the early twentieth century? beyond market demand. The depression reflected the degree to which the

American economy was now interconnected, the degree to which failures in one area affected all other areas. And the depression showed how dependent the economy was on the health of the railroads, which remained the nation's most powerful corporate and financial institutions. When the railroads suffered, as they did beginning in 1893, everything suffered. Once the panic began, its effects spread with startling speed. Within six months, more than 8,000 businesses, 156 railroads, and 400 banks failed. Already low agricultural prices tumbled further. Up to 1 million workers, 20 percent of the labor force, lost their jobs- the highest level of unemployment in American history to that point. The depression was unprecedented not only in its severity but also in its persistence. Although there was some improvement beginning in 1895, prosperity did not fully return until 1901. The suffering the depression caused naturally produced social unrest, especially among the enormous numbers of unemployed workers. In 1894, Jacob S. Coxey, an Ohio businessman "Coxey's and Populist, began advocating a massive Army" public works program to create jobs for the unemployed and an inflation of the currency. When it became clear that his proposals were making no progress in Congress, Coxey announced that he would "send a petition to Washington with boots on"-a march of the unemployed to the capital to present their demands to the government. "Coxey's Army," as it was known, numbered only about 500 when it reached Washington, D.C., after having marched on foot from Masillon, Ohio. Armed police barred them from the Capitol and arrested Coxey. He and his followers were herded into camps because their presence supposedly endangered public health. Congress took no action on their demands. To many middle-class Americans, the labor turmoil of the time-the Homestead and Pullman strikes, for example (see pp. 481-483)-was a sign of a dangerous instability, even perhaps a revolution. Labor radicalism-some of it real, more of it imagined by the frightened middle class-heightened the general sense of crisis among the public. The Silver Question The financial panic weakened the government's monetary system. President Cleveland believed that the instability of the currency was the primary cause of the depression. The "money question," therefore, became the basis for some of the most dramatic political conflicts of the era. At the heart of the complicated debate was the question of what would form the basis of the dollar. Today, the value of the dollar rests on

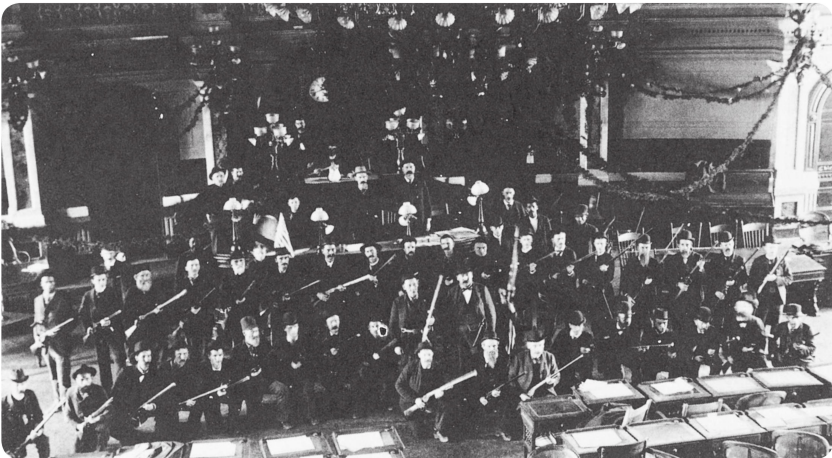


little more than public confidence in the government. But in the nineteenth century, many people believed that currency was worthless if there was not something concrete behind it-precious metal (specie), which holders of paper money could collect if they presented their currency to a bank or to the Treasury. 525

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526 CHAPTER 19 During most of its existence as a nation, the United States had recognized two metals-gold and silver-as a basis for the dollar, a situation known as "bimetallism." In the 1870s, however, that had changed. The official ratio of the value of silver to the value of gold for purposes of creating currency (the "mint ratio") was 16 to 1: sixteen ounces of silver equaled one ounce of gold. But the actual commercial value of silver (the "market ratio") was much higher than that. Owners of silver could get more by selling it for manufacture into jewelry and other objects than they could by taking it to the mint for conversion to coins. So they stopped taking it to the mint, and the mint stopped coining silver. In 1873, Congress passed a law that seemed simply to recognize the existing situation by officially discontinuing silver coinage. Few people objected at the time. But in the course of the 1870s, the market value of silver fell well below the official mint ratio of 16 to 1. (Sixteen ounces of silver, in other words, were now worth less, not more, than one ounce of gold.) Silver became attractive for coinage again. In discontinuing silver coinage, Congress had eliminated a potential method of expanding the currency (and had eliminated a potential market for silver miners). Before long, many Americans concluded that a conspiracy of big bankers had been responsible for the "demonetization" of silver and referred to the law as the "Crime of '73." Two groups of Americans were especially determined to undo the "Crime of '73." One consisted of the silver-mine owners. "Crime of '73"

required the government to purchase (but not to coin) silver and to pay for it in gold. Early in his second administration, therefore, a special session responded to Cleveland's request and repealed the Sherman Act-although only after a bitter and divisive battle that helped create a permanent split in the Democratic Party. The president's gold policy had aligned the southern and western Democrats in a solid alliance against him and his eastern followers. By now, both sides had invested the currency question Symbolic with great symbolic and emotional imporImportance of tance. Indeed, the issue aroused passions rarely seen in American politics, culminating in the tumultuous presidential election the Currency Question TAKING ARMS AGAINST THE POPULISTS Kansas was a Populist stronghold in the 1890s, but the new party faced powerful challenges. In 1893, state Republicans disputed an election that the Populists believed had given them control of the legislature. When the Populists occupied the statehouse, Republicans armed themselves, drove out the Populists, and seized control of the state government. Republican members of the legislature pose here with their weapons in a photograph perhaps intended as a warning to any Populists inclined to challenge them. (© Kansas State Historical Society)



Coxey leads his "army" of unemployed men through the town of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, in 1894, en route to Washington, D.C., where he hoped to pressure Congress to approve his plans for a massive public works program to put people back to work. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) of 1896. Supporters of the gold standard considered its survival essential to the honor and stability of the nation. Supporters of free silver considered the gold standard an instrument of tyranny. "Free silver" became to them a symbol of liberation. Silver would be a "people's money/" as opposed to gold, the money of oppression and exploitation. It would eliminate the indebtedness of farmers and of whole regions of the country. A graphic illustration of the popularity of the silver issue was the enormous success of William H. Harvey's *Coin's Financial School*, published in 1894, which became one of the great best-sellers of its age. The fictional Professor Coin ran an imaginary school specializing in finance, and the book consisted of his lectures and his dialogues with his students. The professor's brilliant discourses left even his most vehement opponents dazzled as he persuaded his listeners, with simple logic, of the almost miraculous restorative qualities of free silver: "It means the reopening of closed factories, the relighting of fires in darkened furnaces; it means hope instead of despair; comfort in place of suffering; life instead of death." "A CROSS OF GOLD" Most Populists did not pay much attention to the silver issue at first. But as the party developed strength, the money question became more important to its leaders. The Populists desperately needed funds to finance their campaigns. Silver-mine owners were willing to provide assistance but insisted on an elevation of the currency plank. The Populists also needed to form alliances with other political groups. The "money question" seemed a way to win the support of many people not engaged in farming but nevertheless starved for currency.



Populism THE scholarly debates over Populism have tended to reflect a larger debate among historians on populist politics. Some historians viewed the Populists with suspicion and hostility. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC4-1473)) Others have viewed Populism approvingly. To them, the Populists have appeared as essentially admirable, democratic activists. This latter view shaped the first, and for many years the only, general history of Populism: John D. Hicks's *The Populist Revolt* (1931). Hicks described Populists as people reacting rationally and progressively to economic misfortune. They were proposing reforms that would limit the power of the new financial titans and restore a measure of control to the farmers. Populism was, he wrote, "the last phase of a long and perhaps a losing struggle— the struggle to save agricultural America from the devouring jaws of industrial America." A losing struggle, perhaps, but not a vain one; for many of the reforms the Populists advocated, Hicks implied, became the basis of later progressive legislation. An alternative to this generally approving view of Populism appeared in the early 1950s when some scholars, recalling the European fascism of World War II and wary about contemporary communism, took a more hostile view of mass popular politics. A leading proponent of this harsh new view was Richard Hofstadter. In *The Age of Reform* (1955), Hofstadter conceded that Populism embraced some progressive The Emergence of Bryan As the election of 1896 approached. Republicans, watching the failure of the Democrats to deal effectively with the depression, were confident of success. Party leaders, led by the William Ohio boss Marcus A. Hanna, settled on McKinley Governor William McKinley of Ohio, who had as a member of Congress authored the 1890 tariff act, as the party's presidential candidate. The Republican platform opposed the free coinage of silver except by agreement with the leading commercial nations (which everyone realized was unlikely). Thirty-four delegates from the mountain and plains states walked out of the convention in protest and joined the Democratic Party. The Democratic National Convention of 1896 was the scene of unusual drama. Southern and western delegates, eager to neutralize the challenge of the People's Party, were determined to seize control of the party from conservative easterners and incorporate some Populist demands-among them free silver-into the Democratic platform. They wanted as well to

nominate a pro-silver presidential candidate. 528 Defenders of the gold standard seemed to dominate the debate, until the final speech. Then William Jennings Bryan, a handsome, thirty-six-year-old congressman from Nebraska al"Cross of ready well known as an effective orator. Gold" Speech mounted the podium to address the convention. His great voice echoed through the hall as he defended "free silver" in what became one of the most famous political speeches in American history. The closing passage sent his audience into something close to a frenzy: "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.'" It became known as the "Cross of Gold" speech. In the aftermath of Bryan's powerful speech, the convention voted to adopt a pro-silver platform. And the following day, Bryan (as he had eagerly and not entirely secretly hoped) was nominated for president on the fifth ballot. He was, and remains, the youngest person ever nominated for president by iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



ideas and advocated some sensible reforms, but he concentrated primarily on exposing both the "soft" and the "dark" sides of the movement. Populism was "soft," Hofstadter claimed, because it rested on a nostalgic and unrealistic myth, because it romanticized the nation's agrarian past and refused to confront the realities of modern life. It was "dark," he argued, because it was permeated with bigotry and ignorance. Populists, he claimed, revealed anti-Semitic tendencies, and they displayed animosity toward intellectuals, easterners, and urbanites as well. Challenges to Hofstadter's thesis arose almost immediately. Norman Pollack argued in a 1962 study, *The Populist Response to Industrial America*, that the agrarian revolt had rested not on nostalgic, romantic concepts but, rather, on a sophisticated, farsighted, and even radical vision of reform—one that recognized the realities of an industrial economy, but that sought to make that economy more equitable and democratic by challenging many of the premises of capitalism. Walter T. K. Nugent, in *Tolerant Populists* (1963), argued that the Populists in Kansas were far from bigoted, that they not only tolerated but welcomed Jews and other minorities into their party, and that they offered a practical, sensible program. Lawrence Goodwyn, in *Democratic Promise* (1976), argued similarly that the Populists advocated an intelligent, and above all a democratic, alternative to the inequities of modern capitalism. Historians were debating not only the question of what Populism meant. They were also arguing over who the Populists were. Hicks, Hofstadter, and Goodwyn disagreed on many things, but they shared a general view of the Populists as victims of economic distress—usually one-crop farmers in marginal agricultural regions victimized by drought and debt. Other scholars, however, suggested that the problem of identifying the Populists is more complex. Sheldon Hackney, in *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama* (1969), argued that the Populists were not only economically troubled but also socially rootless, "only tenuously connected to society by economic function, by personal relationships, by stable community membership, by political participation, or by psychological identification with the South's distinctive myths." Peter Argersinger, Stanley Parsons, James Turner, and others have similarly suggested that Populists were characterized by a form of social and even geographic isolation. Steven Hahn's 1983 study, *The Roots of*



Southern Populism, identified poor white farmers in the "upcountry" as the core of Populist activity in Georgia; and Hahn argued that Populists were reacting not simply to the psychic distress of being "left behind," but also to a real economic threat to their way of life — to the encroachments of a new commercial order of which they had never been a part. Another debate concerns the legacy of Populism. In *Roots of Reform* (1999), Elizabeth Sanders contends that Populism did not die as a movement after the 1896 election. On the contrary, she argues, the Populists succeeded in dominating much of the Democratic Party in the following decades and turning it into a vehicle for advancing the interests of farmers and the broader reform causes for which Populists had fought. Michael Kazin, in *The Populist Persuasion* (1994), argues that a Populist tradition has survived throughout much of American history, influencing movements as disparate as those led by Huey Long in the 1930s, the New Left and George Wallace in the 1960s, Ross Perot in the 1990s, and the Tea Party movement in the aftermath of the 2008 economic collapse. Other historians, however, maintain that the term populism has been used (and misused) so widely as to have become virtually meaningless, that it really applies only to the agrarian insurgents of the 1890s.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What have been historians' principal interpretations of Populism?
2. Why has the issue of Populism generated such debate among historians?
3. Where can you find evidence of the Populist legacy in politics today?

a major party. Republican and conservative Democrats attacked Bryan as a dangerous demagogue. But his many admirers hailed him as the Great Commoner. He was a potent symbol of rural, Protestant, middle-class America. The choice of Bryan and the nature of the Democratic platform created a quandary for the Populists. They had "Fusion" expected both major parties to adopt . conservative programs and nominate conservative candidates, leaving the Populists to represent the growing forces of protest. But now the Democrats had stolen much of their thunder. The Populists faced the choice of naming their own candidate and splitting the protest vote or endorsing Bryan and losing their identity as a party. By now, the Populists had embraced the free-silver cause, but most Populists still believed that other issues were more important. Many argued that "fusion" with the Democrats—who had endorsed free silver but ignored most of the other Populist demands—would destroy their party. But the majority concluded that

there was no viable alternative. Amid considerable acrimony, the convention voted to support Bryan. The Conservative Victory The campaign of 1896 produced desperation among conservatives. The business and financial community, frightened beyond reason at the prospect of a Bryan victory, contributed lavishly to the Republican campaign, which may have spent as much as \$7 million, as compared to the Democrats' \$300,000. From his home at Canton, Ohio, McKinley hewed to the tradition by which candidates for president did not actively campaign for the office. He conducted a dignified "front-porch" campaign by receiving pilgrimages of the Republican faithful, organized and paid for by Hanna. Bryan showed no such restraint. He became the first presidential candidate in American history to stump every section of the country systematically, to appear in villages and hamlets, indeed the first to say frankly to the voters Modern that wanted t0 President. He traveled Campaigning 18,000 miles and addressed an estimated . """""""" 5 million people. But Bryan may have done himself more harm than good. By violating a long-standing tradition of presidential candidates' remaining aloof from their 529  
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530 CHAPTER 19 own campaigns (the tradition by which they "stood" for office rather than "running" for it), Bryan helped establish the modern form of presidential politics. But he also antagonized many voters, who considered his campaign undignified. On election day, McKinley polled 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176 and received 51.1 percent of the popular vote to Bryan's 47.7. Bryan carried the areas of the South and West where miners or struggling staple farmers predominated. The Democratic program, like that of the Populists, had been too narrow to win a national election. For the Populists and their allies, the election results were a disaster. They had gambled everything on their "fusion" with the End of the Democratic Party and lost. Within months People's Party of the election, the People's Party began to dissolve. Never again would American farmers unite so militantly to demand economic reform. BRYAN WHISTLE-STOPPING By long-established tradition, candidates for the presidency did not actively campaign after receiving their party's nomination.

Nineteenthcentury Americans considered public "stumping" to be undignified and inappropriate for a future president. But in 1896, William Jennings Bryan— a young candidate little known outside his own region, a man without broad support even among the leaders of his own party— decided that he had no choice but to go directly to the public for support. He traveled widely and incessantly in the months before the election, appearing before hundreds of crowds and hundreds of thousands of people. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC2-6259)) McKinley and Recovery The administration of William McKinley, which began in the aftermath of turmoil, saw a return to relative calm. One reason was the exhaustion of dissent. By 1897, when McKinley took office, the labor unrest that had so frightened many middle-class Americans and so excited working-class people had subsided. With the simultaneous decline of agrarian protest, the greatest destabilizing forces in the nation's politics were-temporarily at least-in retreat. Another reason was the shrewd character of the McKinley administration itself, committed as it was to reassuring stability. Most important, however, was the gradual easing of the economic crisis, a development that undercut many of those who were agitating for change. McKinley and his allies committed themselves fully to only one issue, one on which they knew virtually all

Republicans agreed: the need for higher tariff rates. Within weeks of his inauguration, the administration won approval of the Dingley Tariff, raising duties to the highest point in American history. The administration dealt more gingerly with the explosive silver question (an issue that McKinley himself had never considered very important in any case). McKinley sent a commission to Europe to explore the possibility of a silver agreement with Great Britain and France. As he and everyone else anticipated, the effort produced no agreement. The Republicans then enacted the Currency, Currency Act or Gold Standard Act 1900, which confirmed the nation's commitment to the gold standard by assigning a specific gold value to the dollar and requiring all currency issued by the United States to hew to that value.

| Candidate              | Party      | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote (%) |
|------------------------|------------|----------------|------------------|
| William McKinley       | Republican | 271            | 51.1             |
| William Jennings Bryan | Democratic | 176            | 47.7             |

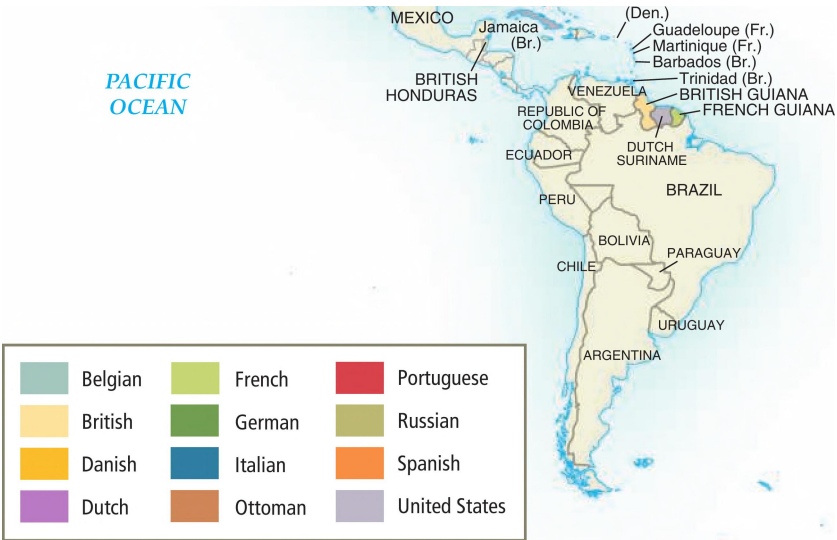
**ELECTION OF 1896** The results of the presidential election of 1896 are, as this map shows, striking for the regional differentiation they reveal. William McKinley won the election by a comfortable but not enormous margin, but his victory was not broad-based. He carried all the states of the Northeast and the industrial Midwest, along with California and Oregon, but virtually nothing else. Bryan carried the entire South and almost all of the agrarian West. • What campaign issues in 1896 help account for the regional character of the results?



FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 531 And so the "battle of the standards" ended in victory for the forces of conservatism. Economic developments at the time seemed to vindicate the Republicans. Prosperity began to return in 1898. Foreign crop failures sent farm prices surging upward, and American business entered another cycle of expansion. Prosperity and the gold standard, it seemed, were closely allied. But while the free-silver movement had failed, it had raised an important question for the American economy. In the quarter-century before 1900, the countries of the Western world had experienced a spectacular growth in productive facilities and population. Yet the supply of money had not kept pace with economic progress, because the supply was tied to gold and the amount of gold had remained practically constant. Had it not been for a dramatic increase in the gold supply in the late 1890s (a result of new techniques for extracting gold from low-content ores and the discovery of huge new gold deposits in Alaska, South Africa, and Australia), Populist predictions of financial disaster might in fact have proved correct. In 1898, two and a half times as much gold was produced as in 1890, and the currency supply was soon inflated far beyond anything Bryan and the free-silver forces had anticipated. By then, however, Bryan-like many other Americans- was becoming engaged with another major issue: a growing United States presence in world affairs and the possibility of America becoming an imperialist nation. STIRRINGS OF IMPERIALISM

For over two decades after the Civil War, the United States expanded hardly at all. By the 1890s, however, some Americans were ready-indeed, eager-to resume the course of Manifest Destiny that had inspired their ancestors to wrest an empire from Mexico in the expansionist 1840s. Alaska (U.S.) r ft (\$35? se-w mh -J ") 1 GREENLAND (Den.) w\ w % 4 CANADA II wKsfil UNITED STATES ATLANTIC OCEAN (Br.) Virgin Is. IMPERIALISM AT HIGH TIDE: 1900 The United States became a formal imperial power in 1898, when it acquired colonies in the aftermath of the Spanish American War. But the U.S. was a decided latecomer to imperialism. During the nineteenth century, European nations dramatically expanded the reach of their empires, moving in particular into Africa and Asia. Although the British remained the world's largest imperial

power by a significant margin, vast areas of the globe came under the control of other European colonizers, as this map shows. • How did the United States and the European imperial nations justify their acquisition of empire?



Several developments helped shift American attention to lands across the seas. The experience of subjugating the Indian tribes had established a precedent for exerting colonial control over dependent peoples. The concept of the "closing of the frontier," widely heralded by Frederick Jackson Turner and many others in the 1890s, produced fears that natural resources would soon dwindle and that alternative sources must be found abroad. The depression of the 1890s encouraged some businessmen to look overseas for new markets. The bitter social protests of the time—the Populist movement, the free-silver crusade, the bloody labor disputes—led some politicians to urge a more aggressive foreign policy as an outlet for frustrations that would otherwise destabilize domestic life. Foreign trade became increasingly important to the American economy in the late nineteenth century. The nation's exports had totaled about \$392 million in 1870; by 1890, the figure was \$857 million; and by 1900, \$1.4 billion.

Many Americans began to consider the possibility of acquiring colonies that might expand such markets further. Americans were well aware of the imperialist fever that was raging through Europe and leading the major powers to partition most of Africa among themselves and to turn eager eyes on the Far East and the feeble Chinese Empire. Some Americans feared that their nation would soon be left out, that no territory would remain to be acquired. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, a leading imperialist, warned that the United States "must not fall out of the line of march." The same distortion of Darwinism that industrialists and others had long been applying to domestic economic affairs in the form of Social Darwinism was now applied to world affairs. Many writers and public figures contended that nations or "races," like biological species, struggled constantly for existence and that only the fittest could survive. For strong nations to dominate weak ones was, therefore, in accordance with the laws of nature. The popular writer John Fiske predicted in an 1885 article in Harper's Magazine that the English-speaking peoples would eventually control every land that was not already the seat of an empire. The ARCTIC OCEAN was held by the RUSSIAN EMPIRE. EGYPT, OIL, NIGERIA, 40% MOROCCO, 4 TRIPOLI, RIO DE ORO, FRENCH WEST AFRICA, ^ - , £ ANGLO- £ EGYPTIAN, 3 / F



SUDAN \_\_\_ B ETHIOPL / LIBERIA W Rubber BRITISH ZF BELGIAN  
 4FRICA CONGO GERMAN EAsT AFRICA OCEAN ^ wr  
 MADAGASCAR GERMAN ^ r SOUTHWEST ^ AFRICA Gold Diamonds  
 QApE MOZAMBIQUE COLONY ALEUTIAN ISLANDS MIDWAY  
 ISLAND ATLANTIC INDIAN OCEAN ^ST IN D\£S AMERICAN  
 SAMOA AUSTRALIA Gold Wool Copper Meat Dairy NEW ZEALAND



FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 533 Intellectual Justifications

for Imperialism I MI 1 1 III 1 1 HIM II Mill HIM II Mill Mill llll II  
HIM HIM II III II II "established civilization." The experience of  
white Americans in subjugating the native population of their own  
continent, Fiske argued, was "destined to go on" in other parts of  
the world. John W. Burgess, founder of Columbia University's  
School of Political Science, gave a stamp of scholarly approval to  
imperialism. In his 1890 study: Political Science and Comparative  
Law, he flatly stated that the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic nations  
possessed the highest political talents. It was their duty, therefore,  
to uplift less fortunate peoples, even to force superior institutions  
on them if necessary. "There is," he wrote, "no human right to the  
status of barbarism." The ablest and most effective apostle of  
imperialism was Alfred Thayer Mahan, a captain and later admiral  
in the U.S. Navy. Mahan's thesis, presented in *The Influence of Sea  
Power Upon History* (1890) and other works, was Thayer  
simple: countries with sea power were the great nations of  
history; the greatness of the United States, bounded by two oceans.  
IIIIIIIII lllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll would rest on its  
naval strength. The prerequisites for sea power were a productive  
domestic economy, foreign commerce, a strong merchant marine, a  
navy to defend trade routes-and colonies, which would provide raw  
materials and markets and could serve as naval bases. Mahan  
advocated that the United States construct a canal across the  
isthmus of Central America to join the oceans, acquire defensive  
bases on both sides of the canal in the Caribbean and the Pacific,  
and take possession of Hawaii and other Pacific islands. Mahan  
feared the United States did not have a large enough navy to play  
the great role he envisioned. But during the 1870s and 1880s, the  
government launched a shipbuilding program that by 1898 had  
moved the United States to fifth place among the world's naval  
powers, and by 1900 to third.

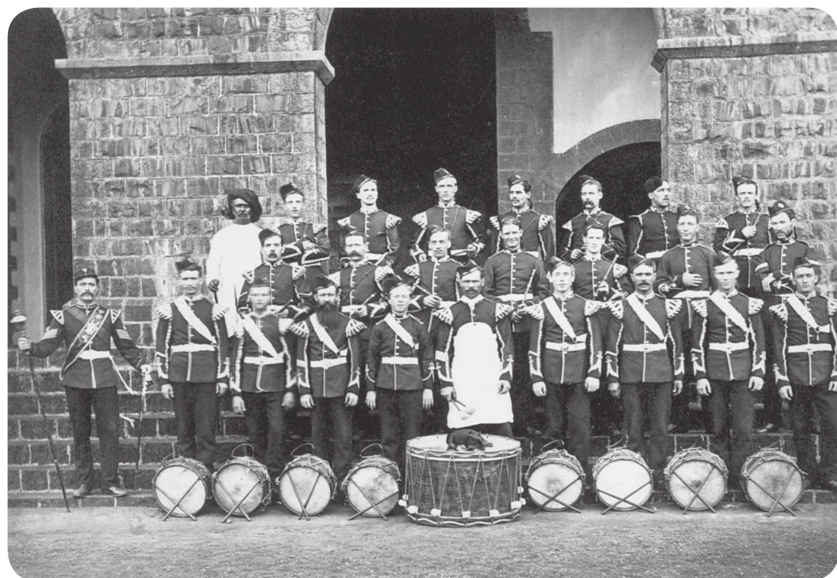
Hemispheric Hegemony James G. Blaine, who served as secretary of state in two Republican administrations in the 1880s, led early efforts to \* HAWAIIAN SUGARCANE PLANTATION The sugarcane plantations of nineteenth-century Hawaii (like the sugar plantations of Barbados in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) required a vast labor force that the island's native population could not provide. The mostly American owners of the plantations imported more than

300,000 Asian workers from China, Japan, and Korea to work in the fields between 1850 and 1920. The work was arduous, as the words of a song by Japanese sugar workers suggests: "Hawaii, Hawaii, But when I came what I saw was Hell. The boss was Satan, The lunas [overseers] his helpers.,,,, (© Corbis)



AMERICA IN THE WORLD Imperialism did not come new to the nineteenth century, when the United States acquired its first overseas colonies. They have existed since the early moments of recorded history—in ancient Greece, Rome, China, and many other parts of the world. But in the mid- and late nineteenth century, the construction of empires took on a new and different form from those of earlier eras, and the word "imperialism" emerged for the first time to describe it. European powers now created colonies not by sending large numbers of migrants to settle and populate new lands but, instead, by creating military, political, and business structures that allowed them to dominate and profit from the existing populations. This new imperialism changed the character of the imperial nations themselves, enriching them greatly and producing new classes of people whose lives were shaped by THE BRITISH RAJ The Drum Corps of the Royal Fusiliers in India poses here for a formal portrait, taken in 1877. Although the drummers are British, an Indian associate is included at top left. This blending of the dominant British with subordinate Indians was characteristic of the administration of the British Empire in India—a government known as the "raj," from the Indian word for "rule." (Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) the demands of imperial business and administration. It changed the character of colonized societies even more, by drawing them into the vast nexus of global industrial capitalism and by introducing European customs, institutions, and technologies to the subject peoples. Champions of the new imperialism argued that the acquisition of colonies was essential for the health, even the survival, of their own industrializing nations. Colonies were sources of raw materials vital to industrial production, they were markets for manufactured goods, and they could be suppliers of cheap labor. Defenders of the idea of empire argued as well that imperialism was good for the colonized people too. Many saw colonization as an opportunity to export Christianity to "heathen" lands, while secular apologists argued that imperialism helped bring colonized people into the modern world. The British poet Rudyard Kipling was perhaps the most famous spokesman for empire. In his celebrated poem "The White Man's Burden," he spoke of the duty of the colonizers to lift up primitive peoples, to "fill full the mouth of famine and bid the sickness cease." The greatest

imperial power of the nineteenth century, indeed one of the greatest imperial powers in all of human history, was Great Britain. By 1800, despite its recent loss of the colonies that became the United States, it already possessed vast territory in North America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific— most notably Canada and Australia. But in the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain greatly expanded its empire. Its most important acquisition was India. In 1857, when native Indians revolted against British authority, British forces brutally crushed the rebellion and established formal colonial control over the land. British officials, backed by substantial military power, now governed India through a large civil service staffed mostly by expand American influence into Latin America, where, he believed, the United States must look for markets for its surplus goods. In October 1889, Blaine helped organize the first PanAmerican Congress, which attracted delegates from nineteen nations. The delegates agreed to create the Pan-American Union, a weak international organization located in Washington, D.C., that served as a clearinghouse of information to the member nations. But they rejected Blaine's more substantive proposals: for an inter-American customs union and arbitration procedures for hemispheric disputes. The Cleveland administration took a similarly active interest in Latin America. In 1895, it supported Venezuela in a dispute with Great Britain. When the British ignored American demands that the matter be submitted to arbitration. Secretary of State Richard Olney charged that . Britain was violating the Monroe Doctrine. Cleveland then created a special commission to settle the dispute: if Britain resisted the commission's decision, he insisted, the United States should be willing to go to war to enforce it. As war talk raged throughout the country, the British government prudently agreed to arbitration. Hawaii and Samoa The islands of Hawaii in the mid-Pacific had been an important way station for American ships in the China trade since the 534



FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 535 people from England and Scotland, but with some Indians serving in minor or symbolic positions. The British invested heavily in railroads, telegraphs, canals, harbors, and agricultural improvements to enhance the economic opportunities available to them. They created schools for Indian children in an effort to draw them into British culture and make them supporters of the imperial system. Britain also extended its empire into Africa and other parts of Asia. Cecil Rhodes expanded a small existing British colony at Cape Town into a substantial colony that included what is now South Africa. In 1895, he added new territories to the north, which he named Rhodesia (today, Zimbabwe and Zambia). Other imperialists spread British authority into Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, and much of Egypt. With the acquisition of Singapore, Hong Kong, Burma, and Malaya, Britain extended its empire into east Asia. Other European states, watching the vast expansion of the British Empire, quickly jumped into the race for colonies. France created colonies in Indochina (Vietnam and Laos), Algeria, west Africa, and Madagascar. Belgium moved into the Congo in west Africa. Germany established colonies in the Cameroons, Tanganyika, and other parts of Africa, and in the Pacific islands north of Australia. Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Russian, and Japanese imperialists created colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific— driven both by their own commercial interests and by the frenzied competition that had developed among rival imperial powers. In 1898, the United States was drawn into the imperial race as an unanticipated result of the Spanish-American War. But Americans also sought colonies, although only a few, as a result of the efforts of pro-imperialists (among them Theodore Roosevelt), who believed that in the modern industrial-imperial world a nation without colonies would have difficulty remaining, or becoming, a true great power. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What motivated the European nations' drive for empire in the late nineteenth century? 2. Why was Great Britain so successful in acquiring its vast empire? 3. How do the imperial efforts and ambitions of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century compare with those of the European powers that were also acquiring empires at this time? early nineteenth century. By the 1880s, officers of the expanding American navy were looking covetously at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu as a

possible permanent base for U.S. ships. Pressure for an increased American presence in Hawaii was emerging from another source as well: the growing number of Americans who had settled on the islands and who had gradually come to dominate their economic and political life. In doing so, the Americans had been wresting authority away from the leaders of an ancient civilization. Settled by Polynesian people beginning in about 1500 BCE, Hawaii had Self- developed an agricultural and fishing society in which different islands (and different communities on the same islands), each Society with its own chieftain, lived more or less self-sufficiently. When the first Americans arrived in Hawaii in the 1790s on merchant ships from New England, there were perhaps a half-million people living there. Battles among rival communities were frequent, as ambitious chieftains tried to consolidate power over their neighbors. In 1810, after a series of such battles. King Kamehameha I established his dominance, welcomed American traders, and helped them develop a thriving trade between Hawaii and China, from which the natives profited along with the merchants. But Americans soon wanted more than trade. Missionaries began settling there in the early nineteenth century; and in the 1830s, William Hooper, a Boston trader, became the first of many Americans to buy land and establish a sugar plantation on the islands. The arrival of these merchants, missionaries, and planters was devastating to traditional Hawaiian society. The newcomers inadvertently brought infectious diseases to which the Hawaiians, like the American Indians before them, were tragically vulnerable. By the mid-nineteenth century, more than half the native population had died. By 1900, disease had more than halved the population again. But the Americans brought other incursions as well. Missionaries worked to undermine native religion. Other white settlers introduced liquor, firearms, and a commercial economy, all of which eroded the traditional character of Hawaiian society. By the 1840s, American planters had spread throughout the islands; and an American settler, G. P. Judd, had become prime minister of Hawaii under King Kamehameha III, who had agreed to establish a constitutional monarchy. Judd governed Hawaii for over a decade. In 1887, the United States negotiated a treaty with Hawaii that permitted it to open a naval base at Pearl Harbor. By then, growing sugar for export to America had become the basis of the Hawaiian economy-as a result of an 1875 agreement allowing



Hawaiian sugar to enter the United States duty-free. The American-dominated sugar plantation system not only displaced native Hawaiians from their lands but also sought to build a workforce with Asian immigrants, whom the Americans considered more reliable and more docile than the natives. Indeed, finding adequate labor and keeping it under control were the principal concerns of many planters. Some planters deliberately sought to create a mixed-race workforce (Chinese, Japanese, native Hawaiians, Filipinos, Portuguese, and others) as a way to keep the workers divided and unlikely to challenge them. Native Hawaiians did not accept their subordination without protest. In 1891, they elevated a powerful nationalist to Queen the throne: Queen Liliuokalani, who set Liliuokalani out to challenge the growing American control of the islands. But she remained in power only two years. By 1890, the United States had eliminated the privileged position of Hawaiian sugar in international trade. The result was devastating to the economy of the islands, and American planters concluded that the only way for them to recover was to become part of the United States (and hence exempt from its tariffs). In 1893, they staged a revolution and called on the United States for protection. After the American minister ordered marines from a warship in

Yellow Journalism Pulitzer was a successful newspaper publisher in St. Louis, Missouri, when he traveled to New York City in 1883 to buy a struggling paper, the New York World. "There is room in this great and growing city," he wrote in one of his first editorials, "for liiti jjwiw wiiUTE!) immi \*•» mrrin mu. itn \ nayM»? iavaFWsa\*,i CtrtuL.tmu JM < O/tnt i ntmo^GvcitirED hkw voMh iffliwnu rtnNi iMt tr t hn(T MAINE EXPLOSION CAUSED BY BOMB OR T X ^ -- ^-7 - - - £apt. Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee Are in Doubl—The Work! hlas Sent Special Tug, With Submarine Dfvers, to Havana to Find Out— Lee Asks for an Immediate Court of Inquiry— Capt. Sigsbee's Suspicionis. (UM.SIC8BEE. IN A SUPPRESSED DESPATCH TO THE MATE DEPARTMENT. SAYS THE ACCIDENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY fr\* E- C Pendcton, Jusl Arrived from Havana, Says He Overheard Talk There of a Plot to Blow ZaBnski.- the Dynamite Expert, and Other ExpctX Report to The World that Accidental\*- Washington Officials Ready for Vigorous Action if Can Be Shown— Divers lo Be Sent Down to THE YELLOW PRESS AND THE WRECK OF THE MAINE No evidence was ever found tying the Spanish to the explosion in Havana harbor that destroyed the American battleship Maine in February 1898. Indeed, most evidence indicated that the blast came from inside the ship, a fact that suggests an accident rather than sabotage. Nevertheless, the newspapers of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst ran sensational stories about the incident that were designed to arouse public sentiment in support of a war against the Spanish. This front page from Pulitzer's New York World is an example of the lurid coverage the event received. Circulation figures at the top right of the page indicate, too, how successful the coverage was in selling newspapers. (© The Granger Collection, New York) a journal that is not only cheap, but bright, not only bright but large, not only large but truly democratic . . . that will serve and battle for the people with earnest sincerity." Within a year, the World's daily circulation had soared from 10,000 to over 60,000. By 1886, it had reached 250,000 and was making enormous profits. The success of Pulitzer's World marked the birth of what came to be known as "yellow journalism," a phrase that reportedly derived from a character in one of the Worlds comic strips: "the Yellow Kid." Color printing in newspapers was relatively new, and yellow was the most difficult color to print; so in the

beginning, the term "yellow journalism" was a comment on the new technological possibilities that Pulitzer was so eagerly embracing. Eventually, however, it came to refer to a sensationalist style of reporting and writing that spread quickly through urban America and changed the character of newspapers forever. Sensationalism was not new to journalism in the late nineteenth century, of course. Political scandal sheets had been publishing lurid stories since before the American Revolution. But the yellow journalism of the 1880s and 1890s took the search for a mass audience to new levels. The World created one of the first Sunday editions, with lavishly colored special sections, comics, and illustrated features. It expanded coverage of sports, fashion, literature, and theater. It pioneered large, glaring, overheated headlines that captured the eyes of people who were passing newsstands. It published exposes of political corruption. It made considerable efforts to bring drama and energy to its coverage of crime. It tried to involve readers directly in its stories (as when a World campaign helped raise \$300,000 to build a base for the Statue of Liberty, with much of the money coming in donations of five or ten cents from working-class readers). And it introduced a self-consciously populist style of writing that appealed to working-class readers. "The American people want something terse, forcible, picturesque, striking," Pulitzer said. His reporters wrote short, forceful sentences. They did not shy away from expressing sympathy or outrage. And they were not always constrained by the truth. Honolulu harbor to go ashore to aid the rebels, the queen yielded her authority. A provisional government, dominated by Americans (who constituted less than 5 percent of the population of the Islands), immediately sent a delegation to Washington to negotiate a 536 • treaty of annexation. But debate continued until 1898, when the Republicans returned to power and approved the agreement. Three thousand miles south of Hawaii, the Samoan islands had also long served as a way station for American ships in the Pacific trade. As American commerce with Asia increased. iiiiii

863,956

The



World.

863,956

WORLD'S CIRCULATED YESTERDAY

"Circulation Books Open to All."

Circulation Books Open to All.

WORLD'S CIRCULATED YESTERDAY

VOL. XXXVIII. NO. 1238

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1904.

PRICE: 10 CENTS

## MAINE EXPLOSION CAUSED BY BOMB OR TORPEDO

Capt. Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee Are in Doubt---The World Has Sent a Special Tug, With Submarine Divers, to Havana to Find Out---Lee Asks for an Immediate Court of Inquiry---Capt. Sigsbee's Suspicions.

CAPT. SIGSBEE, IN A SUPPRESSED DESPATCH TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, SAYS THE ACCIDENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY AN ENEMY.

Dr. E. C. Pendleton, Just Arrived from Havana; Says He Overheard Talk There of a Plot to Blow Up the Ship---Capt. Zolinski, the Dynamite Expert, and Other Experts Report to The World that the Wreck Was Not Accidental---Washington Officials Ready for Vigorous Action if Spanish Responsibility Can Be Shown---Divers to Be Sent Down to Make Careful Examinations.



Pulitzer very quickly produced imitators, the most important of them the California publisher William Randolph Hearst, who in 1895 bought the New York Journal, cut its price to one cent (Pulitzer quickly followed suit), copied many of the World's techniques, and within a year raised its circulation to 400,000. Hearst soon made the Journal the largest-circulation paper in the country selling more than a million copies a day. Pulitzer, whose own circulation was not far behind, accused him of "pandering to the worst tastes of the prurient and the horror-loving" and "dealing in bogus news." But the World wasted no time before imitating the Journal. The competition between these two great "yellow" journals soon drove both to new levels of sensationalism. Their success drove newspapers in other cities around the nation to copy their techniques. The civil war in Cuba in the 1890s gave both papers their best opportunities yet for combining sensational reporting with shameless appeals to patriotism and moral outrage. They avidly published exaggerated reports of Spanish atrocities toward the Cuban rebels, fanning popular anger toward Spain. When the American battleship Maine mysteriously exploded in Havana harbor in 1898, both papers (without any evidence) immediately blamed Spanish authorities. The Journal offered a \$50,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for the explosion, and it crowded all other stories off its front page ("There is no other news," Hearst told his editors) to make room for such screaming headlines as THE WHOLE COUNTRY THRILLS WITH WAR FEVER and HAVANA POPULACE INSULTS THE MEMORY OF THE MAINE VICTIMS. In the three days following the Maine explosion, the Journal sold more than 3 million copies, a new world's record for newspaper circulation. In the aftermath of the Maine episode, the more conservative press launched a spirited attack on yellow journalism. That was partly in response to Hearst's boast that the conflict in Cuba was "the Journals war." He sent a cable to one of his reporters in Cuba saying: "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war." Growing numbers of critics tried to discourage yellow journalism, which "respectable" editors both deplored and feared. Some schools, libraries, and clubs began to banish the papers from their premises. But the techniques the "yellow" press pioneered in the 1890s helped map the way for a tradition of colorful, popular journalism— later

embodied in "tabloids," some elements of which eventually found their way into television news— that has endured into the present day.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Did Pulitzer's World, Hearst's Journal, and their imitators report the news or manufacture it?
2. How did the "yellow" press influence the public's perception of the Spanish-American War?
3. How does television news continue the tradition of "yellow" journalism? In what other mass media do you see the style and techniques pioneered by the "yellow" press?

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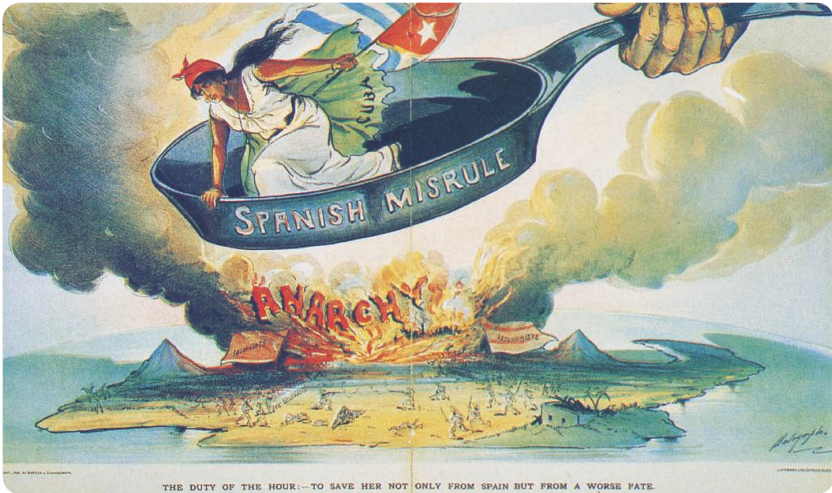
Hogan's Alley, one of the most popular cartoons of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, debuted in the New York World in 1895. Perhaps its best-known character was Mickey Dugan, the goofy-looking creation of cartoonist Richard Outcault, known as "the Yellow Kid," whose nickname very likely was the source of the term "yellow journalism." Hogan's Alley was the forerunner of modern serial cartoons— not least because it was one of the first newspaper features to make elaborate use of color. (The drawing above accompanied Outcault's letter requesting copyright registration for the character of what he called "the yellow Dugan kid.") (The Library of Congress)

business groups in the United States and the American navy began urging the government to annex the Samoan harbor at Pago Pago. In 1878, the Hayes administration extracted a treaty from Samoan leaders for an American naval station there. But Great Britain and Germany were also interested in the islands, and they too secured treaty rights from the native princes. For the next ten years the three powers jockeyed for dominance in Samoa, Acquisition of Samoa occasionally coming dangerously close to

537 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

538 CHAPTER 19 war. Finally, the three nations agreed to share power over Samoa. The three-way arrangement failed to halt the rivalries of its members; and in 1899, the United States and Germany divided the islands between them, compensating Britain with territories elsewhere in the Pacific. The United States retained the harbor at Pago Pago. WAR WITH SPAIN ||||| III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III ||||| III ||||| MINIM III III III III MINIM III III ||||| III III 1 1 1 II 1 1 1 1 1 III I II MINIM III ||||| III III III ||||| 1 1 1 III III ||||| III ||||| Imperial ambitions had thus begun to stir within the United States well before the late 1890s. But a war with Spain in 1898 turned those stirrings into overt expansionism. The war transformed America's relationship to the rest of the world and left the nation with a far-flung overseas empire. Controversy over Cuba The Spanish-American War was a result of events in Cuba, which along with Puerto Rico now represented all that remained of Spain's once extensive American empire. Cubans had been resisting Spanish rule since at least 1868. Many Americans had sympathized with the Cubans during that long struggle, but the United States had not intervened. In 1895, the Cubans rebelled again. This revolution produced a ferocity on both sides that horrified many Americans. Cuban Revolt The Cubans deliberately devastated the island to force the Spaniards to leave. The Spanish, commanded by General Valeriano Weyler, confined civilians in some areas to hastily prepared concentration camps, where they died by the thousands, victims of disease and malnutrition. The American press took to calling the general "Butcher Weyler." The Spanish had used some of these same savage methods during earlier struggles in Cuba without shocking American sensibilities. But the revolt of 1895 was reported more fully and sensationally by the American press, which helped create the impression that the Spaniards were committing all the atrocities, when in fact there was considerable brutality on both sides. The conflict in Cuba came at a particularly opportune moment for the publishers of some American newspapers, Joseph Pulitzer with his New York World and William Randolph Hearst with his New York Journal (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 536-537.) In the 1890s, Hearst and Pulitzer were engaged in a ruthless circulation war, and they both sent batteries of reporters and illustrators to the island with orders to provide accounts of

Spanish atrocities. A growing population of Cuban emigres in the United "THE DUTY OF THE HOUR" This 1892 lithograph was no doubt inspired by the saying "Out of the frying pan and into the fire." A despairing Cuba, struggling to escape from the frying pan of Spanish misrule, contemplates an even more dangerous alternative: "anarchy" (or home rule). Cartoonist Louis Dalrymple here suggests that the only real solution to Cuba's problems is control by the United States, whose "duty" to Cuba is "To Save Her Not Only from Spain but from a Worse Fate." (© The Granger Collection, New York)





FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 539 States-centered in Florida, New York City, Philadelphia, and Trenton, New Jersey-gave extensive support to the Cuban Revolutionary Party (whose headquarters were in New York City) and helped publicize the Cuban cause as effectively as those of the yellow journalists in generating American support for the revolution. The mounting storm of indignation against Spain did not persuade President Cleveland to support intervention. But when McKinley became president in 1897, he formally protested Spain's "uncivilized and inhuman" conduct, causing the Spanish government (fearful of American intervention) to recall Weyler, modify the concentration policy, and grant the island a qualified autonomy. But whatever chances there were for a peaceful settlement vanished as a result of two dramatic incidents in February 1898. The first occurred when a Cuban agent stole a private letter written by Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish minister in Washington, and turned it over to the American press. The letter described McKinley as a weak man and "a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." This was no more than many Americans, including some Republicans, were saying about their president. (Theodore Roosevelt described McKinley as having "no more backbone than a chocolate éclair.") But coming from a foreigner, it created intense popular anger. Dupuy de Lome promptly resigned. While excitement over the de Lome letter was still high, the American battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor. The *Maine* with a loss of more than 260 people. The ship had been ordered to Cuba in January to protect American lives and property. Many Americans assumed that the Spanish had sunk the ship, particularly when a naval court of inquiry hastily and inaccurately reported that an external explosion by a submarine mine had caused the disaster. (Later evidence suggested that the disaster was actually the result of an accidental explosion inside one of the engine rooms.) War hysteria swept the country, and Congress unanimously appropriated \$50 million for military preparations. "Remember the *Maine*!" became a national chant for revenge. McKinley still hoped to avoid a conflict. But others in his administration (including Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt) were clamoring for war. In March 1898, the president asked Spain to agree to an armistice, negotiations for a permanent peace, and an end to the concentration camps. Spain agreed to stop

the fighting and eliminate the concentration camps but refused to negotiate with the rebels and reserved the right to resume hostilities at its discretion. That satisfied neither public opinion nor the Congress; and a few days later the United States declared war on Spain. "A Splendid Little War" Secretary of State John Hay called the Spanish-American conflict "a splendid little war," an opinion that most Americans except many of the enlisted men who fought in it seemed to share. Declared in April, it was over in August, in part because Cuban rebels had already greatly weakened the Spanish resistance, which made the American intervention in many respects little more than a "mopping-up" exercise. Only 460 Americans were killed in battle or died of wounds, although some 5,200 others perished of disease: malaria, dysentery, and typhoid, among others. Casualties among Cuban insurgents, who continued to bear the brunt of the fighting, were much higher. And yet the American war effort was not without difficulties. United States soldiers faced serious supply problems: a shortage of modern rifles and ammunition, uniforms too heavy for the warm Caribbean weather, inadequate medical services, and skimpy, almost indigestible food. The regular army numbered only 28,000 troops and officers, most of whom had experience in quelling Indian outbreaks but none in larger-scale warfare. As in the Civil War, the United States had to rely heavily on National Guard units, organized by local communities and commanded for the most part by local leaders without military experience. There were racial conflicts. A significant proportion of the American invasion force consisted of black soldiers. Some were volunteer troops put together by African American communities (although some governors refused to allow the formation of such units). Others were members of the four black regiments in the regular army, who had been stationed on the frontier to defend white settlements against Indians and were now transferred east to fight in Cuba. As the black soldiers traveled through the South toward the training camps, they chafed at the rigid segregation to which they were subjected and occasionally resisted the restrictions openly. African American soldiers in Georgia deliberately made use of a "whites only" park; in Florida, they beat a soda-fountain operator for refusing to serve them; in Tampa, white provocations and black retaliation led to a nightlong riot that left thirty people wounded. Racial tensions continued in Cuba, where African Americans played crucial roles in

some of the important battles of the war (including the famous charge at San Juan Hill) and won many medals. Nearly half the Cuban insurgents fighting with the Americans were of African descent, and unlike their American counterparts they were fully integrated into the rebel army. (Indeed, one of the leading insurgent generals, Antonio Maceo, was a black man.) The sight of black Cuban soldiers fighting alongside whites as equals gave African Americans a stronger sense of the injustice of their own position.

Seizing the Philippines By an accident of history, the assistant secretary of the navy during the Cuban revolution was Theodore Roosevelt, an ardent Anglophile eager to see the United States join the British and other nations as imperial powers. Roosevelt was, in fact, a relatively minor figure in the Navy Department, but he was

MEMORIALIZING NATIONAL HISTORY PUBLIC  
MONUMENTS ARE CONSTRUCTED FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS:  
to remember tragedy, to commemorate sacrifice, to celebrate  
specific persons or groups, and to honor acts of courage, heroism,  
and endurance. The structures differ in purpose, theme, and  
meaning, but all serve to satisfy our need to reflect upon the  
meaning of events, groups, or people memorialized. The explosion  
of the battleship Maine in Havana Harbor in February 1898 resulted  
in the deaths of 266 men and served to propel the United States  
into war with Spain. Twelve years after the conclusion of the short-  
lived war, work began on a monument to memorialize the Maine  
and commemorate the men who died in the explosion. Dedicated on  
February 15, 1915, the monument, located in Arlington National  
Cemetery and pictured in the first two images below, includes the  
main mast from the Maine. The names of those killed in the disaster  
are inscribed around the base of the monument, which represents  
the turret of a battleship. THE MAINE-1898/1915 V r'A-‘ iWH— W  
— III (The Library of Congress (381569pu)) (The Library of  
Congress (381579pu)) UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Whose story does the Maine memorial tell? What information  
about the event does the memorial provide? 2. This Maine  
memorial is located in Arlington National Cemetery, a military  
cemetery near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. What  
effect might that location have on persons seeing this memorial? 3.  
What emotions are likely to be evoked by the monument?

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# THE MAINE—1898/1915

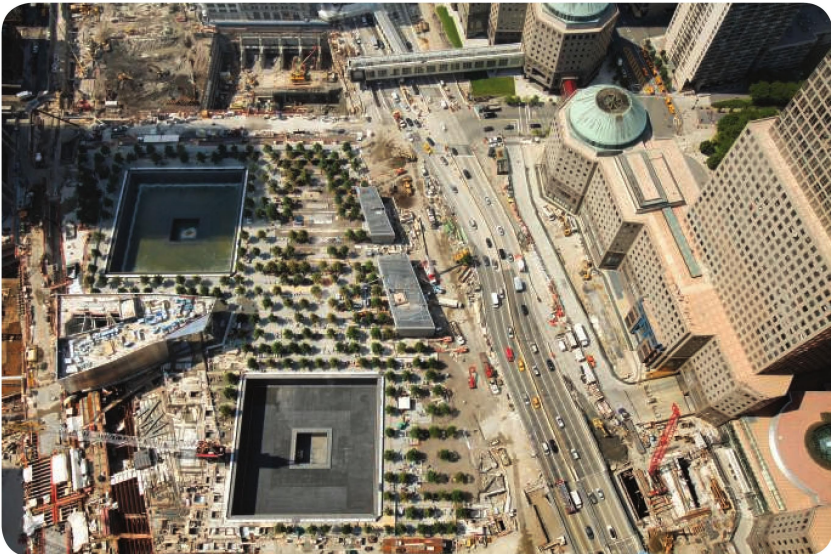


(The Library of Congress (381579pu))

## UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Whose story does the *Maine* memorial tell? What information about the event does the memorial provide?
2. This *Maine* memorial is located in Arlington National Cemetery, a military cemetery near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. What

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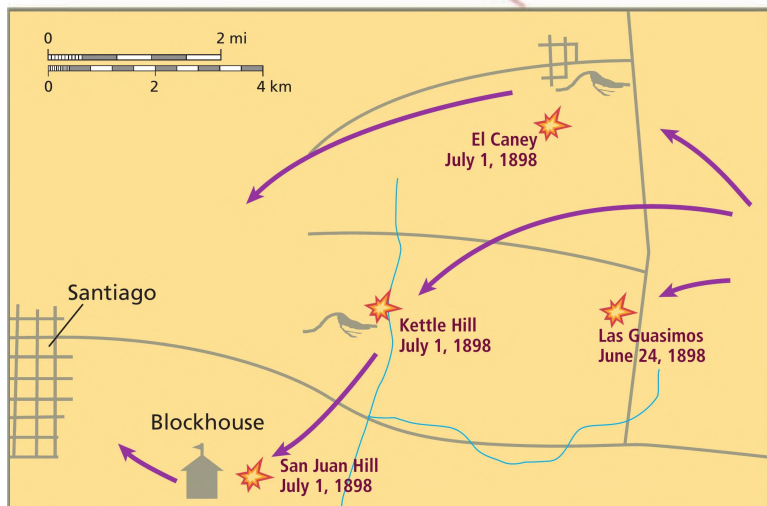




542 CHAPTER 19 determined to expand his power. British friends had persuaded him that the war in Cuba gave the United States a rare opportunity to expand the American empire. Roosevelt responded by sending the navy's Pacific fleet to the Philippines, with orders to attack as soon as American declared war. On May 1, 1898, Commodore George Dewey led the fleet into Manila Harbor, quickly destroyed the aging Spanish fleet, and forced the Spanish government to surrender with hardly a shot fired. He became the first American hero of the war. In the rejoicing over Dewey's victory, few Americans paused to note that the character of the war was changing. What had begun as a war to free Cuba was becoming a war to strip Spain of its colonies. The United States was now confronted with the question of what to do with the Spanish possessions it was suddenly acquiring. The Battle for Cuba The war in Cuba continued after the capture of the Philippines. At first, the American commanders planned a long period of training before actually sending troops into combat. But when a Spanish fleet under Admiral Pascual Cervera slipped past the American navy into Santiago harbor on the southern coast of Cuba, plans changed quickly. The American Atlantic fleet quickly bottled Cervera up in the harbor. And the U.S. Army's commanding general, Nelson A. Miles, hastily altered his strategy and left Tampa in June with a force of 17,000 to attack Santiago. Both the departure from Florida and the landing in Cuba were scenes of fantastic incompetence. It took five days for this relatively small army to go ashore, even with the enemy offering no opposition. General William R. Shafter, the American commander, moved toward Santiago, which he planned to The Rough surround and capture. On the way Riders he met and defeated Spanish forces at Las Guasimos and, a week later, in two simultaneous battles, El Caney and San Juan Hill. At the center of the fighting (and on the front pages of the newspapers) during many of these engagements was a cavalry unit known as the Rough Riders. Nominally commanded by General Leonard Wood, its real leader was Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned from the Navy Department to get into the war and who had struggled to ensure that his regiment made it to the front before the fighting ended. His passion to join the war undoubtedly reflected the decision of his beloved father, Theodore Roosevelt Sr., not to fight in the Civil War, a source of private shame within his family that



his son sought to erase. Roosevelt rapidly emerged as a hero of the conflict. His fame rested in large part on his role in leading a bold, if perhaps THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR IN CUBA, 1898 The military conflict between the United States and Spain in Cuba was a brief affair. The Cuban rebels and an American naval blockade had already brought the Spanish to the brink of defeat. The arrival of American troops was simply the final blow. In the space of about a week, U.S. troops won four decisive battles in the area around Santiago in southeast Cuba— one of them (the Battle of Kettle Hill) the scene of Theodore Roosevelt's famous charge up the adjacent San Juan Hill. This map shows the extent of the American naval blockade, the path of American troops from Florida to Cuba, and the location of the actual fighting. • What were the implications of the war in Cuba for Puerto Rico? reckless, charge up Kettle Hill (a charge that was a minor part of the larger battle for the adjacent San Juan Hill) directly into the face of Spanish guns. Roosevelt himself emerged unscathed, but nearly a hundred of his soldiers were killed or wounded. He remembered the battle as "the great day of my life."

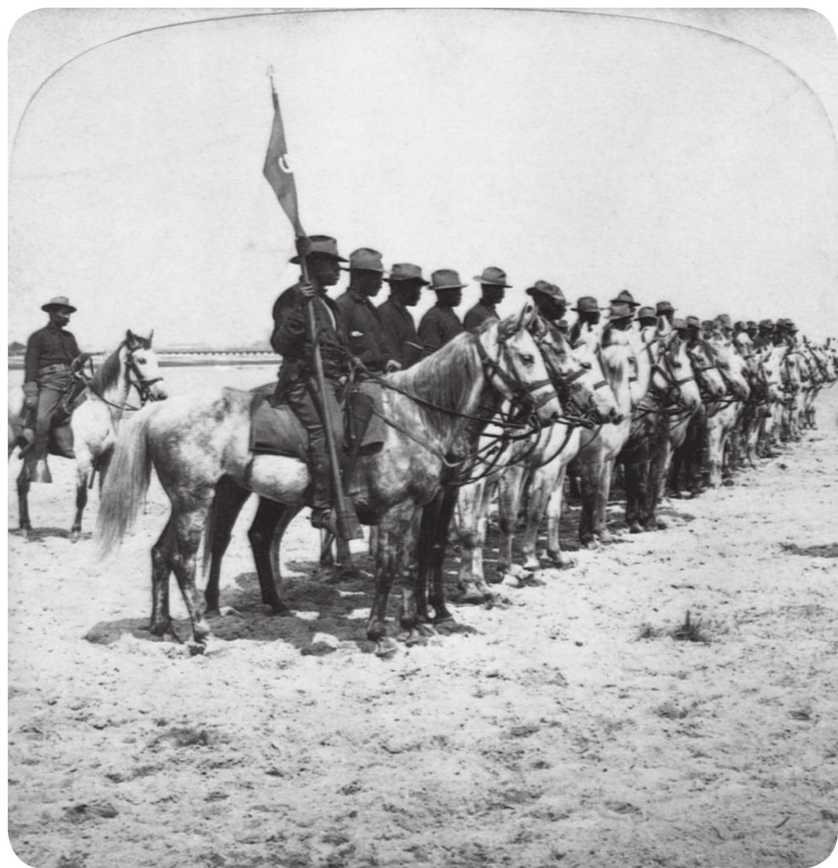


## FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE • 543 AFRICAN AMERICAN

**CAVALRY** Substantial numbers of African Americans fought in the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. Although confined to all-black units, they engaged in combat alongside white units and fought bravely and effectively. This photograph shows a troop of African American cavalry in formation in Cuba. (© Corbis)

Although Shafter was now in position to assault Santiago, his army was so weakened by sickness that he feared he might have to abandon his position, particularly once the commander of the American naval force blockading Santiago refused to enter the harbor because of mines. But unknown to the Americans, the Spanish government had by now decided that Santiago was lost and had ordered Cervera to evacuate. On July 3, Cervera tried to escape from the harbor. The waiting American squadron destroyed his entire fleet. On July 16, the commander of Spanish ground forces in Santiago surrendered. At about the same time, an American army landed in Puerto Rico and occupied it against virtually no opposition. On August 12, an armistice ended the war. Under the terms of the armistice, Spain recognized the independence of Cuba. It ceded Puerto Rico (now occupied by American troops) and the Pacific island of Guam to the United States. And it accepted continued American occupation of Manila pending the final disposition of the Philippines. Puerto Rico and the United States The annexation of Puerto Rico produced relatively little controversy in the United States. The island Annexation r J . . . of Puerto °f Puert0 Rico had been a part of the Rico Spanish Empire since Ponce de Leon arrived there in 1508, and it had contained iiii Spanish settlements since the founding of San Juan in 1521. The native people of the island, the Arawaks, had mostly disappeared as a result of infectious diseases, Spanish brutality, and poverty. Puerto Rican society developed, therefore, with a Spanish ruling class and a large African workforce for the coffee and sugar plantations that came to dominate its economy. As Puerto Rican society became increasingly distinctive, resistance to Spanish rule began to emerge. Just as it had in Cuba. Uprisings occurred intermittently beginning in the 1820s; the most important of them-the so-called Lares Rebellion-was, like the others, effectively crushed by the Spanish in 1868. But the growing resistance did prompt some reforms: the abolition of

slavery in 1873, representation in the Spanish parliament, and other changes. Demands for independence continued to grow, and in 1898, in response to political pressure organized by the popular politician Luis Munoz Rivera, Spain granted the island a degree of independence. But before the changes had any chance to take effect, control of Puerto Rico shifted to the United States. American military forces occupied the island during the war. They remained in control until 1900, when the Foraker Act ended military rule and established a formal colonial government: an American governor and a two-chamber legislature (the members of the upper chamber appointed by the United States, the members of the lower elected by the Puerto Rican people). The United States could amend or veto any legislation the Puerto Ricans passed. Agitation for independence continued, and in 1917, under pressure to clarify the relationship between Puerto Rico and America, Congress passed the Jones Act, which declared Puerto Rico to be United States territory and made all Puerto Ricans American citizens. The Puerto Rican sugar industry flourished as it took advantage of the American market that was now open to it Sugar without tariffs. As in Hawaii, Americans Economy began establishing large sugar plantations on the island and hired natives to work them; many of the planters did not even live in Puerto Rico. The growing emphasis on sugar as a cash crop, and the transformation of many Puerto Rican farmers into paid laborers, led to a reduction in the growing of food for the island. Puerto Ricans became increasingly dependent on imported food and hence increasingly a part of the international commercial economy. When international sugar prices were high, Puerto Rico did well. When they dropped, the island's economy sagged, pushing the many plantation workers-already poor-into destitution. Unhappy with the instability, the poverty among natives, and the American threat to Hispanic culture, many Puerto Ricans continued to agitate for independence. Others, however, began to envision closer relations with the United States, even statehood. The Debate over the Philippines Although the annexation of Puerto Rico produced relatively little controversy, the annexation of the Philippines created a



Roosevelt resigned as assistant secretary of the navy to lead a volunteer regiment in the Spanish-American War. They were known as the Rough Riders, and their bold charge during the battle of San Juan Hill made Roosevelt a national hero. Roosevelt is shown here (at center with glasses) posing with the other members of the regiment. (© Bettmann/Corbis) long and impassioned debate. Controlling a nearby Caribbean island fit reasonably comfortably into the United States's sense of itself as the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere. Controlling a large and densely populated territory thousands of miles away seemed different and, to many Americans, more ominous. McKinley claimed to be reluctant to support annexation. But, according to his own accounts, he came to believe there were no acceptable alternatives. Emerging Philippines from what he described as an "agonizing Question night of prayer," he claimed divine guidance for his decision to annex the islands. Returning them to Spain would be "cowardly and dishonorable," he claimed. Turning them over to another imperialist power (France, Germany, or Britain) would be "bad business and discreditable." Granting the islands independence would be irresponsible; the Filipinos were "unfit for self government." The only solution was "to take them all and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them." The Treaty of Paris, signed in December 1898, brought a formal end to the war. It confirmed the terms of the armistice concerning Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam. American negotiators startled the Spanish by demanding that they cede the Philippines to the United States, something the original armistice had not included. The Spanish objected briefly, but an American offer of \$20 million for the islands softened their resistance. They accepted all the American terms. In the U.S. Senate, however, resistance was fierce. During debate over ratification of the treaty, a powerful anti-imperialist movement Anti- arose around the country Imperialist to oppose acquisition of League the Philippines. The anti-imperialists included some of the nation's wealthiest and most powerful figures: Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, Samuel Gompers, Senator John Sherman, and others. Their motives were various. Some believed

simply that imperialism was immoral, a repudiation of America's commitment to human freedom. Some feared "polluting" the American population by introducing "inferior" Asian races into it. Industrial workers feared being undercut by a flood of cheap laborers from the new colonies. Conservatives worried about the large standing army and entangling foreign alliances that they believed imperialism would require and that they feared would threaten American liberties. Sugar growers and others feared unwelcome competition from the new territories. The Anti-Imperialist League, established late in 1898 by upper-class Bostonians, New Yorkers, and others to fight against annexation, attracted a widespread following in the Northeast and waged a vigorous campaign against ratification of the Paris treaty. Favoring ratification was an equally varied group. There were the exuberant imperialists such as Theodore Roosevelt, who saw the acquisition of empire as a way to reinvigorate the nation and keep alive what they considered the healthy, restorative influence of the war. Some businessmen saw opportunities to dominate the Asian trade. And most Republicans saw partisan advantages in acquiring valuable new territories through a war fought and won by a Republican administration. Perhaps the strongest argument in favor of annexation, however, was that the United States already possessed the islands. When anti-imperialists warned of the danger of acquiring territories with large populations who might have to become citizens, the imperialists had a ready answer: the nation's long-standing policies toward Indians-treating them as dependents rather than as citizens-had created a precedent for annexing land without absorbing people. Supporters of annexation argued that the "uncivilized" Filipinos "would occupy the same status precisely as our Indians. . . . They are, in fact, 'Indians'-and the Fourteenth Amendment does not make citizens of Indians." The fate of the treaty remained in doubt for weeks, until it received the unexpected support of William Jennings Bryan, a fervent anti-imperialist. He backed ratification not because he approved of annexation but because he hoped to move the issue out of the Senate and make it the subject of a national referendum in 1900, when he expected to be the





FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 545 Democratic presidential candidate again. Bryan persuaded a number of anti-imperialist Democrats to support the treaty so as to set up the 1900 debate. The Senate ratified it finally on February 6, 1899. But Bryan miscalculated. If the election of 1900 was in fact a referendum on the Philippines, as Bryan expected, it proved Election of beyond doubt that the nation had decided 1900 favor taperialism. Once again Bryan . ran against McKinley; and once again McKinley won-even more decisively than in 1896. It was not only the issue of the colonies, however, that ensured McKinley's victory. The Republicans were the beneficiaries of growing prosperity-and also of the colorful personality of their vice presidential candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, the hero of San Juan Hill. THE REPUBLIC AS EMPIRE The new American empire was small by the standards of the great imperial powers of Europe. But it embroiled the United States in the politics of both Europe and the Far East in ways the nation had always tried to avoid in the past. It also drew Americans into a brutal war in the Philippines. Governing the Colonies Three of the American dependencies-Hawaii, Alaska (acquired from Russia in 1867), and Puerto Rico-presented relatively few problems. They received territorial status (and their residents American citizenship) relatively quickly: Hawaii in 1 900, Alaska in 1912, and Puerto Rico in 1917. The U.S. Navy took control of the Pacific islands of Guam and Tutuila. Some of the smallest, least populated Pacific islands now under American control the United States simply left alone. Cuba was a thornier problem. American military forces, commanded by General Leonard Wood, remained there until 1902 to prepare the island for independence. They built roads, schools, and hospitals, reorganized the legal, financial, and administrative systems, and introduced medical and sanitation reforms. But the United States also laid the basis for years of American economic domination of the island. When Cuba drew up a constitution that made no reference to the United States, Congress responded by passing Platt the Platt Amendment in 1901 and presAmendment sured Cuba into incorporating its terms into its constitution. The Platt Amendment barred Cuba from making treaties with other nations (thus, in effect, giving the United States control of Cuban foreign policy); it gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba to preserve independence, life, and property; and it required

Cuba to permit American naval stations on its territory. The amendment left Cuba with only nominal political independence. American investments, which quickly took over the island's economy, made the new nation an American economic

“MEASURING UNCLE SAM FOR A NEW SUIT,” BY J. S. PUGHE, IN PUCK MAGAZINE, 1900 President William McKinley is favorably depicted here as a tailor, measuring his client for a suit large enough to accommodate the new possessions the United States obtained in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. This detail from a larger cartoon tries to link this expansion with earlier, less controversial ones such as the Louisiana Purchase. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ppmsca-25453)) \_ appendage as well. Americans poured into American JA . & Economic Cuba, buying up plantations, factories, railDominance roads, and refineries. Absentee American ownership of many of the island s most important resources was the source of resentment and agitation for decades. Resistance to "Yankee imperialism" produced intermittent revolts against the Cuban government-revolts that at times prompted U.S. military intervention. American troops occupied the island from 1906 to 1909 after one such rebellion; they returned again in 1912, to suppress a revolt by black plantation workers. As in Puerto Rico and Hawaii, sugar production-spurred by access to the American marketincreasingly dominated the island's economy and subjected it to the same cycle of booms and busts that so plagued other sugar-producing appendages of the United States economy. The Philippine War Americans did not like to think of themselves as imperial rulers in the European mold. Yet, like other imperial powers, the United States soon discovered-as it had discovered at home in its relations with the Indians-that subjugating another people required more than ideals; it also required strength and brutality. That, at least, was the lesson of the American experience in the Philippines, where American forces soon became engaged in a long and bloody war with insurgent forces fighting for independence. The conflict in the Philippines is the least remembered of all American wars. It was also one of the longest, lasting from 1898 to 1902, and one of the most vicious. It involved 200,000 American troops and resulted in 4,300 American deaths, nearly ten times the number who had died in combat in the Spanish-American War. The number of Filipinos killed in the conflict has long been a matter of dispute, but it seems likely that at least 50,000 natives (and perhaps many more)

546 CHAPTER 19 died. The American occupiers faced brutal guerrilla tactics in the Philippines, very similar to those the Spanish occupiers had faced prior to 1898 in Cuba. And they soon found themselves drawn into the same pattern of brutality that had outraged so many Americans when Weyler had used them in the Caribbean. The Filipinos had been rebelling against Spanish rule even before 1898. And as soon as they realized the Americans had come to stay, they rebelled against them. Aotinaldo as well. Abla led by Emilio Aguinaldo, who claimed to head the legitimate government of the nation, Filipinos harried the American army of occupation from island to island for more than three years. At first, American commanders believed the rebels had only a small popular following. But by early 1900, General Arthur MacArthur, an American commander in the islands (and father of General Douglas MacArthur), was writing: "I have been reluctantly compelled to believe that the Filipino masses are loyal to Aguinaldo and the government which he heads." To MacArthur and others, that realization was not a reason to moderate American tactics or conciliate the rebels. It was a reason to adopt much more severe measures. Gradually, the American military effort became more systematically vicious and brutal. Captured Filipino guerrillas were treated not as prisoners of war, but as murderers. Many were summarily executed. On some islands, entire communities were evacuated; the residents forced into concentration camps while American troops destroyed their villages, farms, crops, and livestock. A spirit of savagery grew among some American soldiers, who came to view the Filipinos as almost subhuman and at times seemed to take pleasure in killing arbitrarily. One American commander ordered his troops "to kill and burn, the more you kill and burn the better it will please me. . . . Shoot everyone over the age of 10." Over fifteen Filipinos were killed for every one wounded; in the American Civil War—the bloodiest conflict in U.S. history to that point—one person had died for every five wounded. By 1902, reports of the brutality and of the American casualties had soured the American public on the war. But by then, growing the rebellion had exhausted itself. Economic and the occupiers had established control. Dependence over most of the islands. The key to their victory was the March 1901 capture of Aguinaldo, who later signed a document urging his followers to

stop fighting and declaring his own allegiance to the United States. (Aguinaldo then retired from public life and lived quietly until 1964.) Fighting continued in some places for another FILIPINO PRISONERS American troops guard captured Filipino guerrillas in Manila. The suppression of the Filipino insurrection was a much longer and costlier military undertaking than the Spanish-American War, by which the United States first gained possession of the islands. By mid-1900 there were 70,000 American troops in the Philippines, under the command of General Arthur MacArthur (whose son Douglas won fame in the Philippines during World War II). (The Library of Congress)



FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 547 CHINA Hong .Kong \ (Br.) East China Sea FORMOSA (Japan) Luzon Philippine Sea [Manila PHILIPPINES (Ceded by Spain, PALAU (German) MARIANA IS. (German) GUAM (Ceded by Spain, 1898) CAROLINE IS. (German) PACIFIC • WAKE I (1898) MIDWAY IS. (Annexed 1898) JOHNSTON I. (1898) ¥ HAWAIIAN IS. (Annexed 1898) BORNEO MARSHALL IS. (German) OCEAN GILBERT IS. (Br.) PALMYRA I. (1898) | HOWLAND I. (1857) | BAKER I. (1859) - NEW GUINEA (German) JARVIS I. (1857) Equator °utch east \v\*ov ^ , PORTUGUESE TIMOR (German) SOLgM0N (Br.) INDIAN OCEAN Coral Sea NEW HEBRIDES (Br./Fr.) FIJI IS. (Br. GERMAN SAMOA AUSTRALIA (Br.) NEW CALEDONIA (Fr.) AMERICAN SAMOA (1899) U.S. forces, 1898 U.S. possessions, 1900 Area of Philippine American War, 1899-1906 THE AMERICAN SOUTH PACIFIC EMPIRE, 1900 Except for Puerto Rico, all of the colonial acquisitions of the United States in the wake of the Spanish-American War occurred in the Pacific. The new attraction of imperialism persuaded the United States to annex Hawaii in 1898. The war itself gave America control of the Philippines, Guam, and other, smaller Spanish possessions in the Pacific. When added to the small, scattered islands that the United States had acquired as naval bases earlier in the nineteenth century, these new possessions gave the nation a far-flung Pacific empire, even if one whose total territory and population remained small by the standards of the other great empires of the age. • What was the reaction in the United States to the acquisition of this new empire? year, and the war revived intermittently until as late as 1906; but American possession of the Philippines was now secure. In the summer of 1901, the military transferred authority over the islands to William Howard Taft, who became their first civilian governor. Taft announced that the American mission in the Philippines was to prepare the islands for independence, and he gave the Filipinos broad local autonomy. The Americans also built roads, schools, bridges, and sewers; instituted major administrative and financial reforms; and established a public health system. The Philippine economy-dominated by fishing, agriculture, timber, and mining-also became increasingly linked to the economy of the United States. Americans did not make many investments in the Philippines, and few Americans moved there. But trade with the United States grew to the point that the islands were almost completely dependent on

American markets. In the meantime, a succession of American governors gradually increased Filipino political autonomy. On July 4, 1946, the islands gained their independence. The Open Door The acquisition of the Philippines greatly increased the already strong American interest in Asia. Americans were particularly concerned about the future of China, with which the United States had an important trade and which was now so enfeebled that it provided a tempting target for exploitation by stronger countries. By 1900, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan were beginning to carve up China among themselves. They pressured the Chinese government for "concessions," which gave them effective control over various regions, most along the coast of China. In some cases, they simply seized Chinese territory and claimed it as their own. Many Americans feared that the process would soon cut them out of the China trade altogether. Eager for a way to advance American interests in China without risking war, McKinley issued a statement in September 1898 saying the United States wanted access to China, but no special advantages there. "Asking only the open door for ourselves, we are ready to accord the open door to others." The

548 CHAPTER 19 next year. Secretary of State John Hay translated those words into policy when he addressed identical messages-which TT , became known as the "Open Door notes"Door Notes" t0 England, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, . and Italy. He asked them to approve three principles: each nation with a sphere of influence in China was to respect the rights and privileges of other nations in its sphere; Chinese officials were to continue to collect tariff duties in all spheres (the existing tariff favored the United States); and nations were not to discriminate against other nations in levying port dues and railroad rates within their own spheres. Together, these principles would allow the United States to trade freely with the Chinese without fear of interference and without having to become militarily involved in the region. They would also retain the illusion of Chinese sovereignty and thus prevent formal colonial dismemberment of China, which might also create obstacles to American trade. Europe and Japan received the Open Door proposals coolly. Russia openly rejected them; the other powers claimed to accept them in principle but to be unable to act unless all the other powers agreed. But Hay refused to consider this a rebuff. He boldly announced that all the powers had accepted the principles of the Open Door in "final and definitive" form and that the United States expected them to observe those principles. No sooner had the diplomatic maneuvering over the Open Door ended than the Boxers, a secret Chinese martial-arts society with highly nationalist convictions and a somewhat mystical vision of their invulnerability to bullets, launched a revolt against foreigners in China. The Boxer Rebellion spread widely across eastern China, attacking Westerners wherever they could find them-including many Christian missionaries. But the climax of the revolt was a siege of the entire Western foreign diplomatic corps, which took refuge in the British embassy in Beijing. The imperial powers (including the United States) sent an international expeditionary force into China to rescue the diplomats. In August 1900, it fought its way into Peking and broke the siege. The Boxer Rebellion became an important event for the role of the United States in China. McKinley and Hay had agreed to American participation in quelling the Boxer Rebellion so as to secure a voice in the settlement of the uprising and to prevent the partition of China by the European powers. Hay now won support for his Open Door

approach from England and Germany and induced the other participating powers to accept compensation from the Chinese for the damages the Boxer Rebellion had caused. Chinese territorial integrity survived at least in name, and the United States retained access to its lucrative trade. Boxer Rebellion

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii A Modern Military System The war with Spain had revealed glaring deficiencies in the American military system. The army had exhibited the greatest weaknesses, but the entire military organization had demonstrated problems of supply, training, and coordination. Had the United States been fighting a more powerful foe. THE BOXER REBELLION, 1900 This photograph shows imprisoned Boxers in Beijing. Days earlier, they had been involved in the siege of the compound in which Western diplomats lived. An expeditionary force of numerous European powers in China, and of the United States, had broken the siege and captured the Boxers. (© Bettmann/Corbis) disaster might have resulted. After the war, McKinley appointed Elihu Root, an able corporate lawyer in New York, as secretary of war to supervise a major overhaul of the armed forces. (Root was one of the first of several generations of attorney-statesmen who moved easily between public and private roles and constituted much of what has often been called the American "foreign policy establishment.") Between 1900 and 1903, the Root reforms enlarged the regular army from 25,000 to a maximum of 100,000. They established federal army standards for the National Guard, ensuring that never again would the nation fight a war with volunteer regiments trained and equipped differently than those in the regular army. They sparked the creation of a system of officer training schools, including the Army Staff College (later the „ , Command and General Staff School) at Fort Military Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Army War Reforms College in Washington. And in 1903, a general staff (named the Joint Chiefs of Staff) was established to act as military advisers to the secretary of war. It was this last reform that Root considered most important: the creation of a central planning agency modeled on the example of European general staffs. The Joint Chiefs were charged with many functions. They were to "supervise" and "coordinate" the entire army establishment and to establish an office that would plan for possible wars. An Army and Navy Board was to foster interservice cooperation. As a result of the new reforms, the United States entered the twentieth century with



something resembling a modern military system.



## FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE 549 LOOKING BACK

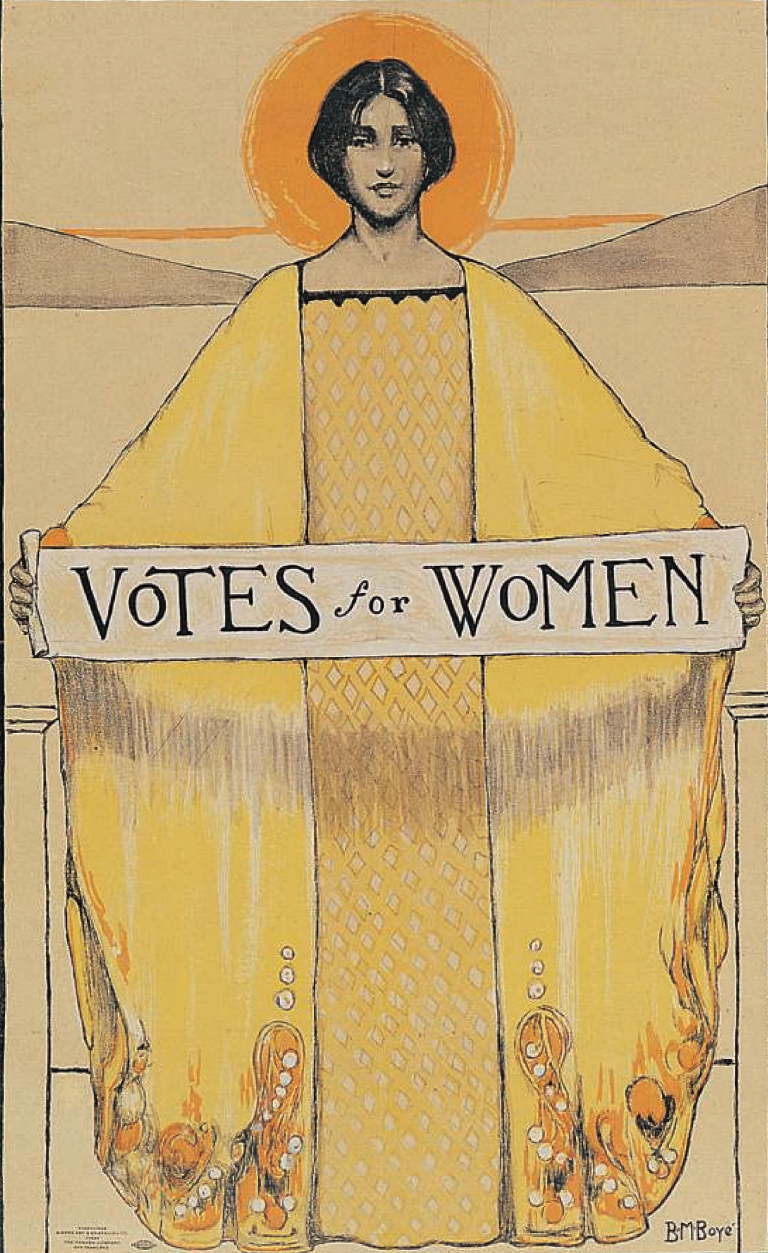
For nearly three decades after the end of Reconstruction, American politics remained locked in a rigid stalemate. The electorate was almost evenly divided, and the two major parties differed on only a few issues. A series of dull, respectable presidents presided over this political system as unwitting symbols of its stability and passivity. Beneath the calm surface of national politics, however, great social issues were creating deep divisions: battles between employers and workers, growing resentment among American farmers facing declining prosperity, outrage at what many voters considered corruption in government and excessive power in the hands of corporate titans. When a great depression, the worst in the nation's history to that point, began in 1893, these social tensions exploded. The most visible sign of the challenge to the political stalemate was the Populist movement, a great uprising of American farmers demanding far-reaching changes in politics and the economy. In 1892, they created their own political party, the People's Party, which for a few years showed impressive strength. But in the climactic election of 1896, in which the Populist hero William Jennings Bryan became the presidential nominee of both the Democratic Party and the People's Party, the Republicans won a substantial victory-and in the process helped create a great electoral realignment that left the Republicans with a clear majority for the next three decades. The crises of the 1890s coincided with, and helped to strengthen, a growing American engagement in the world. In 1898, the United States intervened in a colonial war between Spain and Cuba, won a quick and easy military victory, and signed a treaty with Spain that ceded significant territory to the Americans, including Puerto Rico and the Philippines. A vigorous anti-imperialist movement failed to stop the imperial drive. But taking the colonies proved easier than holding them. In the Philippines, American forces became bogged down in a brutal four-year war with Filipino rebels. The conflict soured much of the American public, and the annexation of colonies in 1898 proved to be both the beginning and the end of American territorial imperialism. Key Terms/People/Places/Events Boxer Rebellion 548 Emilio Aguinaldo 546 Farmers\* Alliances 521 Foraker Act 543 "Free silver\*\* 523 Half-Breeds 516 Interstate Commerce Act 519 Jacob

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1. How and why did the federal government attempt to regulate interstate commerce in the late nineteenth century? 2. What efforts did farmers undertake to deal with the economic problems they faced in the late nineteenth century? 3. What was the "silver question"? Why was it so important to so many Americans? How did the major political parties deal with this question? 4. How did the Spanish-American War change America's relationship to the rest of the world? 5. What were the main arguments of those who supported U.S. imperialism and those who opposed the nation's imperial ambitions and efforts?

550 CHAPTER 19 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1867 National Grange founded 1873 Congress discontinues coinage of silver 1880 James A. Garfield elected president ^ 1881 O Garfield assassinated; Chester A. Arthur becomes president 1887 Interstate Commerce Act passed 1892 People's Party formed in Omaha, Nebraska \_ 1890 O Sherman Antitrust Act passed Alfred Thayer Mahan publishes The Influence of Sea Power upon History O Sherman Silver Purchase Act passed McKinley Tariff enacted 1893 Commercial and financial panic launches severe and prolonged depression Congress repeals Sherman Silver Purchase Act 1894 \_ . . • Coxey's Army marches on Washington, D.C. 1896 William Jennings Bryan wins Democratic nomination after "Cross of Gold" speech William McKinley elected president 1898 United States formally annexes Hawaii U.S. battleship Maine explodes in Havana Harbor Congress declares war on Spain (April 25) Dewey captures Philippines Treaty of Paris cedes Puerto Rico, Philippines, and other Spanish possessions to United States and recognizes Cuban independence Anti-Imperialist League formed 1898-1902 Philippines revolt against American rule 1899 Hay releases "Open Door notes" 1900 Boxer Rebellion breaks out in China 1901 Congress passes Platt Amendment





SETTING THE STAGE WELL BEFORE THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, many Americans had become convinced that the rapid changes in their society— industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and other jarring events— had created intolerable problems. Out of that concern emerged a broad effort to impose order and justice on a society that seemed to be approaching chaos. By the early years of the twentieth century, this outlook had acquired a name: progressivism. The progressive impulse took many forms— so many, in fact, that even today scholars do not agree on what progressivism means. But despite, or perhaps because of, its great diversity, progressivism created a remarkable period of political and social innovation. From the late nineteenth century until at least the end of World War I, reformers were the most dynamic and influential force in American politics and culture. They brought into public debate such issues as the role of women in society, the ways to deal with racial difference, the question of how to govern cities, the fairest way to organize the economy, the role of political parties and political machines, the impact of immigration and cultural diversity, and the degree to which the state should impose moral norms on communities and individuals. Progressivism began as a movement within communities, cities, and states— many different local efforts to improve the working of society. Slowly but steadily, these efforts began to become national efforts. Broad movements emerged around passionate issues: woman suffrage, racial equality, the rights of labor. And the federal government itself, beginning in the early twentieth century, became a crucible of progressive reform. Reformers attempted to make Washington more responsive to their demands. Some worked successfully for the direct popular election of U.S. senators— to replace what they considered the corrupt process by which state legislatures chose members of the Senate. But ultimately it was the presidency, not the Congress, that became the most important vehicle of national reform— first under the dynamic leadership of Theodore Roosevelt and then under the disciplined, moralistic leadership of Woodrow Wilson. By the time the United States entered World War I in 1917, the federal government— which had exercised very limited powers prior to the twentieth century— had greatly expanded its role in American life.

THE PROGRESSIVE IMPULSE Belief in Progress

Progressivism was, first, an optimistic vision. Progressives believed, as their name implies, in the idea of progress. They believed that society was capable of improvement and that continued growth and advancement were the nation's destiny. But progressives believed, too, that growth and progress could not continue to occur recklessly, as they had in the late nineteenth century. The "natural laws" of the marketplace, and the doctrines of laissez faire and Social Darwinism that celebrated those laws, were not sufficient. Direct, purposeful human intervention in social and economic affairs was, they argued, essential to ordering and bettering society.

Varieties of Progressivism Progressives did not always agree on the form their intervention should take, and the result was a variety of reform impulses that sometimes seemed to have little in common. One powerful impulse was the spirit of "antimonopoly," the fear of concentrated power and the urge to limit "Antimonopoly" and disperse authority and wealth. This vaguely populist impulse appealed . not only to many workers and farmers but to some middle-class Americans as well. And it encouraged government to regulate or break up trusts at both the state and national level. Another progressive impulse was a belief in the importance of social cohesion: the belief that individuals are part of a great web of social relationships, that each person's welfare is dependent

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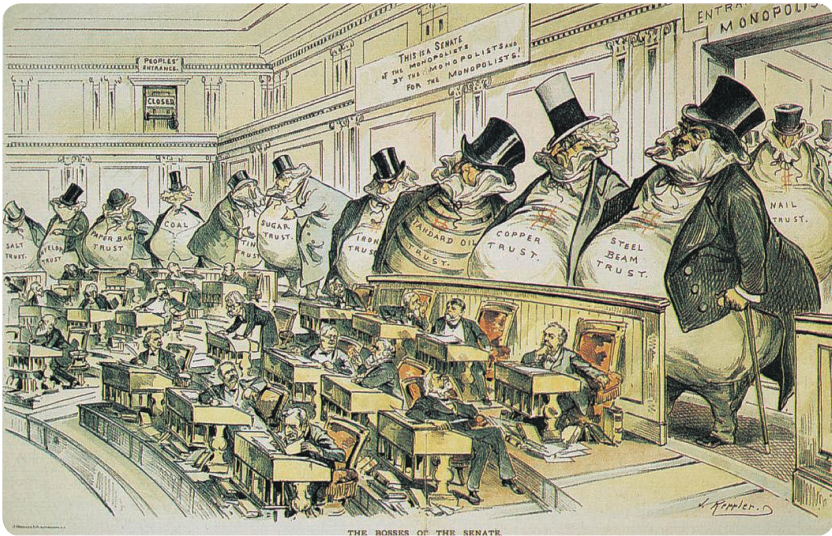
THE PROGRESSIVES 553 on the welfare of society as a whole. That assumption produced a concern about the "victims" of industrialization and other people who had difficult lives. Still another impulse was a deep faith in knowledge-in the possibilities of applying to society the principles of natural and social sciences. Many reformers believed that knowledge was „ more important than anything else as a veKnowledge hide for making society more equitable . and humane. Most progressives believed, too, that a modernized government could-and must-play an important role in the process of improving and stabilizing society. Modern life was too complex to be left in the hands of party bosses, untrained amateurs, and antiquated institutions. The Muckrakers Among the first people to articulate the new spirit of reform were crusading journalists who began to direct public attention toward social, economic, and political injustices. They became known as the "muckrakers," after Theodore Roosevelt accused one of them of raking up muck through his writings. They were committed to exposing scandal, corruption, and injustice to public view. At first, their major targets were the trusts and particularly the railroads, which the muckrakers considered powerful and deeply corrupt. Exposes of the great corpoIda Tarbell , , and Lincoln rate organizatlons began to appear as early as Steffens the 1860s, when Charles Francis Adams Jr. and others uncovered corruption among the railroad barons. One of the most notable muckrakers was the journalist Ida TarbelPs enormous study of the Standard Oil trust (published first in magazines and then as a two-volume book in 1904). By the turn of the century, many muckrakers were turning their attention to government, particularly to the urban political machines. The most influential, perhaps, was Lincoln Steffens, a reporter for McClure's magazine and the author of a famous book based on his articles. The Shame of the Cities (1904). His portraits of "machine government" and "boss rule"; his exposure of "boodlers" in cities as diverse as St. Louis, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York; his tone of studied moral outrage-all helped arouse sentiment for urban political reform. The alternative to leaving government in the hands of corrupt party leaders, the muckrakers argued, was for the people themselves to take a greater interest in public life. The muckrakers reached the peak of their influence in the first decade of the twentieth century.

By presenting social problems to the public with indignation and moral fervor, they helped inspire other Americans to take action. The Social Gospel The growing outrage at social and economic injustice helped produce many reformers committed to the pursuit of what came to be known as "social justice." (Social justice is a term widely used around the world to describe a kind of justice that goes beyond the individual, seeking justice for society as a whole. Advocates of social justice are likely to believe in an egalitarian society and support for poor and oppressed people.) That impulse helped create the rise of what became known as the "Social Gospel." By the early twentieth century, it had become a powerful movement within American Protestantism (and, to a lesser extent, within American Catholicism and Judaism). It was chiefly concerned with redeeming the nation's cities. The Salvation Army, which began in England but soon spread to the United States, was one example of the fusion of religion with reform. A Christian social welfare organization with a vaguely military structure, by 1900 it had recruited 3,000 "officers" and 20,000 "privates" and was offering both material aid and spiritual service to the urban poor. In addition, many ministers, priests, and rabbis left traditional parish work to serve in the troubled cities. Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps* (1898), the story of a young minister who abandoned a comfortable post to work among the needy, sold more than 15 million copies. It was one of the most successful novels of the era. Walter Rauschenbusch, a Protestant theologian from Rochester, New York, published a series of influential discourses on the possibilities for human salvation through Christian reform. To him, the message of Darwinism was not ■■■■ the survival of the fittest. He believed. Father John Ryan rather, that all individuals should work to ensure a humanitarian evolution of the social fabric. Some American Catholics seized on the 1893 publication of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (New Things) as justification for their own crusade for social justice. Catholic liberals such as Father John A. Ryan took to heart the pope's warning that "a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." For decades, he worked to expand the scope of Catholic social welfare organizations. The Settlement House Movement An element of much progressive thought was the belief in the influence of the environment on individual development.

Social Darwinists such as William Graham Sumner had argued that people's fortunes reflected their inherent "fitness" for survival. Progressive theorists disagreed. Ignorance, poverty, even criminality, they argued, were not the result of inherent genetic failings or of the workings of providence; they were, rather, the effects of an unhealthy environment. To elevate the distressed, therefore, required an improvement of the conditions in which they lived. Nothing produced more distress, many urban reformers believed, than crowded immigrant neighborhoods, which publicists such as Jacob Riis were exposing through vivid photographs and lurid descriptions. One Jane Addams response to the problems of such communities, borrowed from England, was the settlement house. The most famous, and

554 CHAPTER 20 "THE BOSSES OF THE SENATE" (1889),  
BY JOSEPH KEPPLER Keppler was a popular political cartoonist of the late nineteenth century who shared the growing concern about the power of the trusts— portrayed here as bloated, almost reptilian figures standing menacingly over the members of the U.S. Senate, to whose chamber the "people's entrance" is "closed." (© The Granger Collection, New York) one of the first, was Hull House, which opened in 1889 in Chicago as a result of the efforts of the social worker Jane Addams. It became a model for more than 400 similar institutions throughout the nation. Staffed by members of the educated middle class, settlement houses sought to help immigrant families adapt to the language and customs of their new country. Settlement houses avoided the condescension and moral disapproval of earlier philanthropic efforts. But they generally embraced a belief that middle-class Americans had a responsibility to impart their own values to immigrants and to teach them how to create middle-class lifestyles. Young college women (mostly unmarried) were important participants in the settlement house movement. Working in a settlement house, which was a protected site that served mostly women, was consistent with the widespread assumption that women needed to be sheltered from difficult environments. The clean and well-tended buildings that settlement houses created were not only a model for immigrant women, but an appropriate site for elite women as well. The settlement houses helped create another important element of progressive reform: the profession of social work. Workers at Hull House, for example, maintained a close relationship with the University of Chicago's pioneering work in the field of sociology. A growing number of programs for the professional training of social workers began to appear in the nation's leading universities, partly in response to the activities of the settlements. The Allure of Expertise As the emergence of the social work profession suggests, progressives involved in humanitarian efforts placed a high value on knowledge and expertise. Even nonscientific problems, they believed, could be analyzed and solved scientifically. Many reformers came to believe that only enlightened experts and well-designed bureaucracies could create the stability and order America needed. Some reformers even spoke of the creation of a new civilization, in which the expertise of scientists and engineers could be brought to bear on

the problems of the economy and society. The social scientist Thorstein Veblen, for example, proposed a new economic system in which power would reside in the hands of highly trained engineers. Only they, he argued, could fully understand the "machine process" by which modern society must be governed.



The Professions THE PROGRESSIVES 555 The late nineteenth century saw a dramatic expansion in the number of Americans engaged in administrative and professional tasks. Industries needed managers, technicians, and accountants as well as workers. Cities required commercial, medical, legal, and educational services. New technology required scientists and engineers, who, in turn, required institutions and instructors to train them. By the turn of the century, those performing these services had come to constitute a distinct social group-what some historians have called a new middle class. The new middle class placed a high value on education and individual accomplishment. By the early twentieth century, its millions of members were building organizations and establishing standards to secure their position in society. The idea of professionalism had been a frail one in America even as late as 1880. When every patent-medicine salesman could claim to be a doctor, when every frustrated politician could set up shop as a lawyer, when anyone who could read and write could pose as a teacher, a professional label by itself carried little weight. There were, of course, skilled and responsible doctors, lawyers, teachers, and others; but they had no way of controlling or distinguishing themselves clearly from the amateurs, charlatans, and incompetents who presumed to practice their trades. As the demand for professional services increased, so did the pressures for reform. Among the first to respond was the medical profession. In 1901, doctors who considered themselves trained professionals reorganized the American Medical Association into a national professional society. By Association 1920, nearly two-thirds of all American doctors were members. The AMA quickly called for strict, scientific standards for admission to the practice of medicine, with doctors themselves serving as protectors of the standards. State governments responded by passing new laws requiring the licensing of all physicians. By 1900, medical education at a few medical schools-notably Johns Hopkins in Baltimore (founded in 1893)-compared favorably with that in the leading institutions of Europe. Doctors such as William H. Welch at Hopkins revolutionized the teaching of medicine by moving students out of the classrooms and into laboratories and clinics. There was similar movement in other professions. By 1916, lawyers in all forty-eight states had established professional bar

associations. The nation's law schools accordingly expanded greatly. Businessmen supported the creation of schools of business administration and created their own national organizations: the National Association of Manufacturers in 1895 and the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1912. Even farmers, long the symbol of National the romantic spirit of individualism, responded to the new order by forming, through the National Farm Bureau Association of Manufacturers THE INFANT WELFARE SOCIETY, CHICAGO The Infant Welfare Society was one of many "helping" organizations in Chicago and other large cities— many of them closely tied to the settlement houses— that strove to help immigrants adapt to American life and create safe and healthy living conditions. Here, a volunteer helps an immigrant mother learn to bathe her baby. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-npcc-33267)) Federation, a network of agricultural organizations designed to spread scientific farming methods. While removing the untrained and incompetent, the admission requirements also protected those already in the professions from excessive competition and lent prestige and status to their trades. Some professionals used their entrance requirements to exclude blacks, women, immigrants, and other "undesirables" from their ranks. Others used them simply to keep the numbers down, to ensure that demand would remain high. Women and the Professions Both by custom and by active barriers of law and prejudice, American women found themselves excluded from most of the emerging professions. But a substantial number of middle-class women— particularly those emerging from the new women's colleges and coeducational state universities—entered professional careers nevertheless. A few women managed to establish themselves as physicians, lawyers, engineers, scientists, and corporate managers in , the early 1900s. Several leading medical FemaleDominated schools admitted women, and in 1900 Professions about 5 percent of all American physicians . were female (a proportion that remained unchanged until the 1960s). Most, however, turned by necessity to those "helping" professions that society considered vaguely domestic and thus suitable for women: settlement houses, social work, and most important, teaching. Indeed, in the late nineteenth century, more than two-thirds of all grammar school teachers were women, and perhaps 90 percent of all



1905-1911. Mother's Room.

Infant Welfare  
Chicago



DEBATING THE PAST Progressivism ¥ I M rn ¥ ¥ the early 1950s, most historians generally agreed on the central characteristics U IN 1 1 Jj of progressivism. It was just what progressives themselves said it was: a movement by the "people" to curb the power of the "special interests." George Mowry challenged this traditional view in *The Californio Progressives* (1951). He described the reform movement in California not as a people's protest, but, rather, as an effort by a small and privileged group of business and professional men to limit the power of large new corporations and labor unions. Richard Hofstadter expanded on this idea in *The Age of Reform* (1955), describing progressives throughout the country as people suffering from "status anxiety"—old, formerly influential, upper-middle-class families seeking to restore their fading prestige by challenging the powerful new institutions that had begun to displace them. The Mowry-Hofstadter thesis provoked new challenges and new interpretations of the meaning of progressivism. Gabriel Kolko, in *The Triumph of Conservatism* (1963), rejected the MowryHofstadter idea that progressivism represented the efforts of a displaced elite. Progressivism, he argued, was an effort to regulate business undertaken, not by the "people" or "displaced elites," but by corporate leaders, who saw in government supervision a way to protect themselves from competition. Martin Sklar's *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism* (1988) is a more sophisticated version of a similar argument. A more moderate challenge to the "psychological" interpretation of progressivism came from historians embracing a new "organizational" view of history. In *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (1967), Robert Wiebe presented progressivism as a response to dislocations in American life brought on by rapid changes in the economy. Economic power had moved to large, national organizations, while social and political life remained centered primarily in local communities. The result was widespread disorder and unrest. Progressivism, Wiebe argued, was the effort of a "new middle class"—a class tied to the emerging national economy—to stabilize and enhance their position in society by creating national institutions suitable for the new national economy. Some historians continued to argue that progressivism was a movement of the people against the special interests. J. Joseph Huthmacher argued in 1962 that much of the

force behind progressivism came from members of the working class, especially immigrants, who pressed for such reforms as workmen's compensation and wage and hour laws. John Bunker, in *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (1973), claimed that political machines and urban "bosses" were important sources of reform energy and helped create twentieth-century liberalism. Other historians writing in the 1970s and 1980s attempted to link reform to some of the broad processes of political change that had created the public battles of the era. Richard L. McCormick's *From Realignment to Reform* (1981), a study of political change in New York State, argued that the crucial change in this era was the decline of the political parties and the rise of interest groups working for particular social and economic goals. Many historians see progressivism as rooted in gender and have focused on the role of women (and the vast network of voluntary associations they created) in shaping and promoting progressive reform. Historians Kathryn Sklar, Linda Gordon, Ruth Rosen, and Elaine Tyler May, among others, argued that some progressive battles were part of an effort by women to protect their interests within the domestic sphere in the face of jarring challenges from the new industrial world. This protective urge drew women reformers to such issues as temperance, divorce, prostitution, and the regulation of female and child labor. Other women worked to expand their own roles professional women were teachers. For educated black women, in particular, the existence of segregated schools in the South created a substantial market for African American teachers. Women also dominated other professional activities. Nursing had become primarily a women's field during and after the Civil War. By the early twentieth century, it was adopting professional standards. And many women entered academia-often receiving advanced degrees at such predominantly male institutions as the University of Chicago, MIT, or Columbia, and finding professional opportunities in the new and expanding women's colleges.

**WOMEN AND REFORM** The prominence of women in reform movements is one of the most striking features of progressivism. In most states in the early twentieth century, women could not vote. They almost never held public office. They had footholds in only a few (and usually primarily female) professions and lived in a culture in which most people, male and female, believed that women were not suited for the public world. What, then, explains Key Role of Women in

Reform Causes ..... the prominent role so many women played in the reform activities of the period? The "New Woman" The phenomenon of the "new woman," widely remarked upon at the time, was a product of social and economic changes that affected the private world as Socioeconomic t t U1. .r , ,, rrrw T \_ much as the public one, even if such Origins of the f New Woman changes affected mostly middle-class peo. pie. By the end of the nineteenth century, almost all income-producing activity had moved out of the home and into the factory or the office. At the same time. 556 imimiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

Other historians have sought to place progressivism in a broader context. Daniel Rodgers's *Atlantic Crossings* (1998) is a study of how European reforms influenced American progressives. Both Michael McGerr, in *A Fierce Discontent* (2003), and Alan Dawley, in *Changing the World* (2003), have characterized progressivism as a fundamentally moral undertaking. McGerr viewed it as an effort by the middle class to create order and stability, whereas Dawley saw it as an effort by groups on the left to attack social injustice. Given the range of disagreement over the nature of the progressive movement, it is hardly surprising that some historians have despaired of finding any coherent definition for the term. Peter Filene, for one, suggested in 1970 that the concept of progressivism as a "movement" had outlived its usefulness. But Daniel Rodgers, in an important 1982 article, "In Search of Progressivism," disagreed. The very diversity of progressivism, he argued, accounted both for its enormous impact on its time and for its capacity to reveal to us today the "noise and tumult" of an age of rapid social change.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What is the "psychological" interpretation of how people became progressives?
2. What is the gendered view of progressive reform advanced by historians?
3. Was progressivism a "people's" movement?

(© Private Collection/ The Bridgeman Art Library)

dr mu I on the Enezayr Works in the public world. Progressivism cannot be understood, historians of women contend, without understanding the role of women and the importance of issues involving the family and the private world within it. children were beginning school at earlier ages and spending more time there. For many wives and mothers who did not work for wages, the home was no longer an all-consuming place. Technological innovations such as running water, electricity, and eventually household appliances made housework less onerous (even if higher standards of cleanliness counterbalanced many of these gains). Declining family size also changed the lives of many women. Middle-class white women in the late nineteenth century had fewer children than their mothers and grandmothers had borne. They also lived longer. Many women thus now spent fewer years with young children in the home and lived more years after their children were grown. Some educated women shunned marriage, believing that only by remaining single could they play the roles

they envisioned in the public world. Single women were among the most prominent female reformers of the time: Jane Addams and Lillian Wald in the settlement house movement. Frances Willard in the temperance movement, Anna Howard Shaw in the suffrage movement, and many others. Some of these women lived alone. Others lived with other "Boston women, often in long-term relationshipsMarriages" some of them quietly romantic-that . were known at the time as "Boston marriages." The divorce rate also rose rapidly in the late nineteenth century, from one divorce for every twenty-one marriages in 1880 to one in nine by 1916; women initiated the majority of them. The Clubwomen Among the most visible signs of the increasing public roles of women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the women's clubs, which proliferated rapidly beginning in the 1880s and 1890s and became the vanguard of many important reforms. . 557



PUBLISHED BY CURRIER & IVES,

ORIGINAL ARTWORK BY JAMES J. FLEMING, 1870. COPY BY JAMES J. FLEMING, 1870. COPY BY JAMES J. FLEMING, 1870. COPY BY JAMES J. FLEMING, 1870. COPY BY JAMES J. FLEMING, 1870.

110 NASSAU ST. NEW YORK.

558 CHAPTER 20 The women's clubs began largely as cultural organizations to provide middle- and upper-class women with an outlet for their intellectual energies. In 1892, when women formed the GFWC General Federation of Women's Clubs to coordinate the activities of local organizations, there were more than 100,000 members in nearly 500 clubs. By 1917, there were over 1 million. By the early twentieth century, the clubs were becoming less concerned with cultural activities and more concerned with contributing to social betterment. Because many club members were from wealthy families, some organizations had substantial funds at their disposal to make their influence felt. And ironically, because women could not vote, the clubs had a nonpartisan image that made them difficult for politicians to dismiss. Black women occasionally joined clubs dominated by whites. But most such clubs excluded blacks, and so African Americans formed clubs of their own. Some of them affiliated with the General Federation, but most became part of the independent National Association of Colored Women. Some black clubs also took positions on issues of particular concern to African Americans, such as lynching and aspects of segregation. The women's club movement seldom raised overt challenges to prevailing assumptions about the proper role of women in society. Few clubwomen were willing to accept the arguments of public-spirited feminists as Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who in her 1898 book *Women and Economics*, argued that the traditional definition of gender roles was exploitive and obsolete. Instead, the club movement allowed women to define a space for themselves in the public world without openly challenging the existing, male-dominated order. Much of what the clubs did was uncontroversial: planting trees; supporting schools, libraries, and settlement houses; building hospitals and parks. But clubwomen were also an important force in winning passage of state (and ultimately federal) laws that regulated the conditions of woman and child labor, established government inspection of factories, and so on. ■

ftk&ttrf! Hifyvr A.F'IWv\*\*\* Dt- %u LukLttf\* , 3\*- t\\*fr\*\* W.AAltU t SHI •mvj'fcP.ijjuuL. IM Mtt-fc \*\* jrf /-I ^4 . JLabn £ \* THE COLORED WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF WASHINGTON, D.C. The women's club movement spread widely through American life and

produced a number of organizations through which African American women gathered to improve social and political conditions. The Colored Women's League of Washington, D.C., members of which appear in this 1894 photograph, was founded in 1892 by Sara Fleetwood, a registered nurse who was the wife of Christian Fleetwood, one of the first African American soldiers to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroism in the Civil War. The league she founded was committed to "racial uplift," and it consisted mostly of teachers, who created nurseries for the infants of women who worked and evening schools for adults. Members of the League are shown here gathered on the steps of Frederick Douglass's home on Capitol Hill. Sara Fleetwood is in the second row on the far right. (The Library of Congress)





THE PROGRESSIVES 559 of workplaces, regulated the food and drug Industries, reformed policies toward the Indian tribes, applied new standards to urban housing, and, perhaps most notably, outlawed the manufacture and sale of alcohol. They were instrumental in pressuring state legislatures in most states to provide "mother's pensions" to widowed or abandoned mothers with small children-a system that ultimately became absorbed into the Social Security system. In 1912, they pressured Congress into establishing the Children's Bureau in the Labor Department, an agency directed to develop policies to protect children. In many of these efforts, the clubwomen formed alliances with other women's groups, such as the Women's Trade Union Women's League (WTUL), founded in 1903 by feTrade Union tnale union members and upper-class reLeague formers. It was committed to persuading women to join unions. In addition to working on behalf of protective legislation for women, WTUL members held public meetings on behalf of female workers, raised money to support strikes, marched on picket lines, and bailed striking women out of jail. Woman Suffrage Perhaps the largest single reform movement of the progressive era, indeed one of the largest in American history, was the fight for woman suffrage. It is sometimes difficult for today's Americans to understand why the suffrage issue could have become Radical the source of such enormous controversy. But Challenge of , ~ , r . Women's at <sup>TM</sup> time > suffrage seemed to many of its Suffrage critics a very radical demand, in part because of the rationale some of its early supporters used to advance it. Throughout the late nineteenth century, many suffrage advocates presented their views in terms of "natural rights," arguing that women deserved the same rights as menincluding, first and foremost, the right to vote. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for example, wrote in 1892 of woman as "the arbiter of her own destiny ... if we are to consider her as a citizen, as a member of a great nation, she must have the same rights as all other members." This was an argument that boldly challenged the views of the many men and women who believed that society required a distinctive female "sphere" in which women would serve first and foremost as wives and mothers. And so a powerful antisuffrage movement emerged, dominated by men but with the active support of many women. Opponents railed against the threat suffrage posed to the "natural

order” of civilization. Antisuffragists, many of them women, associated suffrage with divorce (not without some reason, since many suffrage advocates also supported making it easier for women to obtain a divorce). They linked suffrage with promiscuity, immorality, and neglect of children. In the first years of the twentieth century, the suffrage movement began to overcome this opposition and win some substantial victories, in part because suffragists were becoming better organized and more politically sophisticated than their opponents. Under the leadership of Anna Howard Shaw, a Boston social worker, and Carrie Chapman Catt, a journalist from Iowa, membership in the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) grew from about 13,000 in 1893 to over 2 million in 1917. The movement gained strength because many of its most prominent leaders began to justify suffrage in "safer," less threatening ways. Suffrage, some supporters began to argue, would not challenge the "separate sphere" in which women resided. It was, they claimed, precisely because women occupied

NAWSA iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii SHIRTWAIST WORKERS ON STRIKE The Women's Trade Union League was notable for bringing educated, middleclass women together with workers in efforts to improve factory and labor conditions. These picketing women are workers in the "Ladies Tailors" garment factory in New York. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ggbain-04507))



560 CHAPTER 20 SUFFRAGE PAGEANT, 1913 On March 3, 1913—the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration as president— more than 5,000 supporters of woman suffrage staged a parade in Washington, D.C., that overshadowed Wilson's own arrival there. Crowds estimated at over half a million watched the parade, not all of them admirers of the woman suffrage movement, and some of the onlookers attacked the marchers. The police did nothing to stop the attacks. This photograph depicts a suffragist, Florence Noyes, costumed as Liberty, posing in front of the U.S. Treasury Building, part of a pageant accompanying the parade. Woman suffrage was one of the most important and impassioned reform movements of the progressive era. (The Library of Congress)

a distinct sphere—because as mothers and wives and homemakers they had special experiences and special sensitivities to bring to public life—that woman suffrage could make such an important contribution to politics. In particular, many suffragists argued that enfranchising women would help the temperance movement, by giving its largest group of supporters a political voice. Some suffrage advocates claimed that once women had the vote, war would become a thing of the past, since women would—by their calming, maternal influence—help curb the belligerence of men. That was one reason why World War I gave a final, decisive push to the movement for suffrage. Suffrage also attracted support for other, less optimistic reasons. Many middle-class people found

perCONSERVATIVE, r, .r . . , Arguments suasive the argument that if blacks, for Suffrage immigrants, and other "base" groups had access to the franchise, then it was a matter not only of justice but of common sense to allow educated, "well-born" women to vote. The principal triumphs of the suffrage movement began in 1910, when Washington became the first state in four Nineteenth teen years to extend suffrage to women. Amendment California followed a year later, and four other western states in 1912. In 1913, Illinois became the first state east of the Mississippi to embrace woman suffrage. And in 1917 and 1918, New York and Michigan—two of the most populous states in the Union—gave women the vote. By 1919, thirty-nine states had granted women the right to vote in at least some elections; fifteen had allowed them full participation. In 1920, finally, suffragists won ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which guaranteed political rights to women throughout the nation.

To some feminists, however, the victory seemed less than complete. Alice Paul, head of the militant National Woman's Party (founded in 1916), never accepted the relatively conservative "separate sphere" justification for suffrage. She argued that the Nineteenth Amendment alone would not be sufficient to protect women's rights. Women needed more: a constitutional amendment that would provide clear, legal protection for their rights and would prohibit all discrimination on the basis of sex. But Alice Paul's argument found limited favor even among many of the most important leaders of the recently triumphant suffrage crusade. THE ASSAULT ON THE PARTIES Sooner or later, most progressive goals required the involvement of government. Only government, reformers agreed, could effectively counter the many powerful private interests that threatened the nation. But American government at the dawn of the new century was, progressives believed, poorly Reforming adapted to perform their ambitious tasks. At Government every level, political institutions were outmoded, inefficient, and corrupt. Before progressives could reform society effectively, they would have to reform government itself. Many reformers believed the first step must be an assault on the dominant role the political parties played in the life of the state. Early Attacks Attacks on party dominance had been frequent in the late nineteenth century. Greenbackism and Populism, for example, had been efforts to break the hammerlock with which the Republicans and Democrats controlled public life. The Independent Republicans (or mugwumps) had also attempted to challenge the grip of partisanship.



THE PROGRESSIVES 561 These early assaults enjoyed some success. In the 1880s and 1890s, for example, most states adopted the secret ballot. Prior to that, the political parties themselves had printed ballots (or "tickets"), with the names of the party's candidates, and no others. They distributed the tickets to their supporters, who then simply went to the polls to deposit them in the ballot box. The old system had made it possible for bosses to monitor the voting behavior of their constituents; it had also made it difficult for voters to "split" their tickets-to vote for candidates of different parties for different offices. The new secret ballot-printed by the government and distributed at the polls to be filled out and deposited in secret-helped chip away at the power of the parties over voters.

**Municipal Reform** Many progressives, such as Lincoln Steffens, believed the impact of party rule was most damaging in the cities. Municipal government therefore became one of the first targets of those working for political reform. The muckrakers struck a responsive chord among a powerful group of urban, middle-class progressives. For several decades after the Civil War, "respectable" citizens of the nation's large cities had avoided participation in municipal government. Viewing politics as a debased and demeaning activity, they shrank from contact with the "vulgar" eleMiddle-Class ments who were coming to dominate Progressives public life. By the end of the century, were replaced by an elected, nonpartisan commission. In 1907, Des Moines, Iowa, adopted its own version of the commission plan, and other cities followed.

Another approach to municipal reform was the city-manager plan, by which elected officials hired an outside expert-often a professionally trained business manager or engineer-to take City-Manager charge of the city Sovemment- The city Plan manager would presumably remain untainted by the corrupting influence of politics. By the end of the progressive era in the early 1920s, almost 400 cities were operating under commissions, and another 45 employed city managers. In most urban areas, the enemies of partnership had to settle for less absolute victories. Some cities made the election of mayors nonpartisan (so that the parties could not choose the candidates) or moved them to years when no presidential or congressional races were in progress (to reduce the influence of the large turnouts that party organizations produced). Reformers tried to make city councilors run at large, to limit the

influence of ward leaders and district bosses. They tried to strengthen the power of the mayor at the expense of the city council, on the assumption that reformers were more likely to succeed in getting a sympathetic mayor elected than they were to win control of the entire council. Some of the most successful reformers emerged from conventional political structures that progressives came to control.

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii however, a new generation of activists-some of them members of old aristocratic families, others a part of the new middle class-were taking a growing interest in government. These activists faced a formidable array of opponents. In addition to challenging the powerful city bosses and their entrenched political organizations, they were attacking a large group of special interests: saloon owners, brothel keepers, and, perhaps most significantly, those businessmen who had established lucrative relationships with the urban political machines and who viewed reform as a threat to their profits. Finally, there was the great constituency of urban working people, many of them recent immigrants, to whom the machines were a source of needed jobs and services. Gradually, however, the reformers gained in political strength. New Forms of Governance One of the first major successes came in Galveston, Texas, where the old city government proved unable to deal with the effects of a destructive tidal wave in 1900. Commission Plan iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii Capitalizing on public dismay, reformers, many of them local businessmen, won approval of a new city charter. The mayor and council TOM JOHNSON As sentiment for municipal reform grew in intensity in the late nineteenth century, it became possible for progressive mayors committed to ending "boss rule" to win election over machine candidates in some of America's largest cities. One of the most prominent was Tom Johnson, the reform mayor of Cleveland. Johnson made a fortune in the steel and streetcar business and then entered politics, partly as a result of reading Henry George's Poverty and Progress. He became mayor in 1901 and in his four terms waged strenuous battles against party bosses and corporate interests. He won many fights, but he lost what he considered his most important one: the struggle for municipal ownership of public utilities. (© Western Reserve Historical Society)





AMERICA IN THE WORLD Social Democracy ■ p jrr it ir  
jin energy, enthusiasm, and organization drove the reform efC IN XI  
1V1 VJ U u forts in America in the late nineteenth and early  
twentieth centuries, much of it a result of social crises and political  
movements in the United States. But the "age of reform," as some  
scholars have called it, was not just an American phenomenon. It  
was part of a wave of social experimentation that was occurring  
through much of the industrial world. Several industrializing  
nations— the United States, Britain, Germany, and France—  
adopted the term "progressivism" for their efforts, but the term that  
most broadly defined the new reform energies was "social  
democracy." Social democrats in many countries shared a belief in  
the betterment of society, not through religion or inherited  
ideology, but through the accumulation of knowledge. They favored  
improving the social condition of all people through economic  
reforms and government programs of social protection. And they  
believed that these changes could come through peaceful political  
change, rather than through radicalism or revolution. Political  
parties committed to these goals emerged in several countries: the  
Labour Party in Britain, Social Democratic parties in various  
European nations, and the short-lived Progressive Party in the  
United States. Intellectuals, academics, and government officials  
across the world shared the knowledge they were accumulating and  
observed social programs. An important moment in the growth of  
social democracy were the many Paris expositions of 1889 and  
1900. Their symbol was the famous Eiffel Tower, and their meaning  
for many progressives was the possibilities of progress through  
industrial innovation. Not only tourists, but progressive experts as  
well, visited the Paris expositions; and they held meetings while  
they were there to share their visions of the future. At the turn of  
the century, American reformers visited Germany, France, Britain,  
Belgium, and the Netherlands, observing the reforms in progress  
there, while European reformers visited the United States.  
Reformers from both the United States and Europe were also  
fascinated by the advanced social experiments in Australia and,  
especially, New Zealand— which the American reformer Henry  
Demarest Lloyd once called "the political brain of the modern  
world." New Zealand's dramatic experiments in factory regulation,  
woman suffrage, old-age pensions, progressive taxation, and labor

arbitration gradually found counterparts in many other nations. William Allen White, a progressive journalist from Kansas, said of this time: "We were parts of one another, in the United States and Europe. Something was welding us into one social and economic whole with local political variations . . . [all] fighting a common cause." (© Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library) Social democracy— or, as it was sometimes called in the United States and elsewhere, social justice or the Social Gospel— was responsible for many public programs. Germany began a system of social insurance for its citizens in the 1880s while undertaking a massive Tom Johnson, the celebrated reform mayor of Cleveland, waged Tom Johnson a lon£ war aSainst the powerful streetcar . Interests in his city, fighting to lower streetcar fares to 3 cents, and ultimately to impose municipal ownership on certain basic utilities. After Johnson's defeat and death, his talented aide Newton D. Baker won election as mayor and helped maintain Cleveland's reputation as the best-governed city in America. Hazen Pingree of Detroit, Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo, and other mayors effectively challenged local party bosses to bring the spirit of reform into city government. Statehouse Progressivism The assault on boss rule in the cities did not, however, always produce results. Consequently, many progressives turned to state government as an agent for reform. They looked with particular scorn on state legislatures, whose ill-paid, undistinguished members, they believed, were generally incompetent, often corrupt, and totally controlled by party bosses. Reformers 562 . began looking for ways to circumvent the boss-controlled legislatures by increasing the power of the electorate. Two of the most important changes were innovations first proposed by Populists in the 1890s: the initiative and the T referendum. The initiative allowed reformInitiative and Referendum ers t0 circumvent state legislatures by . submitting new legislation directly to the voters in general elections. The referendum provided a method by which actions of the legislature could be returned to the electorate for approval. By 1918, more than twenty states had enacted one or both of these reforms. Similarly, the direct primary and the recall were efforts to limit the power of party and improve the quality of elected Direct officials. The primary election was an atPrimary and tempt to take the selection of candidates Recall away from the bosses and give it to the peoI Mill Mill II III II Mill II Mill Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill II 1/1 1 1 rr pie. (In the South, it

was also an effort to limit black voting-since primary voting, many white southerners believed, would be easier to control than general elections.) The iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

THE PROGRESSIVES 563 study of society that produced more than 140 volumes of "social investigation" of almost every aspect of the nation's life. French reformers pressed in the 1890s for factory regulation, assistance to the elderly, and progressive taxation. Britain pioneered the settlement houses in working-class areas of London— a movement that soon spread to the United States as well— and, like the United States, witnessed growing challenges to the power of monopolies at both the local and national level. In many countries, social democrats felt pressure from the rising worldwide labor movement and from the rise of socialist parties in many industrial countries. Strikes, sometimes violent, were common in France, Germany, Britain, and the United States in the late nineteenth century. The more militant workers became, the more unions grew. Social democrats did not always welcome the rise of militant labor movements, but they took them seriously and tried to use them to support their own reform efforts. The politics of social democracy represented a great shift in the character of public life all over the industrial world. Instead of battles over the privileges of aristocrats or the power of monarchs, reformers now focused on the social problems of ordinary people and attempted to improve their lot. "The politics of the future are social politics," the British reformer Joseph Chamberlain said in the 1880s, referring to efforts to deal with the problems of ordinary citizens. That belief was fueling progressive efforts across the world in the years that Americans have come to call the "progressive era."

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What is social democracy? How does it differ from socialism? 2. What progressive era reforms in American social and political life can be seen in other nations as well? 3. Social democratic political parties continue to exist in many countries throughout the world. Why was the Progressive Party in the United States so short-lived? recall gave voters the right to remove a public official from office at a special election, which could be called after a sufficient number of citizens had signed a petition. By 1915, every state in the nation had instituted primary elections for at least some offices. The recall encountered more strenuous opposition, but a few states (such as California) adopted it as well. Other reform measures attempted to clean up the legislatures themselves. Between 1903 and 1908, twelve states passed laws restricting lobbying by business interests

in state legislatures. In those same years, twenty-two states banned campaign contributions by corporations, and twenty-four states forbade public officials to accept free passes from railroads. Many states also struggled successfully to create systems of workmen's compensation for workers injured on the job. And starting in 1911, reformers successfully created pensions for widows with dependent children. Reform efforts proved most effective in states that elevated vigorous and committed politicians to positions of leadership. In New York, Governor Charles Evans Hughes exploited progressive sentiment to create a commission to regulate public utilities. In California, Governor Hiram Johnson limited the political power of the Southern Pacific Railroad. In New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson, the Princeton University president elected governor in 1910, used executive leadership to win reforms designed to end New Jersey's widely denounced position as the "mother of trusts." The most celebrated state-level reformer was Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin. Elected governor in 1900, he helped Robert La Follette State what reformers across the nation described as a "laboratory of progressivism." Under his leadership the Wisconsin progressives won approval of direct primaries, initiatives, and referendums. They regulated railroads and utilities. They passed laws to regulate the workplace and provide compensation for laborers injured on the job. They instituted graduated taxes on inherited fortunes, and they nearly doubled state levies on railroads and other corporate interests. La Follette used his personal magnetism to widen public awareness of progressive goals. Reform was the responsibility not simply of politicians, he argued, but of newspapers, citizens' groups, educational institutions, and business and professional organizations as well. Parties and Interest Groups The reformers did not, of course, eliminate parties from American political life. But they did contribute to a decline in party influence. Evidence of their impact Decline of Party came from, among other things, the decline in voter turnout. In the late nineteenth century, up to 81 percent of eligible voters routinely turned out for national elections because of the ROBERT LA FOLLETTE CAMPAIGNING IN WISCONSIN After three terms as governor of Wisconsin, La Follette began a long career in the U.S. Senate in 1906, during which he worked uncompromisingly for advanced progressive reforms—so uncompromisingly, in fact, that he was often almost completely isolated. He titled a chapter of his

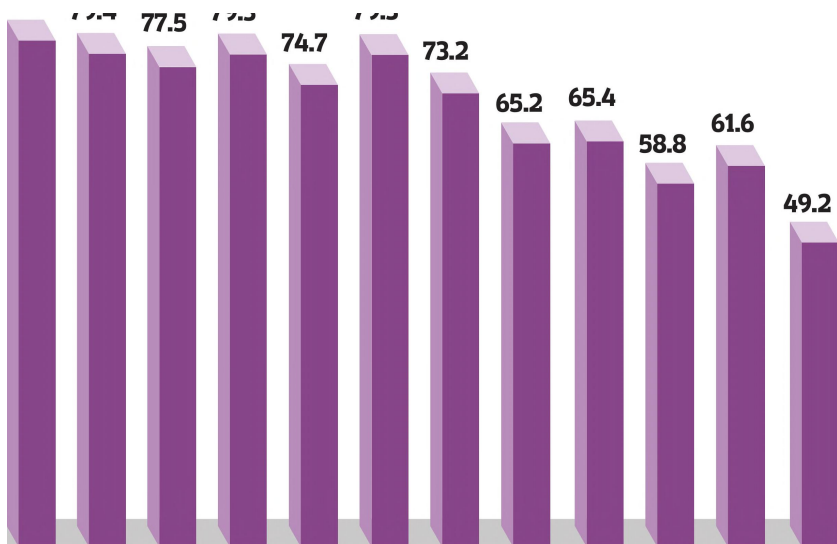
autobiography "Alone in the Senate." La Follette had a greater impact on his own state, whose politics he and his sons dominated for nearly forty years and where he was able to win passage of many reforms that the federal government resisted. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ggbain-06406))

564 CHAPTER 20 strength of party loyalty. In the early twentieth century, while turnout remained high by today's standards, the figure declined markedly as parties grew weaker. In the presidential election of 1900, 73 percent of the electorate voted. By 1912, that figure had declined to about 59 percent. Never again did voter turnout reach as high as 70 percent. Why did voter turnout decline in these years? The secret ballot was one reason. Party bosses had less ability to get voters to the polls. Illiterate voters had trouble reading the new ballots. Party bosses lost much of their authority and were unable to mobilize voters as successfully as they had in the past. But perhaps the most important reason for the decline of party rule (and voter turnout) was that other power centers were beginning to replace them. They have become known as "interest groups." Beginning late in the nineteenth century and accelerating rapidly in the twentieth, new organizations emerged outside the party system: professional organizations, trade associations representing businesses and industries, labor organizations, farm lobbies, and many others. Social workers, the settlement house movement, women's clubs, and others learned to operate as interest groups to advance their demands.

**SOURCES OF PROGRESSIVE REFORM** nation's oldest and most notorious city machine. Its astute leader, Charles Francis Murphy, began in the early years of the century to fuse the techniques of boss rule with some of the concerns of social reformers. Tammany began to use its political power on behalf of legislation to improve working conditions, protect child laborers, and eliminate the worst abuses of the industrial economy. In 1911, a terrible fire swept through the factory of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City; 146 workers. Triangle most of them women, died. Many of them Shirtwaist had been trapped inside the burning building because management had locked the emergency exits to prevent malingering. For the next three years, a state commission studied not only the background of the fire but also the general condition of the industrial workplace. It was responding to intense public pressure from women's groups and New York City labor unions-and to quiet pressure from Tammany Hall. By 1914, the commission had issued a series of reports calling for major reforms in the conditions of modern labor. The report itself was a classic progressive document, based on the testimony of experts, filled with statistics



and technical data. Yet, when its recommendations reached the New York legislature, its most effective supporters were not middle-class progressives but two Tammany Democrats from working-class backgrounds: Senator Robert F. Wagner and Assemblyman Alfred E. Smith. With the support of Murphy and the backing Percentage 81.8 79.4 Middle-class reformers, most of them from the East, dominated the public image and much of the substance of progressivism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But they were not alone in seeking to improve social conditions. Workingclass Americans, African Americans, westerners, and even party bosses also played crucial roles in advancing some of the important reforms of the era. Labor, the Machine, and Reform Although the American Federation of Labor, and its leader Samuel Gompers, remained largely aloof from many of the reform efforts of the time (reflecting Gompers's firm belief that workers should not rely on government to improve their lot), some unions played important roles in reform battles. Between 1911 and 1913, thanks to political pressure from labor groups such as the newly formed Union Labor Party, California passed a child-labor law, a workmen's compensation law, and a limitation on working hours for women. Union pressures contributed to the passage of similar laws in many other states as well. One result of the assault on the parties was a change in the party organizations themselves, which attempted to adapt to the new realities so as to preserve their influence. They sometimes allowed their machines to become vehicles of social reform. One example was New York City's Tammany Hall, the 79.3 79.3 1876 1880 1884 1888 1892 1896 1900 1904 1908 1912 1916 1920 Year VOTER PARTICIPATION IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1876-1920 One of the striking developments of early-twentieth-century politics was the significant decline in popular participation in politics. This chart shows the steady downward progression of voter turnout in presidential elections from 1876 to 1920. Turnout remained high by modern standards (except for the aberrant election of 1920, in which turnout dropped sharply because women had recently received the vote but had not yet begun to participate in elections in large numbers). But from an average rate of participation of about 79 percent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, turnout dropped to an average of about 65 percent between 1900 and 1916. What were some of the reasons for this decline?



THE PROGRESSIVES 565 of other Tammany legislators, they steered through a series of pioneering labor laws that imposed strict regulations on factory owners and established effective mechanisms for enforcement. Western Progressives The American West produced some of the most notable progressive leaders of the time: Hiram Johnson of California, George Norris of Nebraska, William Borah of Idaho, and others-almost all of whom spent at least some of their political careers in the U.S. Senate. For western states, the most important target of reform energies was not state or local governments, which had relatively little power, but the federal government, which exercised a kind of authority in the West that it had never possessed in the East. That was in part because some of the most important issues to the future of the West required action above the state level. Disputes over water, for example, almost always involved rivers and streams that crossed state lines. The question of which states had the rights to the waters of the Colorado River created a political battle that no state government could resolve; the federal government had to arbitrate. More significant, perhaps, the federal government exercised enormous power over the lands and resources of the western states and provided substantial subsidies to the region in the form of land grants and support for railroad and water projects. Huge areas of the West remained (and still remain) public lands, controlled by Washington-a far greater proportion than in any states east of the Mississippi. Much of the growth of the West was (and continues to be) a result of federally funded dams and water projects. African Americans and Reform One social question that received little attention from white progressives was race. But among African Americans themselves, the progressive era produced some significant challenges to existing racial norms. VICTIMS OF THE TRIANGLE FIRE, 1911 In this bleak photograph, victims of the fire in the factory of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company are laid out on the sidewalk near the building, as police and passersby look up at the scene of the blaze. The tragedy of the Triangle Fire galvanized New York legislators into passing laws to protect women workers. (© The Granger Collection, New York)



566 CHAPTER 20 African Americans faced greater obstacles than any other group in challenging their own oppressed status and seeking reform. Thus it was not surprising, perhaps, that so many embraced the message of Booker T. Washington in the late nineteenth century, to "put down your bucket where you are," to work for immediate self-improvement rather than long-range social change. Not all African Americans, however, were content with this approach. And by the turn of the century a powerful challenge was emerging—a challenge to the philosophy of Washington but, more important, to the entire structure of race relations. The chief spokesman for this new approach was W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois, unlike Washington, had never known slavery. Born in Massachusetts, educated at Fisk University in Nashville and at WEB Du Harvard, he grew to maturity with a more Bois expansive view than Washington of the goals . of his race and the responsibilities of white society to eliminate prejudice and injustice. In *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), he launched an open attack on the philosophy of Washington, accusing him of encouraging white efforts to impose segregation and of limiting the aspirations of his race. "Is it possible and probable," he asked, "that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No." Rather than content themselves with education at the trade and agricultural schools, Du Bois advocated, talented blacks should accept nothing less than a full university education. They should aspire to the professions. They should, above all, fight for their civil rights, not simply wait for them to be granted as a reward for patient striving. In 1905, Du Bois and a group of his supporters met at Niagara Falls—on the Canadian side of the border because no hotel on the American side of the Falls would NAACP have rhem—and launched what became Founded known as the Niagara Movement. Four years . later, after a race riot in Springfield, Illinois, they joined with white progressives sympathetic to their cause to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Whites held most of the offices at first, but Du Bois, its director of publicity and research, was the guiding spirit. In the ensuing years, the new organization led the drive for

equal rights, using as its principal weapon lawsuits in the federal courts. Within less than a decade, the NAACP had begun to win some important victories. In *Guinn v. United States* (1915), the Supreme Court supported its position that the grandfather clause in an Oklahoma law was unconstitutional. (The statute denied the vote to any citizen whose ancestors had not been enfranchised in 1860.) In *Buchanan v. Worley* (1917), the Court struck down a Louisville, Kentucky, law requiring residential segregation. The NAACP established itself, particularly after Booker T. Washington's death in 1915, as one of the nation's leading black organizations, a position it would maintain for many years. Among the many issues that engaged the NAACP and other African American organizations was the phenomenon of lynching in the South. Du Bois was an outspoken critic of lynching and an advocate of a federal law making it illegal (since state courts THE YOUNG W. E. B. DU BOIS This formal photograph of W. E. B. Du Bois was taken in 1899, when he was thirty-one years old and a professor at Atlanta University. He had just published *The Philadelphia Negro*, a classic sociological study of an urban community, which startled many readers with its description of the complex class system among African Americans in the city. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images) in the South routinely refused to prosecute lynchers). But the most determined opponents of lynching were southern women. They included white women such as Jessie Daniel Ames. The most effective crusader was a black woman, Ida Wells Barnett, who worked both on her own (at great personal risk) and with such organizations as the National Association of Colored Women and the Women's Convention of the National Baptist Church to try to discredit lynching and challenge segregation. CRUSADE FOR SOCIAL ORDER AND REFORM Reformers directed many of their energies at the political process. But they also crusaded on behalf of what they considered moral issues. There were campaigns to eliminate alcohol



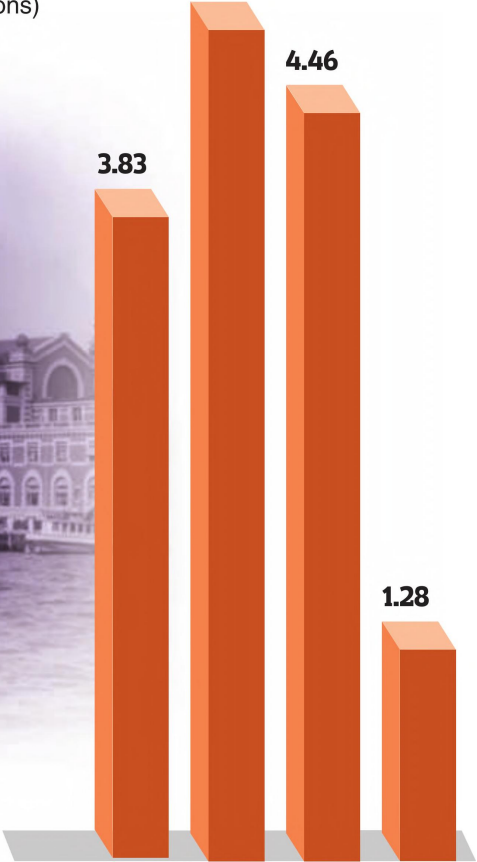
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THE PROGRESSIVES 567 from national life, to curb prostitution, to limit divorce, and to restrict immigration. Proponents of each of those reforms believed that success would help regenerate society as a whole. The Temperance Crusade Many progressives considered the elimination of alcohol from American life a necessary step in restoring order to society. Scarce wages vanished as workers spent hours in the saloons. Drunkenness spawned violence, and occasionally murder, within urban families. Working-class wives and mothers hoped through temperance to reform male behavior and thus improve women's lives. Employers, too, regarded alcohol as an impediment to industrial efficiency; workers often missed time on the job because of drunkenness or came to the factory intoxicated. Critics of economic privilege denounced the liquor industry as one of the nation's most sinister trusts. And political reformers, who (correctly) looked on the saloon as one of the central institutions of the urban machine, saw an attack on drinking as part of an attack on the bosses. Out of such sentiments emerged the temperance movement. Temperance had been a major reform movement before the Civil War, mobilizing large numbers of people in a crude evangelical overtones. In 1833 the movement developed new strength. Temperance advocates formed the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), led after 1879 by Frances Willard. By 1911, it had 245,000 members and had become the single largest women's organization in American history to that point. In 1893, the Anti-Saloon League joined the temperance movement and, along with the WCTU, began to press for a specific legislative solution: the legal abolition of saloons. Gradually, that demand grew to include the complete prohibition of the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages. Despite substantial opposition from immigrant and working-class voters, pressure for prohibition grew steadily through the first decades of the new century. By 1916, nineEighteenth teen states had Passed prohibition laws. Amendment But since the consumption of alcohol was actually increasing in many unregulated areas, temperance advocates were beginning to advocate a national prohibition law. America's entry into World War I, and the moral fervor it unleashed, provided the last push to the advocates of prohibition. In 1917, with the support of rural fundamentalists who opposed alcohol on moral and religious



grounds, progressive advocates of prohibition steered through Congress a constitutional amendment embodying their demands. Two years later, after ratification by every state in the nation except Connecticut and Rhode Island (bastions of Catholic immigrants), the Eighteenth Amendment became law, to take effect in January 1920. Total immigration during 4.96 1901- 1906- 1911- 19161905 1910 1915 1920 TOTAL IMMIGRATION, 1900-1920 Emigration to the United States reached the highest level in the nation's history to that point in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, there was no five-year period when as many as 3 million immigrants arrived in America. In the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, more than 3 million newcomers arrived in every five-year period— and in one of them, as this chart reveals, the number reached almost 5 million. (The Library of Congress (3a38144u)) • Why did the flow of immigrants drop so sharply in the period 19161920? Year

five-year periods (in millions)



568 CHAPTER 20 Immigration Restriction Virtually all reformers agreed that the growing immigrant population had created social problems, but there was wide disagreement on how best to respond. Some progressives believed that the proper approach was to help the new residents adapt to American society. Others argued that efforts at assimilation had failed and that the only solution was to limit the flow of new arrivals. In the first decades of the century, pressure grew to close the nation's gates. New scholarly theories, appealing to the Eugenics and Progressive respect for expertise, argued Nativism that introduction of immigrants into . American society was polluting the nation's racial stock. Among the theories created to support this argument was eugenics, the science of altering the reproductive processes of plants and animals to produce new hybrids or breeds. In the early twentieth century, there was an effort, funded by the Carnegie Foundation, to turn eugenics into a method of altering human reproduction as well. But the eugenics movement when applied to humans was not an effort to "breed" new people, an effort for which no scientific tools existed. It was, rather, an effort to grade races and ethnic groups according to their genetic qualities. Eugenacists advocated the forced sterilization of the mentally retarded, criminals, and others. But they also spread the belief that All others

SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1900-1920 At least as striking as the increase in immigration in the early twentieth century was the change in its sources. In the nineteenth century, the vast majority of immigrants to the United States had come from northern and western Europe (especially Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia). Now, as this chart shows, the major sources were southern and eastern Europe, with over 60 percent coming from Italy, Russia, and the eastern European regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. • What impact did these changing sources have on attitudes toward immigration in the United States? human inequalities were hereditary and that immigration was contributing to the multiplication of the unfit. Skillful publicists such as Madison Grant, whose *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) established him as the nation's most effective nativist, warned of the dangers of racial "mongrelization" and of the importance of protecting the purity of Anglo-Saxon and other Nordic stock from pollution by eastern Europeans, Latin Americans, and Asians. A special federal



THE PROGRESSIVES 569 MAY DAY, 1908 The American Socialist Party staged this vast rally in New York City's Union Square to celebrate May Day in 1908. The Second Socialist International had designated May Day as the official holiday for radical labor in 1899. (© Corbis) communities, particularly among Germans and Jews, it also attracted the loyalties of a substantial number of Protestant farmers in the South and Midwest. Socialists won election to over 1,000 state and local offices. And they had the support at times of such intellectuals as Lincoln Steffens, the crusader against municipal corruption, and Walter Lippmann, the brilliant young Journalist and social critic. Florence Kelley, Frances Willard, and other women reformers were attracted to socialism, too, in part because of its support for pacifism and labor organizing. Virtually all socialists agreed on the need for basic structural changes in the economy, but they differed widely on the extent of those changes and the tactics necessary to achieve them. Some socialists endorsed the radical goals of European Marxists; others envisioned a moderate reform that would allow small-scale private enterprise to survive but would "Wobblies" nationalize major industries. Some believed . in working for reform through electoral politics; others favored militant direct action. Among the militants was the radical labor union the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), known to opponents as the "Wobblies" (a nickname of unknown origin). Under the leadership of William ("Big Bill") Haywood, the IWW advocated a single union for all workers and abolition of the "wage slave" system; it rejected political action in favor of strikes-especially the general strike. The Wobblies were widely believed to have been responsible for the dynamiting of railroad lines and power stations and other acts of terror in the first years of the twentieth century. The IWW was one of the few labor organizations of the time to champion the cause of unskilled workers and had particular strength in the West- where a large group of migratory laborers (miners, timbermen, and others) found it very difficult to organize or sustain conventional unions. In 1917, a strike by IWW timber workers in Washington and Idaho shut down production in the industry. That brought down upon the union the wrath of the federal government, which had just begun mobilizing for war and needed timber for war production. Federal authorities imprisoned the leaders of the union, and state

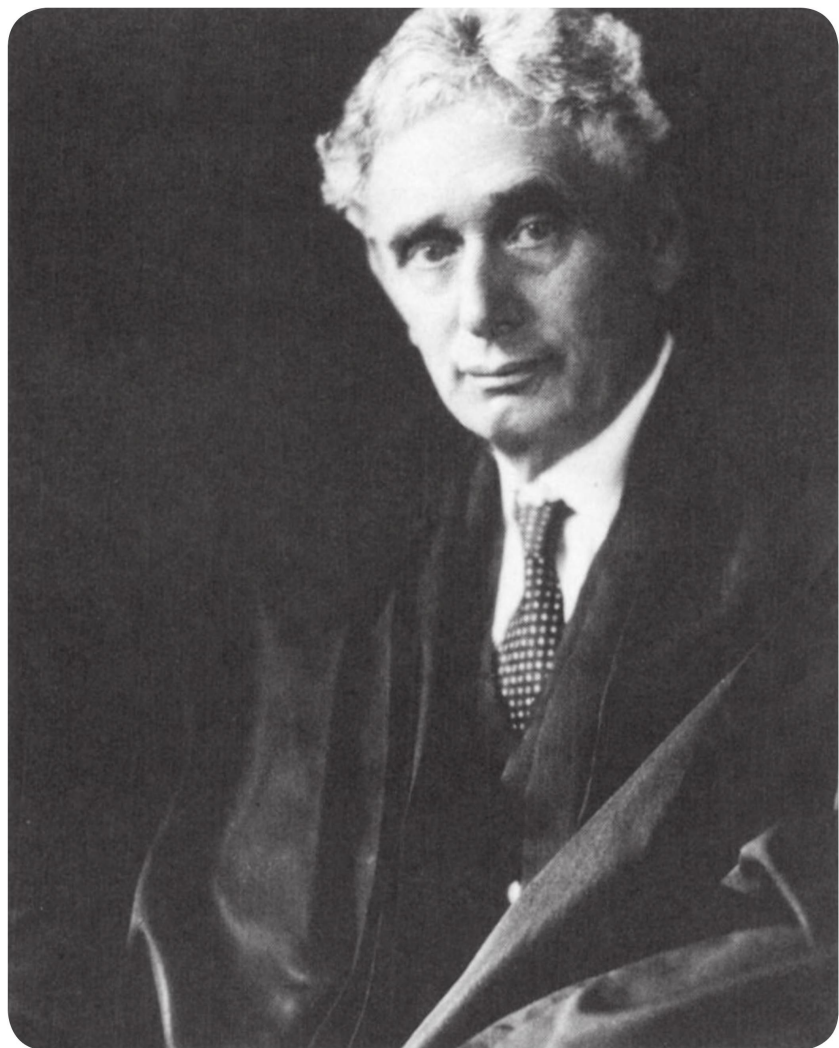
governments between 1917 and 1919 passed a series of laws that outlawed the IWW. The organization survived for a time but never fully recovered.



570 CHAPTER 20 LOUIS BRANDEIS Brandeis graduated from Harvard Law School in 1877 with the best academic record of any student in the school's previous or subsequent history. His success in his Boston law practice was such that by the early twentieth century he was able to spend much of his time in unpaid work for public causes. His investigations of monopoly power soon made him a major figure in the emerging progressive movement. Woodrow Wilson nominated him for the U.S. Supreme Court in January 1916. He was one of the few nominees in the Court's history never to have held prior public office, and he was the first Jew ever to have been nominated. The appointment aroused five months of bitter controversy in the Senate before Brandeis was finally confirmed. For the next twenty years, he was one of the Court's most powerful members— all the while lobbying behind the scenes on behalf of the many political causes (preeminent among them Zionism, the founding of a Jewish state) to which he remained committed. (© Bettmann/Corbis) Moderate socialists who advocated peaceful change through political struggle dominated the Socialist Party. They emphasized a gradual education of the public to Socialism's end, a gradual change and patient efforts within the system to enact it. But World War I dramatically weakened the socialists. They had refused to support the war effort, and a growing wave of antiradicalism subjected them to enormous harassment and persecution. Decentralization and Regulation Most progressives retained a faith in the possibilities of reform within a capitalist system. Rather than nationalize basic industries, many reformers hoped to restore the economy to a "more human" scale. Few envisioned a return to a society of small, local enterprises; some consolidation, they recognized, was inevitable. They did, however, argue that the federal government should work to break up the largest combinations and enforce a balance between the need for bigness and the need for competition. This viewpoint came to be identified particularly closely with Louis D. Brandeis, a brilliant lawyer and later justice of the Supreme Court, who wrote widely (most notably in his 1913 book, *Other People's Money*) about the "curse of bigness." Brandeis and his supporters opposed bigness in part because they considered it inefficient. But their opposition had a moral basis as well. Bigness was a threat not just to Corporate efficiency but to freedom as well. It

Centralization limited the ability of individuals to control their own destinies. It encouraged abuses of power. Government must, Brandeis insisted, regulate competition in such a way as to ensure that large combinations did not emerge. Other progressives were less enthusiastic about the virtues of competition. More important to them was efficiency, which they believed economic concentration encouraged. What government should do, they argued, was not to fight "bigness," "Good but to ^uar^ aRainst abuses of power by Trusts" and large institutions. It should distinguish be "Bad Trusts" tween "good trusts" and "bad trusts," encouraging the good while disciplining the bad. Since economic consolidation was destined to remain a permanent feature of American society, continuing oversight by a strong, modernized government was essential. One of the most influential spokesmen for this emerging "nationalist" position was Herbert Croly, whose 1909 book. The Promise of American Life, became an influential progressive document. Increasingly, the attention of nationalists such as Croly focused on some form of coordination of the industrial economy. Society must act, Walter Lippmann wrote in a notable 1914 book. Drift and Mastery, "to introduce plan where there has been clash, and purpose into the jungles of disordered growth." To some nationalists, that meant businesses themselves learning new ways of cooperation and self-regulation. To others, the solution was for government to play a more active role in regulating and planning economic life. One of those who came to endorse that position (although not fully until after 1910) was Theodore Roosevelt, who once said: "We should enter upon a course of supervision, control, and regulation of those great corporations." Roosevelt became for a time the most powerful symbol of the reform impulse at the national level. THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE MODERN PRESIDENCY "Presidents in general are not lovable," the famous writer and columnist Walter Lippmann, who had known many, said near the end of his life. "They've had to do too much to get where they are. But there was one President who was lovable-Teddy Roosevelt-and I loved him."

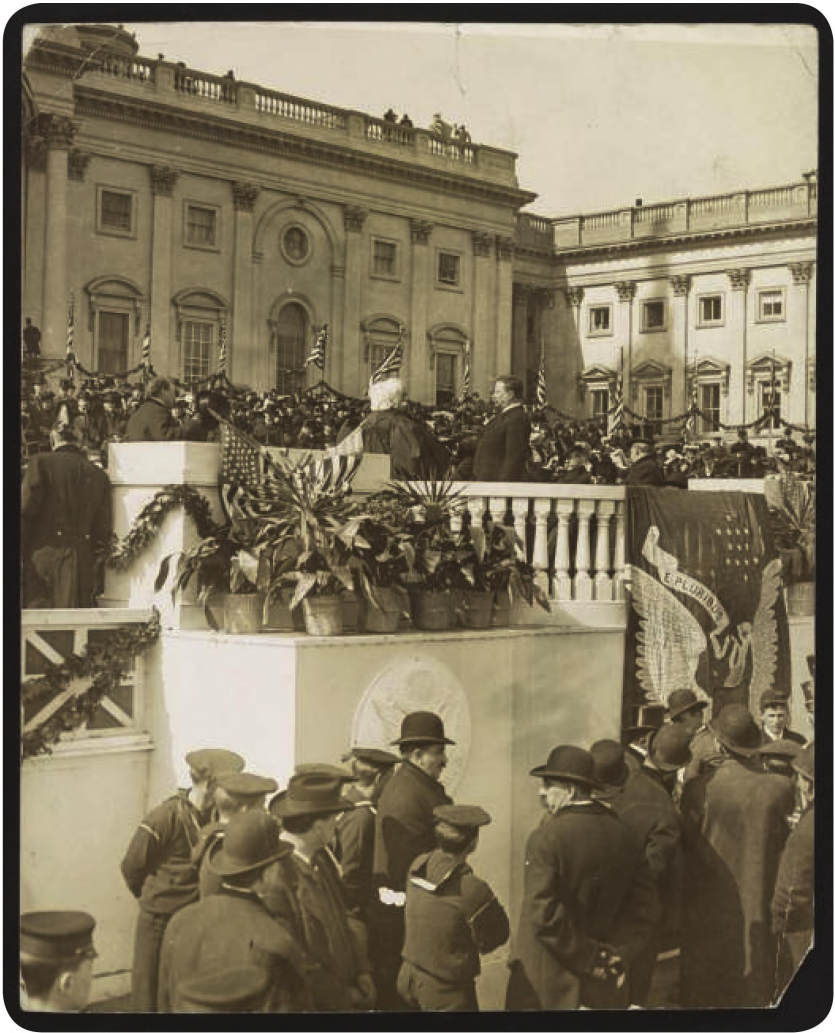




THE PROGRESSIVES • 571 Lippmann was not alone. To a generation of progressive reformers, Theodore Roosevelt was more than an admired public figure; he was an idol. No president before, and few since, had attracted such attention and devotion. Yet, for all his popularity among reformers, Roosevelt was in many respects decidedly conservative. He earned his extraordinary popularity less because of the extent of the reforms he championed than because he brought to his office a broad conception of its powers and invested the presidency with something of its modern status as the center of national political life.

The Accidental President When President William McKinley suddenly died in September 1901, the victim of an assassination, Roosevelt (who had been elected vice president less than a year before) was only forty-two years old, the youngest man ever to assume the presidency. "I told William McKinley that it was a mistake to nominate that wild man at Philadelphia," party boss Mark Hanna was reported to have exclaimed. "Now look, that damned cowboy is President of the United States!" Roosevelt's reputation as a wild man was a result less of the substance of his early political career than of its style. As a young member of the New York legislature, . . . f. Background ture, displayed an energy seldom . seen in that lethargic body. As a rancher in the Dakota Badlands (where he retired briefly after the sudden death of his first wife), he had helped capture outlaws. As New York City police commissioner, he had been a flamboyant battler against crime and vice. As assistant secretary of the navy, he had been a bold proponent of American expansion. As commander of the Rough Riders, he had led a heroic, if militarily useless, charge in the battle of San Juan Hill in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. But Roosevelt as president rarely rebelled against the leaders of his party. He became, rather, a champion of cautious, moderate change. Reform, he believed, was a vehicle less for remaking American society than for protecting it against radical challenges. Government, Capital, and Labor Roosevelt allied himself with those progressives who urged regulation (but not destruction) of the trusts. At the heart of Roosevelt's policy was his desire to win Roosevelt's c u Vision of f'r &overnment the power to investigate Federal Power the activities of corporations and publi. cize the results. The new Department of Commerce and Labor, established in 1903 (later to be divided into

two separate departments), was to assist in this task through its investigatory arm, the Bureau of Corporations. Although Roosevelt was not a trustbuster at heart, he made a few highly publicized efforts to break up combinations. In 1902, he ordered the Justice Department to invoke the Sherman Antitrust Act against a great new railroad monopoly in the Northwest, the Northern Securities Company, a \$400 million enterprise pieced together by J. P. Morgan and others. Northern Securities Company  
iiiii portive relationship  
with Republican administrations, the action was baffling. He told the president, "If we have done anything wrong, send your man to my man and they can fix it up." Roosevelt proceeded with the case nonetheless, and in 1904 the Supreme Court ruled that the Northern Securities Company must be dissolved. Although he filed more than forty additional antitrust suits during the remainder of his presidency, Roosevelt had no serious commitment to reverse the prevailing trend toward economic concentration. A similar commitment to establishing the government as an impartial regulatory mechanism shaped Roosevelt's policy toward labor. In the past, federal intervention in industrial disputes had almost always meant action on behalf of employers. Roosevelt was willing to consider labor's position as well. When a bitter 1902 strike by the United Mine Workers endangered coal supplies for the coming winter, Roosevelt asked both the operators and the miners to accept impartial federal arbitration. When the mine owners balked, Roosevelt threatened to send federal troops to seize the mines. The operators finally relented. Arbitrators awarded the strikers a 10 percent wage increase and a nine-hour day, although no recognition of their union-less than they had wanted but more than they would likely have



CONSIDER THE SOURCE »'s DEDICATED TO  
CONSERVING AMERICA A LEADER IN AMERICA'S  
CONSERVATION MOVEMENT, naturalist John Muir (1838-1914)  
was born in Scotland and grew up in Wisconsin. He went to  
California in 1868 and spent several years in the American West  
exploring the land and studying the trees, forests, and glaciers of  
the area before settling permanently in California in 1880. He  
campaigns for the establishment of Yosemite National Park, a goal  
achieved in 1890. Through his friendship with President Theodore  
Roosevelt, he persuaded the president to greatly increase the  
amount of protected public land. As a dedicated conservationist,  
Muir wrote articles attempting to rouse the public to the need to  
protect public lands. In addition to the public lands he helped  
protect and preserve, Muir created another lasting legacy-the Sierra  
Club, an organization that he co-founded and that is still thriving  
today. The two source documents below are thus both connected to  
John Muir. The first is an excerpt from his book *Our National Parks*.  
The second is a reprinting of the Sierra Club's current stated  
purposes and goals. OUR NATIONAL PARKS- 1901 , From Chapter  
1, "The Wild Parks and Forest Reservations of the West," by John  
Muir The tendency nowadays to wander in wildernesses is  
delightful to see. Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized  
people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is  
going home; that wildness is a necessity; and that mountain parks  
and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and  
irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life. Awakening from the  
stupefying effects of the vice of over-industry and the deadly apathy  
of luxury, they are trying as best they can to mix and enrich their  
own little ongoing with those of Nature, and to get rid of rust and  
disease. Briskly venturing and roaming, some are washing off sins  
and cobweb cares of the devil's spinning in all-day storms on  
mountains; sauntering in rosy pinewoods or in gentian meadows,  
brushing through chaparral, bending down and parting sweet,  
flowery sprays; tracing rivers to their sources, getting in touch with  
the nerves of Mother Earth; jumping from rock to rock, feeling the  
life of them, learning the songs of them, panting in whole-souled  
exercise, and rejoicing in deep, long-drawn breaths of pure  
wildness. This is fine and natural and full of promise. So also is the  
growing interest in the care and preservation of forests and wild

places in general, and in the half wild parks and gardens of towns. . . . When, like a merchant taking a list of his goods, we take stock of our wildness, we are glad to see how much of even the most destructible kind is still unspoiled. Looking at our continent as scenery when it was all wild, lying between beautiful seas, the starry sky above it, the starry rocks beneath it, to compare its sides, the East and the West, would be like comparing the sides of a rainbow. But it is no longer equally beautiful. . . . [T]he continent's outer beauty is fast passing away, especially the plant part of it, the most destructible and most universally charming of all. Only thirty years ago, the great Central Valley of California, five hundred miles long and fifty miles wide, was one bed of golden and purple flowers. Now it is ploughed and pastured out of existence, gone forever, scarce a memory of it left in fence corners and along the bluffs of the streams. . . . The same fate, sooner or later, is awaiting them all, unless awakening public opinion comes forward to stop it. . . . The Grand Canon Reserve of Arizona, of nearly two million acres, or the most interesting part of it, as well as the Rainier region, should be made into a national park, on account of their supreme grandeur and beauty. ... No matter how far you have wandered hitherto, or how many famous gorges and valleys you have seen, this one, the Grand Canon of the Colorado, will seem as novel to you, as unearthly in the color and grandeur and quantity of its architecture, as if you had found it after death, on some other star; so incomparably lovely and grand and supreme is it above all the other canons in our fire-moulded, earthquake-shaken, rain-washed, wave-washed, river and glacier sculptured world. . . .

Source: Library of Congress, Materials from the General Collection and Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress. \ \_ \_ \_ J 572 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimimi

## UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What benefits does Muir describe as a result of spending time in the "wilderness"? What maladies does Muir believe the "wilderness" will correct? How do his arguments reflect the economic and social history of his time? 2. What is Muir's purpose? Is he attempting primarily to instruct or to persuade? How does that purpose affect the tone of the writing?

SIERRA CLUB-2006 Sierra Club Purposes and Goals \ The purposes of the Sierra Club are to explore, enjoy, and protect the wild places of the earth; to practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources; to educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment; and to use all lawful means to carry out these objectives.

Ideal Goals-for Environment and Society

- To sustain natural life-support systems, avoid impairing them, and avoid irreversible damage to them.
- To facilitate species survival; to maintain genetic diversity; to avoid hastened extinction of species; to protect prime natural habitat.
- To establish and protect natural reserves, including representative natural areas, wilderness areas in each biome, displays of natural phenomena, and habitats for rare and endangered species.
- To control human population growth and impacts; to limit human population numbers and habitat needs within Earth's carrying capacity; to avoid needless human consumption of resources; to plan and control land use, with environmental impact assessment and safeguards, and rehabilitation of damaged sites.
- To learn more about the facts, interrelationships, and principles of the Earth's ecosystems, and the place and impact of humans in them; to understand the consequences of human activities within the biosphere.
- To develop responsible and appropriate technology matched to end-uses; to introduce sophisticated technology gradually after careful assessment and with precautionary monitoring.
- To control pollution of the biosphere; to minimize waste residuals with special care of hazardous materials; to use the best available control technology at sources; and to recycle wastes.
- To manage resources soundly; to avoid waste with long-term plans; to sustain the yield of living resources and maintain their productivity and breeding stocks; to prolong availability of nonliving resources such as fossil fuels, minerals, and water.
- To impart a sense of social responsibility

## MAKE CONNECTIONS

1. The Sierra Club's goals for environment and society are characterized as "ideal" goals. Why do you think the Sierra Club identifies them in that way? Does that mean the goals are unrealistic or unachievable? 2. How do the purposes and goals of the Sierra Club echo the sentiments Muir expressed in Our National Parks ? 3. How has the Sierra Club, according to its statement of purposes and goals, extended Muir's message and his advocacy of conservation? 573 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



These young boys, covered in grime and no more than twelve years old, pose for the noted photographer Lewis Hine outside the coal mine in Pennsylvania where they separated coal from slate in coal breakers. The rugged conditions endured by mine workers were one cause of the great strike of 1902, in which Theodore Roosevelt intervened. (The Library of Congress) won without Roosevelt's intervention. Roosevelt viewed himself as no more the champion of labor than as a champion of management. On several occasions, he ordered federal troops to intervene in strikes on behalf of employers. The "Square Deal" During Roosevelt's first years as president, he was principally concerned with winning reelection, which required that he not antagonize the conservative Republican Old Guard. By skillfully dispensing patronage to conservatives and progressives alike, and by winning the support of northern businessmen while making adroit gestures to reformers, Roosevelt had neutralized his opposition within the party by early 1904. He won its presidential nomination with ease. And in the general election, where he faced a dull conservative Democrat, Alton B. Parker, he captured over 57 percent of the popular vote and lost no states outside the South. During the 1904 campaign, Roosevelt boasted that he had worked in the anthracite coal strike to provide everyone with a "square deal." One of his first targets after the election Hepburn Act was the Powerful railroad industry. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), had been an early effort to regulate the industry; but over the years, the courts had sharply limited its influence. Roosevelt asked Congress for legislation to increase the government's power to oversee railroad rates. The Hepburn Railroad Regulation Act of 1906 sought to restore some regulatory authority to the government, although the bill was so cautious that it satisfied few progressives. Roosevelt also pressured Congress to enact the Pure Food and Drug Act, which restricted the sale of dangerous or ineffective medicines. When Upton Sinclair's powerful novel *The Jungle* appeared in 1906, featuring appalling descriptions of conditions in the meatpacking industry, Roosevelt pushed for passage of the Meat Inspection Act, which helped eliminate many diseases once transmitted in impure meat. Starting in 1907, he proposed, but mostly failed to achieve, even more stringent reforms: an eight-hour

workday, broader compensation for victims of industrial accidents, inheritance and income taxes, regulation of the stock market, and others. He also started openly to criticize conservatives in Congress and the judiciary who were obstructing these programs. The result was a widening gulf between the president and the conservative wing of his party. Roosevelt and Conservation Roosevelt's aggressive policies on behalf of conservation contributed to that gulf. Using executive powers, he restricted private development on millions of acres of undeveloped government land-most of it in the West-by adding them to the previously modest national forest system. When conservatives in Congress restricted his authority over public lands in 1907, Roosevelt and his chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, seized all the forests and many of the water power sites still in the public domain before the bill became law. Roosevelt was the first president to take an active interest in the new and struggling American conservation movement. In the early twentieth century, the idea of preserving the natural world for ecological reasons was not well established. Instead, many people who considered themselves "conservationists"-such as Pinchot, the first director of the National Forest Service (which he helped to create)-promoted policies to protect land for carefully managed development.





THE PROGRESSIVES 575 The Old Guard eagerly supported another important aspect of Roosevelt's natural resource policy: public reclamation and irrigation projects. In 1902, the president backed Federal Aid to the West National Reclamation Act, better known as the Newlands Act (named for its sponsor, Nevada senator Francis Newlands). The Newlands Act provided federal funds for the construction of dams, reservoirs, and canals in the West-projects that would open new lands for cultivation and (years later) provide cheap electric power. Roosevelt and Preservation John Muir, the nation's leading preservationist and the founder of the Sierra Club. Roosevelt added significantly to the still-young National Park System, whose purpose was to protect public land from any exploitation or development. Congress had created the first national park-Yellowstone, in Wyoming, in 1872-and had authorized others in the 1890s: Yosemite and Sequoia in California, and Mount Rainier in Washington State. Roosevelt added land to several existing parks and also created new ones: Crater Lake in Oregon, Mesa Verde in Utah, Platt in Oklahoma, and Wind Cave in South Dakota. Despite his sympathy with Pinchot's vision of conservation, Roosevelt also shared some of the concerns of the naturalists-those within the conservation movement committed to protecting the natural beauty of the land and the health of its wildlife from human intrusion. Early in his presidency, Roosevelt even spent four days camping in the Sierras with The Hetch Hetchy Controversy The contending views of the early conservation movement came to a head beginning in 1906 in a sensational controversy over the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park. Hetch Hetchy (a name derived from a local Indian term Olympic (1938) \* - North Cascades (1968) Everglades -(1934) ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS This map illustrates the steady growth throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of the systems of national parks and national forests in the United States. Although Theodore Roosevelt is widely and correctly remembered as a great champion of national parks and forests, the greatest expansions of these systems occurred after his presidency. Note, for example, how many new areas were added in the 1920s. What is the difference between national parks and national forests?



576 CHAPTER 20 meaning "grassy meadows") was a spectacular, high-walled valley popular with naturalists. But many residents of San Francisco, worried about finding enough water to serve their growing population, saw Hetch Hetchy as an ideal place for a dam, which would create a large reservoir for the city—a plan that Muir and other naturalists furiously opposed. In 1906, San Francisco suffered a devastating earthquake and fire. Widespread sympathy for the city strengthened the case for the dam; and Theodore Roosevelt—who had initially expressed some sympathy for Muir's position—turned the decision over to Gifford Pinchot. Pinchot had no interest in Muir's aesthetic and spiritual arguments. He approved construction of the dam. For over a decade, a battle raged between naturalists and the advocates of the dam, a battle that consumed the energy of Muir for the rest of his life. Conservationist and that eventually, many people believed, led to his death. "Dam Hetch Hetchy!" Muir once said. "As well dam for water-tanks the people's cathedrals and churches, for no holier temple has ever been consecrated by the heart of man." To Pinchot, there was no question that the needs of the city were more important than the claims of preservation. Muir helped place a referendum question on the ballot in 1908, certain that the residents of the city would oppose the project "as soon as light is cast upon it." Instead, San Franciscans approved the dam by a huge margin. Although there were many more delays in succeeding years, construction of the dam finally began after World War I. This setback for the naturalists was not, however, a total defeat. The fight against Hetch Hetchy helped mobilize a new coalition of people committed to preservation, not "rational use," of wilderness. The Panic of 1907 Despite the flurry of reforms Roosevelt was able to enact, the government still had relatively little control over the industrial economy. That became clear in 1907, when a serious panic and recession began. Conservatives blamed Roosevelt's "mad" economic policies for the disaster. And while the president naturally (and correctly) disagreed, he nevertheless acted quickly to reassure business leaders that the Company would not interfere with their recovery efforts. J. P. Morgan, in a spectacular display of his financial power, helped construct a pool of the assets of several important New York banks to prop up shaky financial institutions. The key to the arrangement, Morgan told the



president, was the purchase by U.S. Steel of the shares of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, currently held by a threatened New York bank. He would, he insisted, need assurances that the purchase would not prompt antitrust action. Roosevelt tacitly agreed, and the Morgan plan proceeded. Whether or not as a result, the panic soon subsided. Roosevelt loved being president. As his years in office produced increasing political successes, as his public popularity continued to rise, more and more observers began to assume ROOSEVELT AND MUIR IN YOSEMITE John Muir, founder and leader of the Sierra Club, considered Theodore Roosevelt a friend and ally— a relationship cemented by a four-day camping trip the two men took together in Yosemite National Park in 1903. Roosevelt was indeed a friend to the national park and national forest systems and added considerable acreage to both. Among other things, he expanded Yosemite (at Muir's request). But unlike Muir, Roosevelt was also committed to economic development. As a result, he was not always a reliable ally of the most committed preservationists. (© Bettmann/ Corbis)



[illegible]



create a federal Children's Bureau to investigate "all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life." Julia Lathrop, the first chief of the bureau, was a veteran of Hull House and a close associate of Jane Addams. She helped make the Children's Bureau a force for progressive change not just in federal policy, but also in state and local governments. But a sensational controversy broke out late in 1909 that helped put an end to Taft's popularity with reformers. Many progressives had been unhappy when Taft replaced Roosevelt's secretary of the interior, James R. Garfield, an aggressive WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT Taft could be a jovial companion in small groups, but his public image was of a dull, stolid man who stood in sharp and unfortunate contrast to his dynamic predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt. Taft also suffered public ridicule for his enormous size. He weighed as much as 350 pounds at times, and wide publicity accompanied his installation of an oversized bathtub in the White House. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

conservationist, with Richard A. Ballinger, a conservative corporate lawyer. Suspicion of Ballinger grew when he attempted to invalidate Roosevelt's removal of nearly 1 million acres of forests and mineral reserves from private development. In the midst of this mounting concern, Louis Glavis, an Interior Department investigator, charged Ballinger with having „ once connived to turn over valuable public Ballinger- , , , . Ai i j Pinchot coal ^anc^s m Alaska to a private syndicate Dispute for personal profit. Glavis took the evidence to Gifford Pinchot, still head of the Forest Service and a critic of Ballinger's policies. Pinchot took the charges to the president. Taft investigated them and decided they were groundless. But Pinchot was not satisfied, particularly after Taft fired Glavis for his part in the episode. He leaked the story to the press and asked Congress to investigate the scandal. The president discharged him for insubordination. The congressional committee appointed to study the controversy, dominated by Old Guard Republicans, exonerated Ballinger. But



578 CHAPTER 20 progressives throughout the country supported Pinchot. The controversy aroused as much public passion as any dispute of its time; and when it was over, Taft had alienated the supporters of Roosevelt completely and, it seemed, irrevocably. The Return of Roosevelt During most of these controversies, Theodore Roosevelt was far away: on a long hunting safari in Africa and an extended tour of Europe. To the American public, however, Roosevelt remained a formidable presence thanks to intensive newspaper coverage of his every move abroad. His return to New York in the spring of 1910 was a major public event. Roosevelt insisted that he had no plans to reenter politics, but within a month he announced that he would embark on a national speaking tour before the end of the summer. Furious with Taft, he was becoming convinced that he alone was capable of reuniting the Republican Party. The real signal of Roosevelt's decision to assume leadership of Republican reformers came in a speech he gave on September 1, 1910, in Osawatomie, Kansas. In it he outlined "New Nationalism" lined a set of principles, which he labeled . the "New Nationalism," that made clear he had moved a considerable way from the cautious conservatism of the first years of his presidency. He argued that social justice was possible only through the vigorous efforts of a strong federal government whose executive acted as the "steward of the public welfare." Those who thought primarily of property rights and personal profit "must now give way to the advocate of human welfare." He supported graduated income and inheritance taxes, workers' compensation for industrial accidents, regulation of the labor of women and children, tariff revision, and firmer regulation of corporations. Spreading Insurgency The congressional elections of 1910 provided further evidence of how far the progressive revolt had spread. In primary elections, conservative Republicans suffered defeat after defeat while almost all the progressive incumbents were reelected. In the general election, the Democrats, who were now offering progressive candidates of their own, won control of the House of Representatives for the first time in sixteen years and gained strength in the Senate. But Roosevelt still denied any presidential ambitions and claimed that his real purpose was to pressure Taft to return to progressive policies. Two events, however, changed his mind. The first, on October 27, 1911, was the announcement by the administration of a suit against U.S. Steel,

which charged, among other things, that the 1907 acquisition of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company had been illegal. Roosevelt had approved that acquisition in the midst of the 1907 panic, and he was enraged by the implication that he had acted improperly. Roosevelt was still reluctant to become a candidate for president because Senator Robert La Follette, the great Wisconsin progressive, had been working since 1911 to secure the presidential nomination for himself. But La Follette's candidacy stumbled in February 1912 when, exhausted, and distraught over the illness of a daughter, he appeared to suffer a nervous breakdown during a speech in Philadelphia. Roosevelt announced his candidacy on February 22. Roosevelt versus Taft La Follette retained some diehard support. But for all practical purposes, the campaign for the Republican nomination had now become a battle between Roosevelt and Taft. Roosevelt scored overwhelming victories in all thirteen presidential ROOSEVELT AT OSAWATOMIE Roosevelt's famous speech at Osawatomie, Kansas, in 1910 was the most radical of his career and openly marked his break with the Taft administration and the Republican leadership. "The essence of any struggle for liberty," he told his largely conservative audience, "has always been, and must always be to take from some one man or class of men the right to enjoy power, or wealth, or position or immunity, which has not been earned by service to his or their fellows." (© The Granger Collection, New York)



THE PROGRESSIVES 579 primaries. Taft, however, remained the choice of most party leaders, who controlled the nominating process. The battle for the nomination at the Chicago convention revolved around an unusually large number of contested delegates: 254 in all. Roosevelt needed fewer than half the disputed seats to clinch the nomination. But the Republican National Committee, controlled by the Old Guard, awarded all but 19 of them to Taft. At a rally the night before the convention opened, Roosevelt addressed 5,000 cheering supporters. "We stand at Armageddon," he told the roaring crowd, "and we battle for the Lord." The next day, he led his supporters out of the convention, and out of the party. The convention then quietly nominated Taft on the first ballot. Roosevelt summoned his supporters back to Chicago in August for another convention, this one to launch the new ^ Progressive Party and nominate himself as Progressive \*ts presidential candidate. Roosevelt Party approached the battle feeling, as he put it, ht as a bull moose (thus giving his new party an enduring nickname). The "Bull Moose" party was notable for its strong commitment to a wide range of progressive causes that had grown in popularity over the previous two decades. The party advocated additional regulation of industry and trusts, sweeping reforms of many areas of government, compensation by the government for workers injured on the job, pensions for the elderly and for widows with children, and (alone among the major parties) woman suffrage. The delegates left the party's convention filled with hope and excitement. Roosevelt himself, however, entered the fall campaign aware that his cause was almost hopeless, partly because many of the insurgents who had supported him during the primaries refused to follow him out of the Republican Party. His pessimism was also a result of the man the Democrats had nominated for president. WOODROW WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM The 1912 presidential contest was not simply one between conservatives and reformers. It was also one between two brands of progressivism. And it matched the two most important national leaders of the early twentieth century in unequal contest. Woodrow Wilson Reform sentiment had been gaining strength within the Democratic as well as the Republican Party in the first years of the century. At the 1912 Democratic National Convention in Baltimore in June, Champ Clark, the conservative Speaker of the

House, was unable to assemble the two-thirds majority necessary for nomination because of progressive opposition. Finally, on the forty-sixth ballot, Woodrow Wilson, the governor of New Jersey and the only genuinely progressive candidate in the race, emerged as the party's nominee. Wilson had risen to political prominence by an unusual path. He had been a professor of political science at Princeton University, until 1902, when he was named president of the University. Elected governor of New Jersey in 1910, he demonstrated a commitment to reform. During his two years in the statehouse, he earned a national reputation for winning passage of progressive legislation. As a presidential candidate in 1912, Wilson presented a progressive program that came to be called the "New Freedom." Roosevelt's New Nationalism advocated accepting economic concentration and using government to regulate and control it. But Wilson seemed to side with those who (like Louis Brandeis) believed that bigness was both unjust and inefficient, that the proper response to monopoly was not to regulate it but to destroy it. The 1912 presidential campaign was an anticlimax. William Howard Taft, resigned to defeat, barely campaigned. Roosevelt campaigned energetically (until a gunshot wound from a would-be assassin forced him to the sidelines during the last weeks before the election), but he failed to draw any significant numbers of Democratic progressives away from Wilson. In November, Roosevelt and Taft split the Republican vote; Wilson held on to most Democrats and won. He polled only 42 percent of the vote, compared with 27 percent for Roosevelt, 23 percent for Taft, and 6 percent for the socialist Eugene V. Debs. But in the electoral college, Wilson won 435 of the 531 votes. Roosevelt had carried only six states, Taft two. Debs none. The Scholar as President Wilson was a bold and forceful president. He exerted firm control over his cabinet, and he delegated real authority only to those whose loyalty to him was beyond question. His most powerful adviser, Colonel Edward M. House, was an intelligent and ambitious Texan who held no office and whose only claim to authority was his personal intimacy with the president. In legislative matters, Wilson skillfully welded together a coalition that would support his program. Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress made his Lowering the Tariff task easier. Wilson's first triumph as president was the fulfillment of an old Democratic (and progressive) goal: a substantial lowering of the protective tariff. The

Underwood-Simmons Tariff provided cuts substantial enough, progressives believed, to introduce real competition into American markets and thus to help break the power of trusts. To make up for the loss of revenue under the new tariff. Congress approved a graduated income tax, which the recently adopted Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution now permitted. This first modern income tax imposed a 1 percent tax on individuals and corporations earning more than \$4,000 a year, with rates ranging up to 6 percent on annual incomes over \$500,000. Wilson held Congress in session through the summer to work on a major reform of the American banking system:

580 CHAPTER 20 WOODROW WILSON Woodrow Wilson, the 28th president of the United States, was a Virginian (the first southerner to be elected president since before the Civil War), a professor of political science and later president of Princeton University, governor of New Jersey, and known as a brilliant progressive. His election to the presidency brought the first Democrat to the White House since 1896. (The Library of Congress (3a21763v)) Federal Reserve Act

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii the Federal Reserve Act, which Congress passed and the president signed on December 23, 1913. It created twelve regional banks, each to be owned and controlled by the individual banks of its district. The regional Federal Reserve banks would hold a certain percentage of the assets of their member banks in reserve; they would use those reserves to support loans to private banks at an interest (or "discount") rate that the Federal Reserve system would set; they would issue a new type of paper currency-Federal Reserve notes-that would become the nation's basic medium of trade and would be backed by the government. Most important, they would be able to shift funds quickly to troubled areas-to meet increased demands for credit or to protect imperiled banks. Supervising and regulating the entire system was a national Federal Reserve Board, whose members were appointed by the president. Nearly half the nation's banking resources were represented in the system within a year, and 80 percent by the late 1920s. In 1914, turning to the central issue of his 1912 campaign, Wilson proposed two measures to deal with the problem of monopoly. In the process he revealed how his own approach to the issue was beginning to change. There was a proposal to create a federal agency through which the government would help business police itself-a regulatory commission of the type Roosevelt had advocated in 1912. There were also proposals to strengthen Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%) Woodrow Wilson (Democratic) Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive/ Bull Moose) William H. Taft (Republican) Eugene V. Debs (Socialist) Other parties (Prohibition; Socialist Labor) 58.8% of electorate voting 435 88 8 6,293,454 (41.9) 4,119,538 (27.4) 3,484,980 (23.2) 900,672 (6.0) 235,025 ELECTION OF 1912 The election of 1912 was one of the most unusual in American history because of the dramatic schism within the Republican Party. Two Republican



presidents— William Howard Taft, the incumbent, and Theodore Roosevelt, his predecessor— ran against each other in 1912, opening the way for a victory by the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson, who won with only about 42 percent of the popular vote. A fourth candidate, the socialist Eugene V. Debs, received a significant 6 percent of the vote. • What events caused the schism between Taft and Roosevelt? the government's ability to break up trusts-a decentralizing approach characteristic of Wilson's 1912 campaign. The two measures took shape as the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Antitrust Act. The Federal Trade Commission Act created a regulatory agency that would help businesses determine in advance whether their actions would be acceptable to the government. The agency would also have authority to launch prosecutions against "unfair trade practices," and it would have wide power to investigate corporate behavior. Wilson signed the Federal Trade Commission Bill happily. But he seemed to lose interest in the Clayton Antitrust Bill and did little to protect it from conservative assaults, which greatly weakened it. The future, he had apparently decided, lay with government supervision. Retreat and Advance By the fall of 1914, Wilson believed that the program of the New Freedom was essentially complete and that agitation for reform would now subside. He refused to support the movement for national woman suffrage. Deferring to southern Democrats, and reflecting his own southern background, he condoned the



THE PROGRESSIVES 581 reimposition of segregation in the agencies of the federal government (in contrast to Roosevelt, who had ordered the elimination of many such barriers). When congressional progressives attempted to enlist his support for new reform legislation, Wilson dismissed their proposals as unconstitutional or unnecessary. The congressional elections of 1914, however, shattered the president's complacency. Democrats suffered major losses in Congress, and voters who in 1912 had supported the Progressive Party began returning to the Republicans. Wilson would not be able to rely on a divided opposition when he ran for reelection in 1916. By the end of 1915, therefore, Wilson had begun to support a second flurry of reforms. In January 1916, he appointed Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court, making him not only the first Jew but also the most progressive justice to serve there. Later, he supported a measure to make it easier for farmers to receive credit and one creating a system of workers' compensation for federal employees. Wilson was sponsoring measures that expanded the powers of the national government in important ways. In 1916, for example, he supported the Keating-Owen Act, the first Child Labor federal law regulating child labor. The Laws measure prohibited the shipment of goods . produced by underage children across state lines, thus giving an expanded importance to the constitutional clause assigning Congress the task of regulating interstate commerce. The president similarly supported measures that used federal taxing authority as a vehicle for legislating social change. After the Court struck down Keating-Owen, a new law attempted to achieve the same goal by imposing a heavy tax on the products of child labor. (The Court later struck it down too.) And the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 demonstrated another way in which the federal government could influence local behavior; it offered matching federal grants to support agricultural extension education. Over time, these innovative uses of government overcame most of the constitutional objections and became the foundation of a long-term growth in federal power over the economy.

LOOKING BACK

The powerful surge of reform efforts in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth reforms intended to help the United States deal with the

extraordinary changes and the vexing problem of the modern industrial era-caused many Americans to come to identify themselves as "progressives." That label meant many different things to many different people, but at its core was a belief that human effort and government action could improve society. The reform crusades gained strength steadily, driven by both men and women, and by people of many races and ethnicities. By the early twentieth century, progressivism had become a powerful, transformative force in American life. This great surge of reform eventually reached the federal government and national politics, as progressives began to understand the limits of state and local reform. Success, they came to believe, required the engagement of the federal government. Two national leaders-Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson-contributed to a period of national reform that made the government in Washington a great center of power for the first time since the Civil War-a position it has never relinquished. Progressivism did not solve the nation's problems, but it gave movements, organizations, and governments new tools to deal with them. Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events Alice Paul 560 "Bull Moose" party 579 Eugenics 568 Gifford Pinchot 574 Hetch Hetchy 575 Hull House 553 IWW ("Wobblies") 569 Jane Addams 553 Louis Brandeis 570 Muckrakers 553 NAACP 566 New Freedom 579 New Nationalism 578 Prohibition 567 Robert La Follette 563 Social Gospel 553 Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire 564 W. E. B. Du Bois 566

**RECALL AND REFLECT**

1. What "moral" crusades did progressives undertake in their 4. What was Theodore Roosevelt's "New Nationalism"? efforts to reform the social order? 5. What was Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom"? 2. How did W. E. B. Du Bois's philosophy on race relations differ from that of Booker T. Washington? 3. What were some of the approaches progressives used to challenge the power and influence of capitalist corporate America?

582 CHAPTER 20 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1873 Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) founded 1889 Jane Addams opens Hull House in Chicago 1893 Anti-Saloon League founded \_ 1900 O Galveston, Texas, establishes commission government 1901 O McKinley assassinated; Roosevelt becomes president ^ 1902 O Roosevelt intervenes in anthracite coal strike Oregon adopts initiative and referendum Mississippi adopts direct primary Northern Securities antitrust case filed 1903 Women's Trade Union League founded Department of Commerce and Labor created 1905 O . ; . Roosevelt elected president 1909 Pinchot-Ballinger dispute begins NAACP formed 1911 A O Fire kills 146 workers at Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City O 1913 \_ O Seventeenth Amendment, establishing direct popular election of U.S. senators, ratified Federal Reserve Act passed 1920 \_ O Nineteenth Amendment (woman suffrage) ratified 1912 Roosevelt forms Progressive Party Woodrow Wilson elected president 1919 Eighteenth Amendment (prohibition) ratified 1906 ^ O Hepburn Railroad Regulation Act passed Meat Inspection Act passed ^ 1907 Financial panic and recession 1908 William Howard Taft elected president

[illegible]

A black and white photograph capturing a moment of intense action during a military operation. In the foreground, a soldier in a dark uniform and helmet is running towards the viewer, his right arm raised high in a gesture of triumph or signaling. He is wearing a tactical vest and has a rifle slung over his shoulder. Behind him, several other soldiers are visible, some crouching and others standing, all equipped with rifles and wearing helmets. The terrain is rocky and uneven, with sparse vegetation. The background shows a hilly landscape under a clear sky. The overall scene conveys a sense of urgency and military success.



SETTING THE STAGE THE GREAT WAR, AS IT WAS KNOWN to a generation unaware that another, greater war would soon follow, began relatively inconspicuously in August 1914 when forces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire invaded the tiny Balkan nation of Serbia. Within weeks, however, it had grown into a conflagration that engaged the armies of almost all the major nations of Europe. Most Americans looked on with horror as the war became the most savage in history and dragged on, murderously and inconclusively, for two and a half years. Many Americans believed that the conflict had little to do with them, but they were wrong. The United States in 1914 had been deeply involved in world affairs since at least the SpanishAmerican War and, in the early years of the twentieth century, had taken on many more international commitments and obligations. So it should not have been surprising that the United States finally entered the war in 1917. For America, the war as a military struggle was brief, decisive, and— in relative terms— without great cost. Only 112,000 American soldiers died in the conflict, half of them from influenza and other diseases rather than in combat. Economically, the war was the source of a great industrial boom, which helped spark the years of prosperity that would follow. And the war propelled the United States into a position of international preeminence. Yet once the conflict ended, the United States encountered frustration and disillusionment. The "war to end all wars," the war "to make the world safe for democracy," became neither. Instead, it led directly to twenty years of international instability that would ultimately generate another great conflict. THE "BIG STICK": AMERICA AND THE WORLD, 1901-1917

To the general public, foreign affairs remained largely remote. Walter Lippmann once wrote: "I cannot remember taking any interest whatsoever in foreign affairs until after the outbreak of the First World War." But to Theodore Roosevelt and later presidents, that made foreign affairs even more appealing. There the president could act with less regard for the Congress or the courts. There he could free himself from concerns about public opinion. Overseas, the president could exercise power unfettered and alone. Roosevelt and "Civilization" Theodore Roosevelt believed in the value and importance of using American power in the world (a conviction he

once described by citing the proverb "Speak softly, but carry a big stick"). But he had two different standards for using that power. Roosevelt believed that an important distinction existed between the "civilized" and "uncivilized" nations of the world. "Civilized" nations, as he defined them, were predominantly white and Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic; "uncivilized" nations were generally nonwhite, Latin, or Slavic. But racial and \*Sm WaS °n^ Part^Y t)asis °f the distinction. Equally important was economic Basis nomic development. He believed, therefore, that Japan, a rapidly industrializing of Roosevelt's society, had earned admission to the ranks of the civilized. A civilized society. Diplomacy he argued, had the right and duty to intervene in the affairs of a "backward" nation to preserve order and stability. That belief was one important reason for Roosevelt's early support of the development of American sea power. By 1906, the American navy had attained a size and strength surpassed only by that of Great Britain (although Germany was fast gaining ground). 584 Protecting the "Open Door" in Asia In 1904, the Japanese staged a surprise attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur in southern Manchuria, a province of China that both Russia and Japan hoped to control. Roosevelt, hoping to



## AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 585 THE WORLDS

CONSTABLE, "THE NEW DIPLOMACY" This 1904 drawing by the famous Puck cartoonist Louis Dalrymple conveys the new image of America as a great power that Theodore Roosevelt was attempting to project to the world. Roosevelt the world policeman deals effectively with "less civilized" peoples (Asians and Latin Americans, seen clamoring at left) by using the "big stick" and deals equally effectively with the "civilized" nations (at right) by offering arbitration. (© The Granger Collection, New York) prevent either nation from becoming dominant there, agreed to a Japanese request to mediate an end to the conflict. Russia, faring badly in the war, had no choice but to agree. At a peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905, Roosevelt extracted from the embattled Russians a recognition of Japan's territorial gains and from the Japanese an agreement to cease the fighting and expand no further. At the same time, he negotiated a secret agreement with the Japanese to ensure that the United States could continue to trade freely in the region. Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for his work in ending the Russo-Japanese War. But in the years that followed, relations between the United States and Japan steadily deteriorated. Japan now emerged as the preeminent naval power in the Pacific and soon began to exFleet" elude American trade from many of the . territories it controlled. To be sure the Japanese government recognized the power of the United States, he sent sixteen battleships of the new American navy (known as the "Great White Fleet" because the ships were temporarily painted white for the voyage) on an unprecedented journey around the world that included a call on Japan. The Iron-Fisted Neighbor Roosevelt took a particular interest in events in what he (and most other Americans) considered the nation's special sphere of interest: Latin America. He established a pattern of U.S. intervention in the region that would long survive his presidency. Early in 1902, the financially troubled government of Venezuela began to renege on debts to European bankers. Naval forces of Britain, Italy, and Germany blockaded the Venezuelan coast in response. Then German ships began to bombard a Venezuelan port amid rumors that Germany planned to establish a permanent base in the region. Roosevelt used the threat of American naval power to pressure the German navy to withdraw. The incident helped persuade Roosevelt

that European intrusions into Latin America could result not only from aggression but also from instability or irresponsibility (such as defaulting on debts) within the Latin American nations themselves. As a result, in 1904 he announced what came to be known as the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine. "Roosevelt Corollary"

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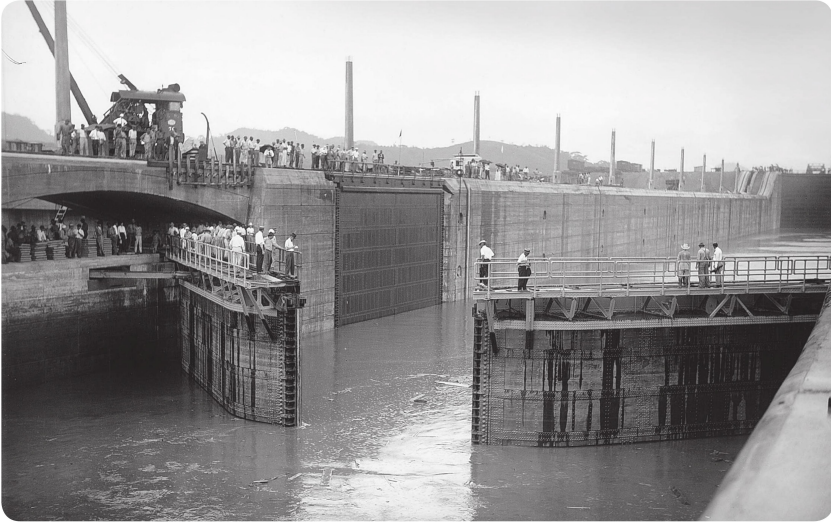
586 CHAPTER 21 UNITED STATES Veracruz Mexico City  
 COSTA RICA Gulf of Mexico ATLANTIC OCEAN MEXICO Military  
 intervention 1914, 1916-1919 CUBA U.S. troops 1898-1902  
 1906-1909 1917-1922 Protectorate 1898-1934 Bahia Honda  
 1903-1912 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC U.S. troops 1916-1924 Financial  
 supervision 1905-1941 PACIFIC OCEAN GUATEMALA Guantanamo  
 Bay 1903 BRITISH HONDURAS HONDURAS Caribbean Sea  
 ARAGUA U.S. Troops 1909-1910 1912-1925, 1926-1933 Final  
 supervision 1911-1924 HAITI U.S. troops 1915-1934 Financial  
 Supervision 1915-1941 VIRGIN ISLANDS Purchased from Denmark  
 1917 PUERTO RICO Acquired from Spain 1898 EL SALVADOR U.S.  
 territory, 1900 U.S. interventions Naval base leased to U.S. C W ^  
 fo bei PANAMA ? Support of revolution 1903 CANAL Control over  
 beginning 1904 \* Canal Zone not a possession but controlled  
 through a lease from Panama COLOMBIA THE UNITED STATES  
 AND LATIN AMERICA, 1895-1941 Except for Puerto Rico, the  
 Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone, the United States had no formal  
 possessions in Latin America and the Caribbean in the late  
 nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. But as this  
 map reveals, the U.S. exercised considerable influence in these  
 regions throughout this period— political and economic influence,  
 augmented at times by military intervention. Note the particularly  
 intrusive presence of the United States in the affairs of Cuba, Haiti,  
 and the Dominican Republic— as well as the canal-related  
 interventions in Colombia and Panama. • What were some of the  
 most frequent reasons for U.S. intervention in Latin America? The  
 United States, he claimed, had the right not only to oppose  
 European intervention in the Western Hemisphere but also to  
 intervene in the domestic affairs of its neighbors if those neighbors  
 proved unable to maintain order and national sovereignty on their  
 own. The immediate motivation for the Roosevelt Corollary, and  
 the first opportunity for using it, was a crisis in the Dominican  
 Republic. A revolution had toppled its corrupt and bankrupt  
 government in 1903, but the new regime proved no better able to  
 make good on the country's \$22 million in debts to European  
 nations. Roosevelt established, in effect, an American receivership,  
 assuming control of Dominican customs and distributing 45 percent  
 of the revenues to the Dominicans and the rest to foreign creditors.  
 This arrangement lasted, in one form or another, for more than

three decades. In 1902, the United States granted political independence to Cuba, but only after the new government had agreed to the Platt „ Amendment to its constitution (see p. 545). Platt Amendment amendment gave the United States the . right to prevent any other foreign power from intruding into the new nation. In 1906, when domestic uprisings seemed to threaten the internal stability of the island. American troops landed in Cuba, quelled the fighting, and remained there for three years. The Panama Canal The most celebrated accomplishment of Roosevelt's presidency was the construction of the Panama Canal, which linked the Atlantic and the Pacific. At first, Roosevelt and many advocates of a canal favored a route across Nicaragua, which would permit a sea-level canal requiring no locks. But they soon turned instead to the narrow Isthmus of Panama in Colombia, the site of an earlier, failed effort by a French company to construct a channel. Although the Panama route was not at sea level (and would thus require locks), it was shorter than the one in Nicaragua. And construction was already about 40 percent complete. When the French company lowered the price for its holdings, the United States chose Panama. Roosevelt dispatched John Hay, his secretary of state, to negotiate an agreement with Colombian diplomats in Washington that would allow construction to begin without delay. Under heavy American pressure, the Colombian charge d'affaires, Tomas Herren, unwisely signed an agreement giving



AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 587 the United States perpetual rights to a six-mile-wide "canal zone" across Colombia. The outraged Colombian senate refused to ratify it. Colombia then sent a new representative to Washington with instructions to demand a higher payment from the Americans plus a share of the payment to the French. Roosevelt was furious and began to look for ways to circumvent the Colombian government. Philippe Bunau-Varilla, chief engineer of the French canal project, was a ready ally. In November 1903, he helped organize and finance a revolution in Panama. Panamanian There had been many Previous revolts > all of Revolt them failures, but this one had the support . of the United States. Roosevelt landed troops from the USS Nashville in Panama to "maintain order." Their presence prevented Colombian forces from suppressing the rebellion, and three days later Roosevelt recognized Panama as an independent nation. The new Panamanian government quickly agreed to the terms the Colombian senate had rejected. Work on the canal proceeded rapidly, and it opened in 1914. Taft and "Dollar Diplomacy" Like his predecessor, William Howard Taft worked to advance the nation's economic interests overseas. But he showed little interest in Roosevelt's larger vision of world stability. Taft's secretary of state, the corporate attorney Philander C. Knox, worked aggressively to extend American investments into less developed regions. Critics called his policies "Dollar Diplomacy." It was particularly visible in the Caribbean. When a revolution broke out in Nicaragua in 1909, the administration quickly \_ sided with the insurgents (who had been Intervention . . . . A in Nicaragua inspired to revolt by an American mining . company) and sent troops into the country to seize the customs houses. As soon as peace was restored, Knox encouraged American bankers to offer substantial loans to the new government, thus increasing Washington's financial leverage over the country. When the new pro-American government faced an insurrection less than two years later, Taft again landed troops in Nicaragua, this time to protect the existing regime. The troops remained there for more than a decade. Diplomacy and Morality Woodrow Wilson entered the presidency with relatively little interest or experience in international affairs. Yet he faced international challenges of a scope and gravity unmatched by those of any president before him. In many respects, he continued-and even strengthened-the

Roosevelt-Taft approach to foreign policy. **OPENING THE PANAMA CANAL** The great Miraflores locks of the Panama Canal open in October 1914 to admit the first ship to pass through the channel. The construction of the canal was one of the great engineering feats of the early twentieth century. But the heavy-handed political efforts of Theodore Roosevelt were at least equally important to its completion. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



588 CHAPTER 21 Having already seized control of the finances of the Dominican Republic in 1905, the United States established a military government there in 1916. The military occupation lasted eight years. In neighboring Haiti, Wilson landed marines in 1915 to quell a revolution, in the course of which a mob had murdered an unpopular president. American military forces remained in the country until 1934, and American officers drafted the new Haitian constitution adopted in 1918. When Wilson began to fear that the Danish West Indies might be about to fall into the hands of Germany, he bought the colony from Denmark and renamed it the Virgin Islands. Concerned about the possibility of European influence in Nicaragua, he signed a treaty with that country's government ensuring that no other nation would build a canal there and winning for the United States the right to intervene in Nicaragua to protect American interests. But Wilson's view of America's role in the world was not entirely similar to the views of his predecessors, as became „r , clear in his dealings with Mexico. For M/ILSON\*S Moral many years, under the friendly auspices of Diplomacy the corrupt dictator Porfirio Diaz, American businessmen had been establishing an enormous economic presence in Mexico. In 1910, however, Diaz had been overthrown by the popular leader Francisco Madero, who seemed hostile to American businesses in Mexico. The United States quietly encouraged a reactionary general, Victoriano Huerta, to depose Madero early in 1913, and the Taft administration, in its last weeks in office, prepared to recognize the new Huerta regime and welcome back a receptive environment for American investments in Mexico. Before it could do so, however, the new government murdered Madero, shortly before Woodrow Wilson took office in Washington. The new president instantly announced that he would never recognize Huerta's "government of butchers." At first, Wilson hoped that simply by refusing to recognize Huerta he could help topple the regime and bring to power the opposing Constitutionalists, led by Venustiano Carranza. But when Huerta, with the support of American business interests, established a full military dictatorship in October 1913, the president became more assertive. In April 1914, an officer in Huerta's army briefly arrested several American sailors from the USS Dolphin who had gone ashore in Tampico, on Mexico's east coast. The men were immediately released, but the



American admiral-unsatisfied with the apology he received- demanded that the Huerta forces fire a twenty-one-gun salute to the American flag as a public display of penance. The Mexicans refused. Wilson used the trivial incident as a pretext for seizing the Mexican port of Veracruz. Wilson had envisioned a bloodless action, but in a clash with Mexican troops in Veracruz, the Americans killed 126 Veracruz Mexican soldiers and suffered 19 casualties . of their own. Now at the brink of war, Wilson began to look for a way out. His show of force, however, had helped strengthen the position of the Carranza faction, which captured Mexico City in August and forced Huerta to flee the country. At last, it seemed, the crisis might be over. But Wilson was not yet satisfied. He reacted angrily when Carranza refused to accept American guidelines for the creation of a new government, and he briefly considered throwing his support to still another aspirant to leadership: Carranza's **PANCHO VILLA AND HIS TROOPS** Pancho Villa (fourth from left in the front row) poses with some of the leaders of his army, whose members Americans came to consider bandits once they began staging raids across the U.S. border. He was a national hero in Mexico. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ggbain-29882))



erstwhile lieutenant Pancho Villa, who was now leading a rebel army of his own. When Villa's military position deteriorated, however, Wilson abandoned him and finally, in October 1915, granted preliminary recognition to the Carranza government. By now, however, he had created yet another crisis. Villa, angry at what he considered an American betrayal, retaliated in January 1916 by shooting sixteen American mining engineers in northern Mexico. Two months later, he led his soldiers (or "bandits," as the United States called them) across the border into Columbus, New Mexico, where they killed seventeen more Americans. With the permission of the Carranza government, Wilson ordered General John J. Pershing to lead an American expeditionary force across the Mexican border in pursuit of Villa. The American troops never found Villa, but they did engage in two ugly skirmishes with Carranza's army, in which forty Mexicans and twelve Americans died. Again, the United States and Mexico stood at the brink of war. But at the last minute, Wilson drew back. He quietly withdrew American troops from Mexico, and in March 1917, he at last granted formal recognition to the Carranza regime. By now, however, Wilson's attention was turning elsewhere—to the far greater international crisis engulfing the European continent and ultimately much of the world.

### THE ROAD TO WAR

Mill III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III Mill III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III III III II The causes of the war in Europe—indeed the question of whether there were any significant causes at all, or whether the entire conflict was the result of a tragic series of blunders—have been the subject of continued debate for nearly a century. What is clear is that the European nations had by 1914 created an unusually precarious international system that careened into war very quickly on the basis of what most historians agree was a relatively minor series of provocations.

### The Collapse of the European Peace

The major powers of Europe were organized by 1914 in two great, competing alliances. The "Triple Entente" linked Britain, France, and Russia. The "Triple Alliance" united Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Italy. The chief rivalry, however, was not between the two alliances, but between the competing great powers that dominated them: Great

Alliances Britain and Germany-the former long established as the world's most powerful colonial and commercial nation, the latter ambitious to expand its own empire and become at least Britain's equal. The Anglo-German rivalry may have been the most important underlying source of the tensions that led to World War I, but it was not the immediate cause of its outbreak. The conflict emerged most directly out of a controversy involving nationalist movements within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On June 28, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the tottering empire, was assassinated while paying a state visit to Sarajevo. Sarajevo was the capital of Bosnia, a province of Austria-Hungary that Slavic nationalists wished to annex to neighboring Serbia; the archduke's assassin was a Serbian nationalist. This local controversy quickly escalated through the workings of the system of alliances that the great powers had constructed. With support from Germany, Austria-Hungary launched a punitive assault on Serbia. The Serbians called on Russia to help with their defense. The Russians began mobilizing their army on July 30. Things quickly careened out of control. By August 3, Germany had declared war on both Russia and France and had invaded Belgium in preparation for a thrust across the French border. On August 4, Great Britain ostensibly to honor its alliance with France but, more importantly, to blunt the advance of its principal rival-declared war on Germany. Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire formally began hostilities on August 6. Italy, although an ally of Germany in 1914, remained neutral at first and later entered the war on the side of the British and French. The Ottoman Empire (centered in Turkey) and other, smaller nations all joined the fighting later in 1914 or in 1915. Within less than a year, virtually the entire European continent and part of Asia were embroiled in a catastrophic war. Wilson's Neutrality Wilson called on his fellow citizens in 1914 to remain "impartial in thought as well as deed." But that was an impossible task, for several reasons. Some Americans sympathized with the German cause (German Americans because of affection for Germany, Irish Americans because of hatred of Britain). Many more (including Wilson himself) sympathized with Britain. Wilson was only one of many Americans who fervently admired England-its traditions, its culture, its political system; almost instinctively, these Americans attributed to the cause of the Allies (Britain, France, Italy, Russia) a moral quality that they denied to the Central Powers (Germany, the

Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire). Lurid reports of German atrocities in Belgium and France, skillfully exaggerated by British propagandists, strengthened the hostility of many Americans toward Germany. Economic realities also made it impossible for the United States to deal with the belligerents on equal terms. The British had imposed a naval blockade on Germany to prevent munitions and supplies from reaching the enemy. As a neutral, the United States had the right, in theory, to trade with both Britain and Germany; but for Americans to trade with Germany, they would have to defy the British blockade. A truly neutral response to the blockade would have been to stop trading with Britain as well. But while the United States could survive an interruption of its relatively modest trade with the Central Powers, it could not easily weather an embargo on its much more extensive trade with the Allies, particularly when war orders from Britain and France soared after 1914, helping to produce one of the greatest economic booms in the nation's history. So America

590 CHAPTER 21 FAC C 1 ■™ HE ■1 BI ■VI ILL THAN  
TO BE KILLED AT HOME BYA BOI JOIN THE ARMY AT ONCE  
&HELPTO STOPAN AIR RAID COD SAVE THE KINC BULLETS  
BETTER THAN BOMBS? At the beginning of World War I, Britain  
largely relied on a volunteer army. To attract recruits, the  
government used propaganda posters such as the one shown here.  
While this was very successful in attracting recruits, the need for  
soldiers was enormous, compelling Parliament to enact in January  
1916 a Military Service Bill that introduced conscription. By the  
end of the war, more than 5 million men had joined up. (© Archive  
Photos/ Alamy) tacitly ignored the blockade of Germany and  
continued trading with Britain. By 1915, the United States had  
gradually transformed itself from a neutral power into the arsenal  
of the Allies. The Germans, in the meantime, were resorting to a  
new and, in American eyes, barbaric tactic: submarine warfare.  
Unable to challenge British domination on the ocean's surface,  
Germany began early in 1915 to use the newly improved submarine  
to try to stem the flow of supplies to England. Enemy vessels, the  
Germans announced, would be sunk on sight. Months later, on  
Lusitania May 7, 1915, a German submarine sank the British  
passenger liner Lusitania without warning, causing the deaths of  
1,198 people, 128 of them Americans. The ship was, it later became  
clear, carrying both passengers and munitions; but most Americans  
considered the attack what Theodore Roosevelt called it: "an act of  
piracy." Wilson angrily demanded that Germany promise not to  
repeat such outrages and that the Central Powers affirm their  
commitment to neutral rights. The Germans finally agreed to  
Wilson's demands, but tensions between the nations continued to  
grow. Early in 1916, in response to an announcement that the Allies  
were now arming merchant ships to sink submarines, Germany  
proclaimed that it would fire on such vessels without warning. A  
few weeks later Germany attacked the unarmed French steamer  
Sussex, injuring several American passengers. Again Wilson  
demanded that Germany abandon its "unlawful" tactics; again the  
German government relented, still hoping to keep America out of  
the war. Preparedness versus Pacifism Despite the president's  
increasing bellicosity in 1916, he was still far from ready to commit  
the United States to war. One obstacle was American domestic  
politics. Facing a difficult battle for reelection, Wilson could not

ignore the powerful factions that continued to oppose intervention. The question of whether America should make military and economic preparations for war provided the first issue over which pacifists and interventionists could openly debate. Wilson at first sided with the antipreparedness forces, denouncing the idea of an American military buildup as needless and provocative. As tensions between the United States and Germany grew, however, he changed his mind. In the fall of 1915, he endorsed an ambitious proposal for a large and rapid increase in the nation's armed forces. Amid expressions of outrage from pacifists in Congress and elsewhere, he worked hard to win approval of it, even embarking on a national speaking tour early in 1916 to arouse support for the proposal. Still, the peace faction wielded considerable political strength, as became clear at the Democratic Convention in the summer 1916 Election of 1916. The convention became especially i him M him M mu M him M him M him M him M him M him M Mm M ii enthusiastic when the keynote speaker punctuated his list of Wilson's diplomatic achievements with the chant "What did we do? What did we do? . . . We didn't go to war! We didn't go to war!" That speech helped produce one of the most prominent slogans of Wilson's reelection campaign: "He kept us out of war." During the campaign, Wilson did nothing to discourage those who argued that the Republican candidate, the progressive New York governor Charles Evans Hughes (supported by the bellicose Theodore Roosevelt), was more likely than he to lead the nation into war. And when pro-war rhetoric became particularly heated, Wilson spoke defiantly of the nation being "too proud to fight." He ultimately won reelection by a small margin: fewer than 600,000 popular votes and only 23 electoral votes. The Democrats retained a precarious control over Congress. A War for Democracy The election was behind him, and tensions between the United States and Germany remained high. But Wilson still required a Justification for American intervention that would unite public opinion and satisfy his own sense of morality. In the end, he created that rationale himself. The United States,



**IT IS FAR BETTER  
TO FACE THE BULLETS  
THAN TO BE KILLED  
AT HOME BY A BOMB**

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**JOIN THE ARMY AT ONCE  
& HELP TO STOP AN AIR RAID**

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**COD SAVE THE KING**

AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 591 Wilson insisted, had no material aims in the conflict. Rather, the nation was committed to using the war as a vehicle for constructing a new world order, one based on some of the same progressive ideals that had motivated reform in America. In a speech before Congress in January 1917, he presented a plan for a postwar order in which the United States would help maintain peace through a permanent league of nations—a peace that would ensure self-determination for all nations, a "peace without victory." These were, Wilson believed, goals worth fighting for if there was sufficient provocation. Provocation came quickly. In January, after months of inconclusive warfare in the trenches of France, the military leaders of Germany decided on one last dramatic gamble to achieve victory. They launched a series of major assaults on the enemy's lines in France. At the same time, they began unrestricted submarine warfare (against American as well as Allied ships) to cut Britain off from vital supplies. The Allied defenses would collapse, they hoped, before the United States could intervene.

ZIMMERMANN . ^ . Telegram The new German policy made American entry into the war virtually inevitable. Two additional events helped clear the way. On February 25,

| Candidate (Party)                            | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote (%) |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Woodrow Wilson (Democratic)                  | 277            | 49.4             |
| Charles E. Hughes (Republican)               | 254            | 46.2             |
| A. L. Benson (Socialist)                     | 9              | 3.2              |
| Other parties (Prohibition; Socialist Labor) | 61             | 0.6              |

OF 1916 Woodrow Wilson had good reason to be concerned about his reelection prospects in 1916. He had won only about 42 percent of the vote in 1912, and the Republican Party—which had been divided four years earlier—was now reunited around the popular Charles Evans Hughes. In the end, Wilson won a narrow victory over Hughes with just under 50 percent of the vote and an even narrower margin in the electoral college. Note the striking regional character of his victory. • How did Wilson use the war in Europe to bolster his election prospects? the British gave Wilson a telegram intercepted from the German foreign minister, Arthur Zimmermann, to the government of Mexico. It proposed that in the event of war between Germany and the United States, the Mexicans should Join with Germany against the Americans to regain their "lost provinces" (Texas and much of the rest of the American Southwest) when the



war was over. Widely publicized by British propagandists and in the American press, the Zimmermann telegram inflamed public opinion and helped build popular sentiment for war. A few weeks later, in March 1917, a revolution in Russia toppled the reactionary czarist regime and replaced it with a new, republican government. The United States would now be spared the embarrassment of allying itself with what most Americans considered a despotic monarchy. On the rainy evening of April 2, two weeks after German submarines had torpedoed three American ships, Wilson appeared before a joint session of Congress and asked for a declaration of war: It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. Even then, opposition remained. For four days, pacifists in Congress carried on a futile struggle. When the declaration of war finally passed on April 6, fifty representatives and six senators voted against it. “WAR WITHOUT STINT”



Armies on both sides in Europe were decimated and exhausted by the time of Woodrow Wilson's declaration of war. The German offensives of early 1917 had failed to produce an end to the struggle, and French and British counteroffensives had accomplished little beyond adding to the casualties. The Allies looked to the United States for help. Wilson, who had called on the nation to wage war "without stint or limit," was ready to oblige. Entering the War By the spring of 1917, Great Britain was suffering such vast losses from attacks by German submarines—one of every four ships setting sail from British ports never returned—that its ability to continue receiving vital supplies from across the Atlantic was in question. Within weeks of joining the war, a fleet of American destroyers began aiding the British navy in its assault on German submarines. Other American warships

592 CHAPTER 21 escorted merchant vessels across the Atlantic. Americans also helped sow antisubmarine mines in the North Sea. The results were dramatic. Sinkings of Allied ships had totaled nearly 900,000 tons in April 1917; by December, the figure had dropped to 350,000, and by October 1918 to 112,000. The convoys also helped the United States protect its own soldiers en route to Europe. No American troop ship was lost at sea in World War I. Many Americans had hoped that providing naval assistance alone would be enough to turn the tide in the war, but it quickly became clear that American ground forces would also be necessary to shore up tottering Allies. Britain and France had few remaining reserves. By early 1918, Russia had withdrawn from the war. After the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917, the new government, led by V.I. Lenin, negotiated a hasty and costly peace with the Central Powers, thus freeing additional German troops to fight on the western front. The American Expeditionary Force There were only about 120,000 soldiers in the army in 1917 and perhaps 80,000 more in the National Guard. Neither group had any combat experience; and except for the small number of officers who had participated in the Spanish-American War two decades before and the Mexican intervention of 1916, few commanders had any experience in battle either. Some politicians urged a voluntary recruitment process to raise the needed additional forces. Among the advocates of this approach was Theodore Roosevelt, now old and ill, who swallowed his hatred of Wilson and called on him at the White House with an offer to raise a regiment to fight in Europe. Wilson rejected his offer. In the new age of warfare, he sensed, the old tradition of civilians becoming officers and recruiting troops (a common practice in the Civil War), seemed obsolete. The president and his secretary of war, Newton D. Baker, decided that only a national draft could provide the needed men; and despite the protests of those who agreed with House Speaker Champ Clark that "there is Selective 11 Service Act precious little difference between a conscript and a convict," he won passage of the Selective Service Act in mid-May. The draft brought nearly 3 million men into the army; another 2 million joined various branches of the armed services voluntarily. Together, they formed what became known as the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). It was the first time in

American history that any substantial number of soldiers and sailors had fought overseas for an THE WARTIME DRAFT The World War I draft was the first centrally organized effort by the federal government to require military service from its citizens. Although some Americans evaded the draft in 1917 and 1918 (and were reviled by others as "shirkers"), most of those drafted complied with the law. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-npcc-00293))



## AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 593 A WOMEN'S

**MOTOR CORPS** Although the most important new role that women performed during World War I was probably working in factories that male workers had left, many women also enlisted in auxiliary branches of the military— among them these uniformed women who served as drivers for the U.S. Army. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIGggbain-26109)) extended period. The military did its best to keep up morale among men who spent most of their time living in the trenches, but it was a difficult task. The trenches were frequently shelled and even when calm were muddy, polluted, and infested with rats. But when soldiers had time away from the front, they were usually less interested in the facilities the Red Cross tried to make available for them than in exploring the bars and brothels of local towns. More than one in every ten American soldiers in Europe contracted venereal disease during World War I, which inspired elaborate official efforts to prevent infection and to treat it when it occurred. In some respects, the AEF was the most diverse fighting force the United States had ever assembled. For the first time, women were permitted to enlist in the military—more than ten thousand in the navy and a few hundred in the marines. They were not allowed to participate in combat, but they served auxiliary roles in hospitals and offices. Nearly 400,000 African Americans enlisted in or were drafted into the army and navy as well. (The marines would not accept them.) And while most of them performed menial tasks on military bases in the United States, more than 50,000 African went to France. African American soldiers American served in segregated, all-black units under Soldiers white commanders; and even in Europe, most of them were assigned to noncombat duty. But some black units fought valiantly in the great offensives of 1918. Most African American soldiers learned to live with the racism they encountered—in part because they hoped their military service would ultimately improve their status. But a few responded to provocations violently. In August 1917, a group of black soldiers in Houston, Texas, subjected to continuing abuse by people in the community, used military weapons to kill seventeen whites. Thirteen African American soldiers were hanged, and another forty were sentenced to life terms in military jails. Having assembled this first genuinely national army, the War Department permitted the American Psychological Association to study it. The psychologists

gave thousands of soldiers new tests designed to measure intelligence: the "Intelligence Quotient," or "IQ," test and other newly designed aptitude tests. In fact, the tests were less effective in measuring intelligence than in measuring education; and they reflected the educational expectations of the white middle-class people who had devised them. Half the whites and the vast majority of the African Americans taking the test scored at levels that classified them as "morons." In reality, most of them were simply people who had not had much access to education. The Military Struggle The engagement of these forces in combat was intense but brief. Not until the spring of 1918 were significant numbers of American ground troops available for Pershing's battle. Eight months later, the war was over. Under the command of General John J. Pershing, who had only recently led the unsuccessful American pursuit of Pancho Villa, the American Expeditionary Force—although it retained a command structure independent of the other Allies—joined the existing Allied forces. The experience of American troops during World War I was very different from those of other nations, which had already been fighting for nearly four years by the time the U.S. forces arrived in significant numbers. British, French, German, and other troops had by then spent years living in the vast



594 CHAPTER 21 LIFE IN THE TRENCHES For most British, French, German, and ultimately American troops in France, the most debilitating part of World War I was the seeming endlessness of life in the trenches. Some young men lived in these cold, wet, muddy dugouts for months, even years, surrounded by filth, sharing their space with vermin, eating mostly rotten food. Occasional attacks to try to dislodge the enemy from its trenches usually ended in failure and became the scenes of terrible slaughters. (National Archives and Records Administration (NWDNS-111-SC-12151)) network of trenches that had been dug into the French countryside. Modern weapons made conventional, frontal battles a recipe for mass suicide. Instead, the two sides relied on heavy shelling of each other's trenches and occasional, usually inconclusive, and always murderous assaults across the "no-man's land" dividing them. Life in the trenches was almost indescribably terrible. The trenches were places of extraordinary physical stress and discomfort. They were also places of intense boredom, laced with fear. By the time the Americans arrived, morale on both sides was declining, and many soldiers had come to believe that the war would be virtually endless. Although the American forces had trench experiences of their own, they were very brief compared to those of the European armies. Instead, the United States tipped the balance of power in the battle and made it possible for the Allies at last to break out of their entrenched positions and advance Chateau- against the Germans. In early June Thierry 1918, American forces at Chateau. Thierry assisted the French in repelling a German offensive that had brought German forces within fifty miles of Paris. Six weeks later, after over a million American troops had flooded into France, the Americans helped turn away another assault, at Rheims, farther south. By July 18, the Allies had halted the German advance and were beginning a successful offensive of their own. On September 26, the American fighting force Joined a large assault against the Germans in the Argonne Forest that Meuse- lasted nearly seven weeks. By the end of Argonne October, despite terrible weather, they Offensive had helped push the Germans back toward their own border and had cut the enemy's major supply lines to the front. Faced with an invasion of their own country, German military leaders now began to seek an armistice-an immediate cease-fire that would, they hoped, serve as a prelude to

negotiations among the belligerents. Pershing wanted to drive on into Germany itself; but other Allied leaders, after first insisting on terms that made the agreement little different from a surrender, accepted the German proposal. On November 11, 1918, the Great War shuddered to a close. The New Technology of Warfare World War I was a proving ground for a range of military and other technologies. The trench warfare that characterized the conflict was necessary because of the enormous destructive power of newly improved machine guns and higher-powered artillery. It was no longer feasible to send troops out into an open field, or even to allow them to camp in the open. The new weaponry would slaughter them in an instant. Trenches sheltered troops while allowing limited, and usually inconclusive, fighting. But technology overtook the trenches, too, as mobile weapons-tanks and flamethrowers proved capable of piercing entrenched positions. Most terrible of all, new chemical weapons-poisonous mustard gas, which required troops to carry gas masks at all times made it possible to attack entrenched soldiers without direct combat. The new forms of technological warfare required elaborate maintenance. Faster machine guns needed more ammunition. Motorized vehicles required fuel and spare parts and mechanics capable of servicing them. The logistical difficulties of supply became a major factor in planning tactics and strategy. Late in the war, when advancing toward Germany, Allied armies frequently had to stop for days at a time to wait for their equipment to catch up with them.





AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 595 Brussels BELGIUM  
 Ypres-liys Offensive Aug. 1?PNov. 11 Somme Offensive Aug. 8-Nov.  
 11 Cantigny May 28 Aisne-Marne Offensive July 18-Aug. 6 2nd  
 Battle of the Marne July 18-Aug. 6 \*Rheims 1 MeuseArgonne  
 Offensive Sept. 26-Nov. 1 1 North Sea ENGLAND NETHERLANDS  
 GREAT BRITAIN GERMANY London Aug. 1 SPAIN Belleau Wood  
 June 6-26 isne f Oisne-Aisne ChateauThierry June 3-4 Offensive  
 Paris St. Mihiel Offensive ept 12-18 Aug. 1 8-Nov. 11 NORWAY  
 SWEDEN GERMANY NETHERLANDS ©Berlin RUSSIA VH BELGIUM  
 A Paris q \ LUXEMBOURG r ' ^Vienna FRANCE SWIT It ITALY  
 AUSTRIAHUNGARY FRANCE Allied nations Central Powers Areas  
 occupied by Central Powers Territory gained in German offensives,  
 Spring 1918 TROOP MOVEMENTS U.S. troops Other Allied forces  
 Neutral nations National boundaries, 1914 BATTLES Allied victories  
 FRONT LINES \_ Battle line, July 18, 1918 \_ Armistice line, Nov. 11,  
 1918 AMERICA IN WORLD WAR I: THE WESTERN FRONT, 1918  
 These maps show the principal battles in which the United States  
 participated in the last year of World War I. The small map on the  
 upper right helps locate the area of conflict within the larger  
 European landscape. The larger map at left shows the long, snaking  
 red line of the western front in France— stretching from the border  
 between France and southwest Germany all the way to the  
 northeast border between Belgium and France. Along that vast line,  
 the two sides had been engaged in murderous, inconclusive warfare  
 for over three years by the time the Americans arrived. Beginning in  
 the spring and summer of 1918, bolstered by reinforcements from  
 the United States, the Allies began to win a series of important  
 victories that finally enabled them to begin pushing the Germans  
 back. American troops, as this map makes clear, were decisive  
 along the southern part of the front. • At what point did the  
 Germans begin to consider putting an end to the war? World War I  
 was the first conflict in which airplanes played a significant role.  
 The planes themselves were relatively simple and not very  
 maneuverable; but anti-aircraft technology was not yet highly  
 developed either, so their effectiveness was still considerable.  
 Planes began to be constructed to serve various functions: bombers,  
 fighters (planes that would engage in "dogfights" with other  
 planes), and reconaissance aircraft. The most "modern" part of the  
 military during World War I was the navy. New battleships

emerged-of which the British Dreadnought was perhaps the most visible example-that made use of new technologies such as turbine propulsion, hydraulic gun controls, electric light and power, wireless telegraphy, and advanced navigational aids. Submarines, which had made a brief appearance in the American Civil War, now became significant weapons (as the German U-boat campaign in 1915 and 1916 made clear). The new submarines were driven by diesel engines, which had the advantage of being more compact than a steam engine and whose fuel was less explosive than that of a gasoline engine. The diesel engine also had a much greater range than ships powered by other fuels. The new technologies were to a large degree responsible for the most stunning and horrible characteristic of World War I-its appalling level of casualties. A million men representing the British Empire (Britain, Canada, Casualty Australia, India, and others) died. France lost 1.7 million men; Germany, 2 million; the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1.5 million; Italy, 460,000; and Russia, 1.7 million. The number of Turkish dead, which was surely large, was never known. In Britain, one-third of the men born between 1892 and 1895 died in the war. Similarly terrible percentages could be calculated for other warring nations. Even greater numbers of men returned



596 CHAPTER 21 home with injuries, some of them permanently crippling. The United States, which entered the war near its end and became engaged only in the last successful offensives, suffered very light casualties in comparison- 12,000 dead, half of them victims of influenza, not battle. But the American casualties were very high in the battles in which U.S. troops were centrally involved.

THE WAR AND AMERICAN SOCIETY The American experience in World War I was relatively brief, but it had profound effects on the government, the economy, and society. Mobilizing an industrial economy for total war required an unprecedented degree of government involvement in industry, agriculture, and other areas. It also required, many Americans believed, a strenuous effort to ensure the loyalty and commitment of the people. Organizing the Economy for War Financing the War

By the time the war ended, the U.S. government had spent \$32 billion for expenses directly related to the conflict. This was a staggering sum by the standards of the time. The entire federal budget had seldom exceeded \$1 billion before 1915, and as recently as 1910 the nation's entire gross national product had been only \$35 billion. To finance the war, the government relied on two devices. First, it launched a major drive to solicit loans from the American people by selling "Liberty Bonds" to the public. By 1920, the sale of bonds, to both individuals and institutions, accompanied by elaborate patriotic appeals, had produced \$23 billion. At the same time, new taxes were bringing in an additional sum of nearly \$10 billion-some from levies on the "excess profits" of corporations, much from new, steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes that ultimately rose as high as 70 percent in some brackets. An even greater challenge was organizing the economy to meet war needs. In 1916, Wilson established a Council of National Defense, composed of members of his cabinet, and a Civilian Advisory Commission, which set up local defense councils in every state and locality. Economic mobilization, according to this first plan, was to rest on a dispersal of power to local communities. But this early administrative structure soon proved unworkable. Some members of the Council of National Defense, many of them disciples of the social engineering gospel of Thorstein Veblen and the "scientific management" principles of Frederick Winslow Taylor, urged a centralized approach. Instead of

dividing the economy geographically, they proposed dividing it functionally by organizing a series of planning bodies, each to supervise a specific sector of the economy. The administrative structure that slowly emerged from such proposals was dominated by a series of "war boards," one to oversee the railroads, one to supervise fuel supplies (largely coal), another to handle food (a board that helped elevate to prominence the brilliant young engineer and business executive Herbert Hoover). The boards generally succeeded in meeting essential war needs without paralyzing the domestic economy. At the center of the effort to rationalize the economy was the War Industries Board (WIB), an agency created in July 1917 to coordinate government purchases of military supplies. Casually organized at first, it stumbled badly until March 1918, when Wilson restructured it and placed it under the control of the Wall Street financier Bernard Baruch. From then on, the board wielded powers greater (in theory at least) than any other government agency had ever possessed. Baruch decided which factories would convert to the production of which war materials and set prices for the goods they produced. When materials were scarce, Baruch decided to whom they should go. When corporations were competing for government contracts, he chose among them. He was, it seemed, providing the centralized regulation of the economy that some progressives had long urged. In reality, the celebrated efficiency of the WIB was something of a myth. The agency was, in fact, plagued by mismanagement and inefficiency. Its apparent success rested in large part on the sheer extent of American resources and productive capacities. Nor was the WIB in any real sense an example of state control of the economy. Baruch viewed himself as the partner of business; and within the WIB, businessmen themselves—the so-called dollar-a-year men, who took paid leave from their corporate jobs and worked for the government for a token salary—supervised the affairs of the private economy. Baruch ensured that manufacturers who coordinated their efforts with his goals would be exempt from antitrust laws. He helped major industries earn enormous profits from their efforts. The effort to organize the economy for war produced some spectacular accomplishments: Hoover's efficient organization of domestic food supplies, William McAdoo's success in untangling the railroads, and others. In some areas, however, progress was so slow that the war was over before many of the

supplies ordered \_ for it were ready. Even so, many leaders of  
Lessons of . . . , the Managed both Government and industry  
emerged Economy from the experience convinced of the advantages  
of a close, cooperative relationship between the public and private  
sectors. Some hoped to continue the wartime experiments in  
peacetime. Labor and the War The growing link between the public  
and private sectors extended, although in greatly different form, to  
labor. The National War Labor Board, established in April 1918 to  
resolve labor disputes, pressured industry to grant important  
concessions to workers: an eight-hour day, the maintenance of

AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 597 minimal living standards, equal pay for women doing equal work, recognition of the right of unions to organize and bargain collectively. In return, it insisted that workers forgo all strikes and that employers not engage in lockouts. Membership in labor unions increased by more than 1.5 million between 1917 and 1919. The war provided workers with important, if usually temporary, gains. But it did not stop labor militancy. That was particularly clear in the West, where the Western Federation of Miners staged a series of strikes to improve the terrible conditions in the underground mines. The bloodiest of them occurred just before the war. In Ludlow, Colorado, in 1914, workers (mostly Italians, Greeks, and Slavs) walked out of coal mines owned by John D. Rockefeller. Joined by their wives and daughters, they continued the strike even after they had been evicted from company housing and had moved into hastily erected tents. The state militia was called into the town to protect the mines, but in fact (as was often the case), it actually worked to help employers defeat the strikers. Joined by strikebreakers and others, the militia attacked the workers' tent colony; and in the battle that followed, thirty-nine people died, among them eleven children. These events, which became known as the Ludlow Massacre, were only precursors to continued conflict in the mines that the war itself did little to discourage. Economic and Social Results of the War Whatever its other effects, the war helped produce a remarkable period of economic growth in the United States—a boom that began in 1914 (when European demands for American products began to increase) and accelerated after

ON THE TOWN IN HARLEM Harlem, once a suburb of Manhattan where middle-class commuters lived, became in the early twentieth century the center of African American life in New York. The Lafayette Theatre was the first New York theater to desegregate, in as early as 1912. African American theatergoers could sit in the orchestra section rather than just in the balcony as was the practice in other New York theaters. (© John Springer Collection/Corbis)





## 598 CHAPTER 21 WOMEN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

In World War II, such women were often called "Rosie the Riveter." Their presence in these previously all-male work environments was no less startling to Americans during World War I. These women are shown working with acetylene torches to bevel armor plate for tanks. (Photo by Margaret Bourke-White/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) 1917 (in response to demand from the United States war effort). Industrial production soared, and manufacturing activity expanded in regions that had previously had relatively little of it. The shipbuilding industry, for example, grew rapidly on the West Coast (enabled by the Panama Canal). Employment increased dramatically; and because so many white men were away at war, new opportunities for female, African American, Mexican, and Asian workers appeared. Some workers experienced a significant growth in income, but inflation cut into the wage increases and often produced a net loss in purchasing power. The agricultural economy profited from the war as well. Farm prices rose to their highest levels in decades, and agricultural production increased dramatically as a result. One of the most important social changes of the war years was the migration of hundreds of thousands of African Americans from the rural South into northern industrial cities. It became known as the "Great Migration." Like most "Great migrations, it was a result of both a "push" Migration" and a "pull" Migration. The push was the poverty, . indebtedness, racism, and violence many black men and women experienced in the South. The pull was the prospect of factory jobs in the urban North and the opportunity to live in communities where blacks could enjoy more freedom and autonomy. In the labor-scarce economy of the war years, northern factory owners dispatched agents to the South to recruit African American workers. Black newspapers advertised the prospects for employment in the North. And perhaps most important, those who migrated sent word back to friends and families of the opportunities they encountered-which explains the heavy concentration of migrants from a single area of the South in certain cities in the North. In Chicago, for example, the more than 70,000 new black residents came disproportionately from a few areas of Alabama and Mississippi. The result was a dramatic growth in black communities in northern industrial cities such as New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit. Some older, more established African American

residents of these cities were unsettled by these new arrivals, with their country ways and their revivalistic religion; many people in the existing African American communities considered the newcomers coarse and feared that their presence would increase their own vulnerability to white racism. But the movement could not be stopped. New churches sprang up in black neighborhoods (many of them simple storefronts, from which self-proclaimed preachers searched for congregations). Low-paid black workers crowded into inadequate housing. As Race Riots r^e ~ac^ communities expanded, they . inevitably began to rub up against white neighborhoods, with occasionally violent results. In East St. Louis, Illinois, a white mob attacked a black neighborhood on July 2, 1917, burned down many houses, and shot the residents of some of them as they fled. As many as forty African Americans died. For American women, black and white, the war meant new opportunities for employment. A million or more women worked in a wide range of industrial jobs that, in peacetime, were considered male preserves: steel, munitions, trucking, public transportation. Most of them had been working in other, lower-paying jobs. But whatever changes the war brought were temporary ones. As soon as the war was over, almost all of the women working in previously male industrial jobs quit or were fired; in fact, the percentage of women working for wages actually declined between 1910 and 1920. The government had created the Women in Industry Board to oversee the movement of these women into the jobs left behind by men. After the war, the board became the Women's Bureau, a permanent agency dedicated to protecting the interests of women in the workforce.



[illegible]

Gilman, a leading feminist activist. Women peace activists shared many of the same objections to the war as did the members of the National Oppression Socialist Party (to which some of them belonged). But some criticized the war on other grounds as well, arguing that as the mother half of humanity," they had a special moral and maternal basis for their pacifism. Selling the War and Suppressing Dissent World War I was not as popular among the American people as World War II would be, but most of the country supported the intervention once it began. In communities across the nation, there were outbursts of fervent patriotism, floods of voluntary enlistments in the military, and greatly increased displays of patriotism. Women joined their local Red Cross in an effort to contribute to the war effort. Children raised money for war bonds in their schools. Churches included prayers for the president and the troops in their services. And the war also gave a large boost to the wave of religious revivalism that had been growing for a decade before 1917; revivalism, in turn, became a source of support for the war. Billy Sunday, the leading revivalist of his time, dropped his early opposition to intervention in 1917 and became a fervent champion of the American military effort. Nevertheless, government leaders (and many others) remained deeply concerned about the significant minorities who continued to oppose the war even after the United States entered the conflict. Many believed that a crucial prerequisite

WARTIME PROPAGANDA This poster— one of many lurid images of imperial Germany used by the U.S. government to generate enthusiasm for American involvement in World War I— shows bloodstained German boots with the German eagle clearly visible. The demonization of Germany was at the heart of government efforts to portray the war to Americans. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZC4-9853))



keep  
**these**  
off  
**the U.S.A**  
**Buy more LIBERTY BONDS**

CONSIDER THE SOURCE GENDER AND MUCH CAN BE  
LEARNED ABOUT a SOCIETY'S VALUES from how it handles the  
raising of an army. In wartime, nations typically clarify the terms of  
citizenship MILITARY SERVICE and service-asking some people to  
fight, others to stay home, and appealing to the public for  
participation and support. The government sets the terms of service,  
but they must align with popular values to be successful. During  
World War I, as part of the broad national effort to explain, justify,  
and fight the war, the government disseminated the two posters  
below (the "1917-1918" documents). The first poster was part of a  
recruiting drive for the U.S. Navy; the second was part of a  
campaign to sell "liberty loans," interest-bearing bonds that funded  
roughly two-thirds of the war's \$32 billion price tag. Both images  
suggest that women not only served in the military and industrial  
sectors-they also served as symbols. By the time of the war on  
terrorism of the early twenty-first century, the landscape of military  
recruitment had changed dramatically. The new war was more  
limited in scale than World War I, and the draft had been  
suspended in 1973, converting the military to an all-volunteer force.  
This put a high premium on recruiting and marketing-and the  
materials used for those purposes remained just as illuminating as  
ever (see the "2006-2014" documents). In 2006, the U.S. Army  
launched its "Army Strong" campaign to communicate the message  
that WORLD WAR I-1917-1918 Wartime Posters BE A MAM AND  
DO IT UNLIESKRESftAVr RECRUITING STATION (The Library of  
Congress (LC-USZC4-1124)) 600 \ (The Library of Congress (LC-  
USZC4-9884)) J |||||





for victory was an energetic, even coercive, effort to unite public opinion behind the military effort. The most conspicuous government effort to rally public support was a vast propaganda campaign orchestrated by the new Committee on Public Information (CPI). It was directed by the Denver journalist George Creel, who spoke openly of the importance of achieving social unity. The CPI supervised the distribution of tons of pro-war literature (75 million pieces of printed material). War posters plastered the walls of offices, shops, theaters, schools, churches, and homes. Newspapers dutifully printed official government accounts of the reasons for the war and the prospects for quick victory. Creel encouraged reporters to exercise "self-censorship" when reporting news about the conflict. As the war continued, the CPI's tactics became increasingly crude. Government-promoted posters and films became lurid portrayals of the savagery of the Germans, bearing such titles as *The Prussian Cur* and *The Kaiser: Beast of Berlin*, encouraging Americans to think of the German people as something close to savages. The government soon began more coercive efforts to suppress dissent. The CPI ran full-page advertisements in popular magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post* urging citizens to notify the Justice Department when they encountered "the man who spreads the pessimistic stories . . . , cries for peace, or belittles our efforts to win the war." The Espionage Act of 1917 gave the government new tools with which to respond to such reports. It created stiff penalties for spying, sabotage, or obstruction of the war effort (crimes that were often broadly defined); and it empowered the Post Office Department to ban "seditious" material from the mails. Sedition, Postmaster General Albert Sidney Burleson said, included statements that might "impugn the motives of the government and thus encourage insubordination," anything that suggested "that the government is controlled by Wall Street or munitions manufacturers, or any other special interests." He included in that category all publications of the Socialist Party. More repressive were two measures of 1918: the Sabotage Act of April 20 and the Sedition Act of May 16. These bills expanded the meaning of the Espionage Act to make illegal

any public expression of opposition to the war; in practice, it allowed officials to prosecute anyone who criticized the president or the government. The most frequent targets of the new legislation (and one of the reasons for its enactment in the first place) were such anticapitalist groups (and antiwar) groups as the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Many Americans had favored the repression of socialists and radicals even before the war; the wartime policies now made it possible to move against them legally. Eugene V. Debs, the humane leader of the Socialist Party and an opponent of the war, was sentenced to ten years in prison in 1918. Only a pardon by President Warren G. Harding ultimately won his release in 1921. Big Bill Haywood and members of the IWW were especially energetically prosecuted. Only by fleeing to the Soviet Union did Haywood avoid long imprisonment. More than 1,500 people were arrested in 1918 for the crime of criticizing the government. State and local governments, corporations, universities, and private citizens contributed as well to the climate of repression. Vigilante mobs sprang up to "discipline" those who dared „ challenge the war. A dissident Protestant Repressing , . , r Dissent clergyman in Cincinnati was pulled from . his bed one night by a mob, dragged to a nearby hillside, and whipped "in the name of the women and children of Belgium." An IWW organizer in Montana was seized by a mob and hanged from a railroad bridge. A cluster of citizens' groups emerged to mobilize "respectable" members of their communities to root out disloyalty. The American Protective League, probably the largest of such groups, enlisted the services of 250,000 people, who served as "agents"-prying into the activities and thoughts of their neighbors, opening mail, tapping telephones, and in general attempting to impose unity of opinion on their communities. It received government funds to support its work. Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory, a particularly avid supporter of repressing dissent, described the league and similar organizations approvingly as "patriotic organizations." Other vigilante organizations-the National Security League, the Boy Spies of America, the American Defense Society-performed much the same function. There were many victims of such activities: socialists, labor activists, female pacifists. But the most frequent targets of repression were immigrants: Irish Americans because of their historic « animosity toward the British, Jews because Americanism"

manY had expressed opposition to the anti-Semitic policies of the Russian government, and others. "Loyalist" citizens' groups policed immigrant neighborhoods. They monitored meetings and even conversations for signs of disloyalty. Even some settlement house workers, many of whom had once championed ethnic diversity, contributed to such efforts. The director of the National Security League described the origins of the anti-immigrant sentiment, which was producing growing support for what many citizens were now calling "100 percent Americanism": The melting pot has not melted. . . . There are vast communities in the nation thinking today not in terms of America, but in terms of Old World prejudices, theories, and animosities. The greatest target of abuse was the German American community. Most German Americans supported the American war effort once it began. Still, public opinion turned bitterly hostile. A campaign to purge society of all things German quickly gathered speed, at times assuming ludicrous forms. Sauerkraut was renamed "liberty cabbage." Frankfurters became "liberty sausage." Performances of German music were frequently banned. German books were removed from the shelves of libraries. Courses in the German language were removed from school curricula; the California Board of Education called it "a language that disseminates the ideals of autocracy, brutality, and hatred." Germans were routinely fired from jobs

AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 603 in war industries, lest they "sabotage" important tasks. Some were fired from positions entirely unrelated to the war—for example, Karl Muck, the German-born conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Vigilante groups routinely subjected Germans to harassment and beatings, including a lynching in southern Illinois in 1918. Relatively few Americans favored such extremes, but many came to agree with the belief of the eminent psychologist G. Stanley Hall that "there is something fundamentally wrong with the Teutonic soul." THE SEARCH FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER I III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III Mill III IIM Woodrow Wilson had led the nation into war promising a more just and stable peace at its conclusion. Well before the armistice, he was preparing to lead the fight for what he considered a democratic postwar settlement. The Fourteen Points On January 8, 1918, Wilson appeared before Congress to present the principles for which he claimed the nation was fighting. The war aims had fourteen distinct provisions, widely known as the Fourteen Points; but they fell into three broad categories. First, Wilson's proposals contained eight specific Wilson's recommendations for adjusting postwar Idealistic boundaries and for establishing new nations Vision to replace the defunct Austro-Hungarian I Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II MIIIIIIII Mill II 1 . T~ > • ft»1 1 and Ottoman Empires. Those recommendations reflected his belief in the right of all peoples to selfdetermination. Second, there were five general principles to govern international conduct in the future: freedom of the seas, open covenants instead of secret treaties, reductions in armaments, free trade, and impartial mediation of colonial claims. Finally, there was a proposal for a league of nations that would help implement these new principles and territorial adjustments and resolve future controversies. There were serious flaws in Wilson's proposals. He provided no formula for deciding how to implement the "national selfdetermination" he promised for subjugated peoples. He said little about economic rivalries and their effect on international relations, even though such economic tensions had been in large part responsible for the war. Nevertheless, Wilson's international vision quickly came to enchant not only much of his own

generation (in both America and Europe), but also members of generations to come. It reflected his belief, strongly rooted in the ideas of progressivism, that the world was as capable of just and efficient government as were individual nations; that once the international community accepted certain basic principles of conduct, and once it constructed modern institutions to implement them, the human race could live in peace. The Fourteen Points were also an answer to the new Bolshevik government in Russia. In December 1917, Lenin had issued his own statement of war aims, strikingly similar to Wilson's. Wilson's announcement, which came just three weeks later, was, among other things, a last-minute (and un, successful) effort to persuade the Bolshevik Lenin's , , . . u Challenge regime to keep Russia in the war. But . Wilson also realized that Lenin was now a competitor in the effort to lead the postwar order. And he announced the Fourteen Points in part to ensure that the world looked to the United States, not Russia, for guidance. Early Obstacles Wilson was confident, as the war neared its end, that popular support would enable him to win Allied approval of his peace plan. But there were ominous signs both at home and abroad that his path might be more difficult than he expected. In Europe, leaders of the Allied forces, many resenting what they considered Wilson's tone of moral superiority, were preparing to resist him even before the armistice was signed. They had reacted unhappily when Wilson refused to make the United States their "ally" but had kept his distance as an "associate" of his European partners, keeping American military forces separate from the Allied armies they were joining. Most of all, however, Britain and France, having suffered incalculable losses in their long years of war, and having stored . up an enormous reserve of bitterness toward Allied a Intransigence Germany as a result, were in no mood for a . benign and generous peace. The British prime minister, David Lloyd George, insisted for a time that the German kaiser be captured and executed. He and Georges Clemenceau, president of France, remained determined to the end to gain something from the struggle to compensate them for the catastrophe they had suffered. At the same time, Wilson was encountering problems at home. In 1918, with the war almost over, he unwisely appealed to the American voters to support his peace plans by electing Democrats to Congress in the November elections. A Republican victory, he declared, would be "interpreted on the other side of the water as a

repudiation of my leadership.” Days later, the Republicans captured majorities in both houses. Domestic economic troubles, more than international issues, had been the most important factor in the voting; but because of the president’s ill-timed appeal, the results damaged his ability to claim broad popular support for his peace plans. The leaders of the Republican Party, in the meantime, were developing their own reasons for opposing Wilson. Some were angry that he had tried to make the 1918 balloting a referendum on his war aims, especially since many Republicans had been supporting the Fourteen Points. Wilson further antagonized them when he refused to appoint any important Republicans to the negotiating team that would represent the United States at the peace conference in Paris. But the president considered such matters unimportant. Only one member of the American negotiating party would have any real authority: Wilson himself. And once he had produced a just and moral treaty, he believed, the weight of world and American opinion would compel his enemies to support him.

604 CHAPTER 21 The Paris Peace Conference Wilson arrived in Europe to a welcome such as few men in history have experienced. To the war-weary people of the Continent, he was nothing less than a savior, the man who would create a new and better world. When he entered Paris on December 13, 1918, he was greeted, some observers claimed, by the largest crowd in the history of France. The negotiations themselves, however, proved less satisfying. The principal figures in the negotiations were the leaders of the victorious Allied nations: David Lloyd George representing Great Britain; Georges Clemenceau representing France; Vittorio Orlando, the prime minister of Italy; and Wilson, who hoped to dominate them all. From the beginning, the atmosphere of idealism Wilson had sought to create was competing with a spirit of national aggrandizement. There was, moreover, a strong sense of unease about the unstable situation in eastern Europe and the threat of communism. Russia, whose new Bolshevik government was still fighting "White" counterrevolutionaries, was unrepresented in Paris; but the radical threat it seemed to pose to Western governments was never far from the minds of any of the delegates, least of all Wilson himself. Indeed, not long before he came to Paris, Wilson ordered the landing of American troops in the Soviet Union. They were there, he claimed, to help a group of 60,000 Czech soldiers trapped in Russia to escape. But the Americans soon became involved, at least indirectly, in assisting the White Russians (the anti-Bolsheviks) in their fight against the new regime. Some American troops remained in Russia as late as April 1920. Lenin's regime survived these challenges. Wilson refused to recognize the new government. Diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were not restored until 1933. In the tense and often vindictive atmosphere of the negotiations in Paris, Wilson was unable to win approval of many of the broad principles he had espoused: freedom of the seas, which the British refused even to discuss; free trade; "open covenants openly arrived at" (the Paris Retreat negotiations themselves were often conducted in secret). Despite his support for "impartial mediation" of colonial claims, he was forced to accept a transfer of German colonies in the Pacific to Japan; the British had promised them in exchange for Japanese assistance in the war. Wilson's pledge of "national self-determination" for all peoples suffered numerous assaults.

Economic and strategic demands were constantly coming into conflict with the principle of cultural nationalism. The treaty departed most conspicuously from Wilson's ideals on the question of reparations. As the conference began, the president opposed demanding compensation from the n defeated Central Powers. The other Allied Reparations . leaders, however, were insistent, and slowly Wilson gave way and accepted the principle of reparations, the specific sum to be set later by a commission. That figure, established in 1921, was \$56 billion, supposedly to pay for damages to civilians and for military pensions. Continued negotiations over the next decade scaled the sum back considerably. In the end, Germany paid only \$9 billion, which was still more than its crippled economy could afford. The reparations, combined with other territorial and economic penalties. THE BIG FOUR IN PARIS Surface cordiality during the Paris Peace Conference disguised serious tensions among the so-called Big Four, the leaders of the victorious nations in World War I. As the conference progressed, the European leaders developed increasing resentment of Woodrow Wilson's high (and some of them thought sanctimonious) moral posture in the negotiations. Shown here are, from left to right, David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Wilson. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ggbain-29038))





BIG FOUR:

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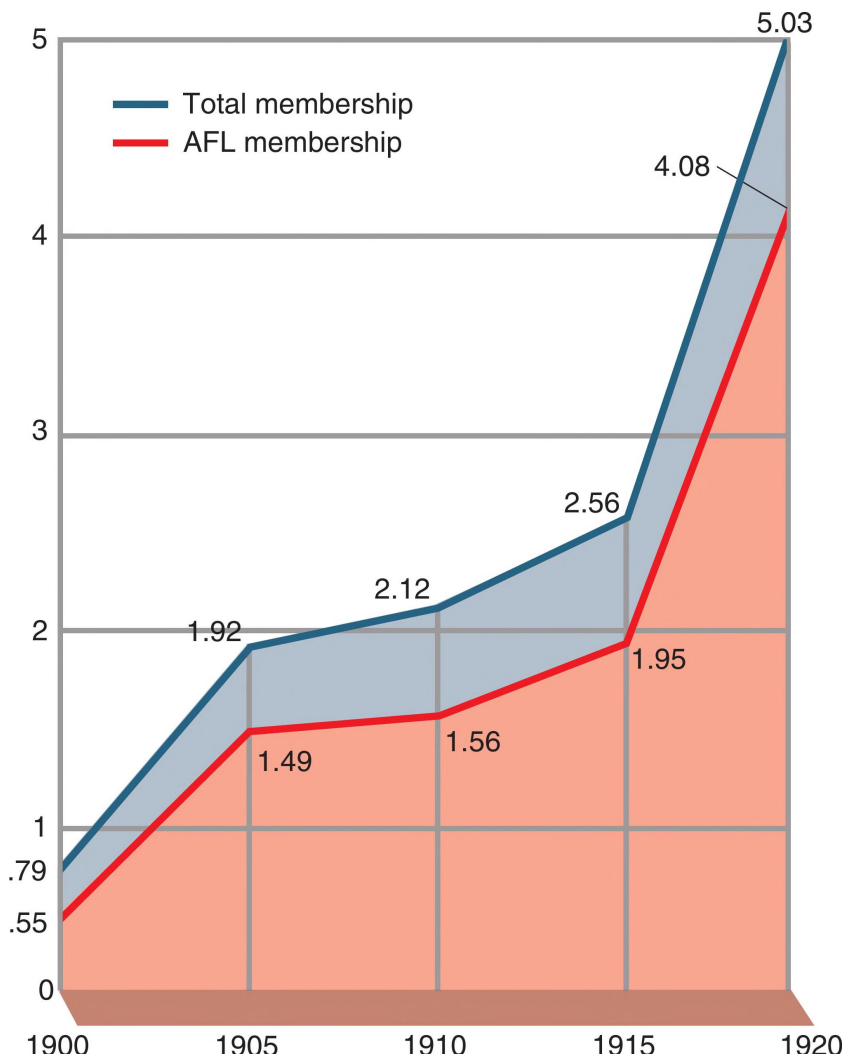
AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 605 constituted an effort to keep Germany weak for the indefinite future. Never again, the Allied leaders believed, should the Germans be allowed to become powerful enough to threaten the peace of Europe. Wilson did manage to win some important victories in Paris in setting boundaries and dealing with former colonies. He secured approval of a plan to place many former colonies and imperial possessions (among them Palestine) in "trusteeship" under the League of Nations-the so-called mandate system. He blocked a French proposal to break up western Germany into a group of smaller states. He helped design the creation of two new nations: Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, which were welded together out of, among other territories, pieces of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Each nation contained an uneasy collection of ethnic groups that had frequently battled one another in the past. But Wilson's most visible triumph, and the one most important to him, was the creation of a permanent international organization to oversee world affairs and prevent future wars. League of Nations On January 25, 1919, the Allies voted to accept the "covenant" of the League of Nations; and with that, Wilson believed, the peace treaty was transformed from a disappointment into a success. Whatever mistakes and inequities had emerged from the peace conference, he was convinced, could be corrected later by the League. The covenant provided for an assembly of nations that would meet regularly to debate means of resolving disputes and protecting the peace. Authority to implement League decisions would rest with a nine-member executive council; the United States would be one of five permanent members of the council, along with Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The covenant left many questions unanswered, most notably how the League would enforce its decisions. Wilson, however, was confident that once established, the new organization would find suitable answers. The Ratification Battle Wilson was well aware of the political obstacles awaiting him at home. Many Americans, accustomed to their nation's isolation from Europe, questioned the wisdom of this major new commitment to internationalism. Others had serious reservations about the specific features of the treaty and the covenant. After a brief trip to Washington in February 1919, during which he listened to harsh objections to the treaty from members of the Senate and others, he

returned to Europe and insisted on several modifications in the covenant to satisfy his critics. The revisions ensured that the United States would not be obliged to accept a League mandate to oversee a territory and that the League would not challenge the Monroe Doctrine. But the changes were not enough to mollify his opponents, and Wilson refused to go further. Wilson presented the Treaty of Versailles (which took its name from the palace outside Paris where the final negotiating sessions had taken place) to the Senate on July 10, 1919, asking, "Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?" In the Wilson's weeks that followed, he refused to consider Intransigence even the most innocuous compromise. His I HIM HIM II III II Mill llllll Mill HIM II III II Mill Mill II Mill II A deteriorating physical condition-he was suffering from hardening of the arteries and had apparently experienced something like a mild stroke (undiagnosed) in Paris-may have contributed to his intransigence. The Senate, in the meantime, was raising many objections. Some senators-the fourteen so-called irreconcilables, many of them western isolationists-opposed the agreement on principle. But other opponents, with less fervent convictions, were principally concerned with constructing a winning issue for the Republicans in 1920 and with weakening a president whom some members of the Senate had come to despise. Most notable of these was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, the TT \_ powerful chairman of the Foreign Relations Henry Cabot r r & Lodge Committee. A man of stunning arrogance . and a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt (who had died early in 1919, spouting hatred of Wilson to the end). Lodge loathed the president with genuine passion. "I never thought I could hate a man as I hate Wilson," he once admitted. He used every possible tactic to obstruct, delay, and amend the treaty. Wilson, for his part, despised Lodge as much as Lodge despised him. Public sentiment clearly favored ratification, so at first Lodge could do little more than play for time. When the document reached his committee, he spent two weeks slowly reading aloud each word of its 300 pages; then he held six weeks of public hearings to air the complaints of every disgruntled minority (Irish Americans, for example, angry that the settlement made no provision for an independent Ireland). Gradually, Lodge's general opposition to the treaty crystallized into a series of "reservations'-amendments to the League covenant limiting American obligations to the organization. At this point, Wilson might still have won

approval if he had agreed to some relatively minor changes in the language of the treaty. But the president refused to yield. When he realized the Senate would not budge, he decided to appeal to the public. Wilson's Ordeal What followed was a political disaster and a personal tragedy. Wilson embarked on a grueling, cross-country speaking tour to arouse public support for the treaty. In a little more than three weeks, he traveled over 8,000 miles by train, speaking as often as four times a day, resting hardly at all. Finally, he reached the end of his strength. After speaking at Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, he collapsed with severe headaches. Canceling the rest of his itinerary, he rushed back to Washington, D.C., where, a few days later, he suffered a major stroke. For two weeks he was close to death; for six weeks more, he was so seriously ill that he could conduct virtually no public business. His wife and his doctor formed an almost impenetrable barrier around him, shielding him from any official pressures that might impede his recovery, preventing the public from receiving any accurate information about the gravity of his condition.

606 CHAPTER 21 Wilson ultimately recovered enough to resume a limited official schedule, but he was essentially an invalid for the remaining eighteen months of his presidency. His left side was partially paralyzed; more important, like many stroke victims, he had only League partial control of his mental and emotional Membership state- His condition only intensified what had Rejected already been his strong tendency to view public issues m moral terms and to resist any attempts at compromise. When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee finally sent the treaty to the full Senate for ratification, recommending nearly fifty amendments and reservations, Wilson refused to consider any of them. When the full Senate voted in November to accept fourteen of the reservations, Wilson gave stern directions to his Democratic allies: they must vote only for a treaty with no changes whatsoever; any other version must be defeated. On November 19, 1919, forty-two Democrats, following the president's instructions, joined with the thirteen Republican "irreconcilables" to reject the amended treaty. When the Senate voted on the original version without any reservations, thirty-eight senators, all but one Democrats, voted to approve it; fifty-five senators (some Democrats among them) voted no. There were sporadic efforts to revive the treaty over the next few months. But Wilson's opposition to anything but the precise settlement he had negotiated in Paris remained too formidable an obstacle. He was, moreover, becoming convinced that the 1920 national election would serve as a "solemn referendum" on the League. By now, however, public interest in the peace process had begun to fade-partly as a reaction against the tragic bitterness of the ratification fight, but more in response to a series of other crises. A SOCIETY IN TURMOIL I III llllllllll III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III MINI MINIM III III MINIM III III III llllllllllllllll MINIM III III Mill III III llllllllll III lllllllllllllllllllll Even during the Paris Peace Conference, many Americans were less concerned about international matters than about turbulent j 0 events at home. The American economy exEnvironment perienced a severe postwar recession. And . much of middle-class America responded to demands for change with a fearful, conservative hostility. The aftermath of war brought not the age of liberal reform that progressives had predicted, but a period of repression and reaction.

Industry and Labor Citizens of Washington, D.C., on the day after the armistice, found it impossible to place long-distance telephone calls: the lines were jammed with officials of the war agencies canceling government contracts. The fighting had ended sooner than anyone had anticipated, and without warning, without planning, the nation was launched into the difficult task of economic reconversion. At first, the wartime boom continued. But the postwar prosperity rested largely on the lingering effects of the war (government deficit spending continued for some months after the armistice) and on sudden, temporary demands (a Total membership (in millions) UNION MEMBERSHIP, 1900-1920 This chart illustrates the steady increase in union membership in the first part of the twentieth century— a membership dominated by unions associated with the AFL Note the particularly sharp increase between 1915 and 1920, the years of World War I. • Why did the war years see such an expansion of union labor? booming market for scarce consumer goods at home and a strong market for American products in the war-ravaged nations of Europe). This brief postwar boom was accompanied, however, by raging inflation, a result in part of the rapid abandonment of wartime price controls. Through most of 1919 and 1920, prices rose at an average of more than 15 percent a year. Finally, late in 1920, the economic bubble burst, as many of the temporary forces that had created it disappeared and as inflation began killing the market for consumer goods. Between Postwar 1920 and 1921, the gross national product Recession (GNP) declined nearly 10 percent; 100,000 . businesses went bankrupt; 45 3,000 farmers lost their land; nearly 5 million Americans lost their jobs. In this unpromising economic environment, leaders of organized labor set out to consolidate the advances they had made in the war, which now seemed in danger of being lost. The raging inflation of 1919 wiped out the modest wage gains workers had achieved during the war; many laborers worried about job security as hundreds of thousands of veterans returned to the workforce; arduous working conditions-such as the twelvehour workday in the steel industry-continued to be a source of discontent. Employers aggravated the resentment by using the end of the war (and the end of government controls) to



AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 607 rescind benefits they had been forced to give workers in 1917 and 1918-most notably recognition of unions. The year 1919, therefore, saw an unprecedented wave of strikes-more than 3,600 in all, involving over 4 million workers. In January, a walkout by shipyard workers in Seattle, Washington, evolved into a general strike that brought the entire city almost to a standstill. The mayor requested and received the assistance of U.S. Marines to keep the city running, and eventually the strike failed. But the brief success of a general strike, something Americans associated with European radicals, made the Seattle incident reverberate loudly throughout the country. In September, there was a strike by the Boston police force, which was responding to layoffs and wage cuts by demanding „ „ recognition of its union. Seattle had reBoston Police . , „ . . Strike mained generally calm during its strike; . but with its police off the Job, Boston erupted in violence and looting. Efforts by local businessmen, veterans, and college students to patrol the streets proved ineffective; and finally Governor Calvin Coolidge called in the National Guard to restore order. (His public statement that "there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time" attracted national acclaim.) Eventually, Boston officials dismissed the entire police force and hired a new one. In September 1919, the greatest strike in American history began, when 350,000 steelworkers in several eastern and midwestern cities walked off the job, demanding an eight-hour workday and recognition of their union. ~TEESTohceCERS The steel strike was long, bitter, and violentDefeated most of the violence coming from employ. ers, who hired armed guards to disperse picket lines and escort strikebreakers into factories. It climaxed in a riot in Gary, Indiana, in which eighteen strikers were killed. Steel executives managed to keep most plants running with nonunion labor, and public opinion was so hostile to the strikers that the AFL-having at first endorsed the strike-soon timidly repudiated it. By January, the strike had collapsed. It was a setback from which organized labor would not recover for more than a decade. The Demands of African Americans The nearly 400,000 black men who had served in the armed forces during the war came home in 1919 and marched THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE National Guardsmen stand guard in front of a store where broken windows suggest looting has already



occurred, during the Boston Police Strike of 1919. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



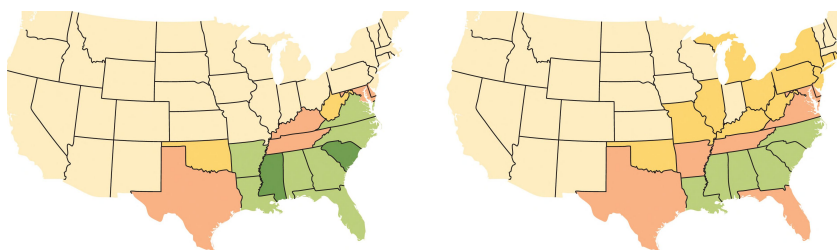
608 CHAPTER 21 down the main streets of the industrial cities with other returning troops. And then (in New York and other cities), they marched again through the streets of black neighborhoods such as Harlem, led by jazz bands, cheered by thousands of African Americans, worshiped as heroes. The black soldiers were an inspiration to thousands of urban African Americans, a sign, they thought, that a new age had come, that the glory of black heroism in the war would make it impossible for white society ever again to treat African Americans as less than equal citizens. W. E. B. Du Bois, watching the African American soldiers returning home, conveyed his hopes for a new life for them. "We are returning from war!" he wrote, "The Crisis and tens of thousands of black men were drafted into the great struggle . . . we fought gladly and to the last drop of blood; for America and her highest ideals, we fought in far-off hope." But recalling the past he added, "This country of ours, despite all its better souls have done and dreamed, is yet a shameful land." In fact, that black soldiers had fought in the war had almost no impact on white attitudes. But it did have a profound effect on black attitudes: it accentuated African American bitterness<sup>T</sup> and increased black determination to fight New Black Attitudes f'r rights. For soldiers, there was an expectation of some social reward for their service. For many other African Americans, the war had raised economic expectations, as they moved into industrial and other jobs vacated by white workers, jobs to which they had previously had no access. Just as black soldiers expected their military service to enhance their social status, so black factory workers regarded their move north as an escape from racial prejudice and an opportunity for economic gain. By 1919, however, the racial climate had become savage and murderous. In the South, there was a sudden increase in lynchings: more than seventy blacks, some of them war veterans, died at the hands of white mobs in 1919 alone. In the North, black factory workers faced widespread layoffs as returning white veterans displaced them from their jobs. African American veterans found no significant new opportunities for advancement. Rural black migrants to northern cities encountered white communities unfamiliar with and generally hostile to them; and as whites became convinced that black workers with lower wage demands were hurting them economically, animosity grew rapidly. The

wartime riots in East St. Louis and elsewhere were a prelude to a summer of much worse racial violence in 1919. ^ „ In Chicago, a black teenager swimming in Chicago Race \_ , u- u T i j u , Riots Lake Michigan on a hot July day happened to drift toward a white beach. Whites on shore allegedly stoned him unconscious; he sank and drowned. Angry blacks gathered in crowds and marched into white neighborhoods to retaliate; whites formed even larger crowds and roamed into black neighborhoods shooting, stabbing, and beating passersby, destroying homes and properties. For more than a week, Chicago was virtually at war. In the end, 38 people died- 15 whites and 23 blacksand 537 were injured; over 1,000 people were left homeless. The Chicago riot was the worst but not the only racial violence during the so-called red summer of 1919; in all, 120 people died in such racial outbreaks in little more than three months. Racial violence, and even racially motivated urban riots, was not new. The deadliest race riot in American history had THE FIFTEENTH REGIMENT ON FIFTH AVENUE The all-black Fifteenth Army Regiment marches up Fifth Avenue in New York City in 1917, shortly after the United States entered World War I. They are en route to an army training camp in New York State before traveling to the front in Europe. Less than two years later, many of these same men marched through Harlem on their return from the war, and again down Fifth Avenue, before cheering crowds— convinced, wrongly, that their service in the war would win them important new freedoms at home. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 609 occurred in New York during the Civil War. But the 1919 riots were different in one respect: they did not just involve white people attacking blacks; they also involved blacks fighting back. The NAACP signaled this change by urging African Americans not just to demand government protection, but also to retaliate, to defend themselves. The poet Claude McKay, one of the major figures of what would shortly be known as the Harlem Renaissance, wrote a poem after the Chicago riot called "If We Must Die": Like men well face the murderous cowardly pack. Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back. At the same time, a Jamaican, Marcus Garvey, began to attract a wide American following—mostly among poor urban blacks—with an ideology of black nationalism. Garvey encouraged African Americans to take pride in their own achievements and to develop an awareness of their African heritage—to m „ reject assimilation into white society and Marcus Garvey's Black develop pride in what Garvey argued was Nationalism their own superior race and culture. His United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) launched a chain of black-owned grocery stores and pressed for the creation of other black businesses. Eventually, Garvey began urging his supporters to leave America and "return" to Africa, where they could create a new society of their own. In the 1920s, the Garvey movement experienced explosive growth for a time; and the UNIA became notable for its mass rallies and parades, for the opulent uniforms of its members, and for the growth of its enterprises. It began to decline, however, after Garvey was indicted in 1923 on charges of business fraud. He was deported to Jamaica two years later. But the allure of black nationalism, which he helped make visible to millions of African Americans, survived in black culture long after Garvey himself was gone. The Red Scare To much of the white middle class at the time, the industrial warfare, the racial violence, and other forms of dissent all appeared to be frightening omens of instability and radicalism. This was in part because the Russian Revolution of November 1917 made it clear that communism was no longer simply a theory, but now an important regime. Concerns about the communist threat grew in 1919 when the Soviet government announced the formation of the Communist International (or Comintern), whose purpose was to export revolution around the world. And in America itself, there were, in

addition to the great number of imagined radicals, a modest number of real ones. The American Communist Party was formed in 1919, and there were other radical groups (many of them dominated by immigrants from Europe who had been involved in radical politics before coming to America). Some of these radicals were presumably responsible for a series of bombings in the spring of 1919 that produced great national alarm. In April, the Post Office Department, intercepted several dozen parcels addressed to leading businessmen and politicians that were triggered to explode when opened. Several of them reached their destinations, and one of them exploded, severely injuring a domestic servant of a public official in Georgia. Two months later, eight bombs exploded in eight cities within minutes of one another, suggesting a nationwide conspiracy. One of them damaged the 1910 1950 PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION | 50%— 75% □ 1 0%— 25% Q 0%-5% | 25%— 50% ■ 5%-1 0% AFRICAN AMERICAN MIGRATION, 1910-1950 Two great waves of migration produced a dramatic redistribution of the African American population in the first half of the twentieth century— one around the time of World War I, the other during and after World War II. The map on the left shows the almost exclusive concentration of African Americans in the South as late as 1910. The map on the right shows both the tremendous increase of black populations in northern states by 1950 and the relative decline of black populations in parts of the South. Note in particular the changes in Mississippi and South Carolina. Why did the wars produce such significant migration out of the South?





General A. Mitchell Palmer and his ambitious assistant, J. Edgar Hoover, orchestrated a series of raids on alleged radical centers throughout the country and arrested more than 6,000 people. The Palmer Raids had been intended to uncover large caches of weapons and explosives; they discovered only three pistols. Most of those arrested were ultimately released, but about 500 who were not American citizens were summarily deported. The ferocity of the Red Scare soon abated, but its effects lingered well into the 1920s, most notably in the celebrated case of Sacco and Vanzetti. In May 1920, Sacco and Vanzetti, two Italian immigrants, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were charged with the murder of a paymaster in Braintree, Massachusetts. The evidence against them was questionable; but because both men were confessed anarchists, they faced a widespread public presumption of guilt. They were convicted in a trial of extraordinary injudiciousness, before an openly prejudiced judge, Webster Thayer, and were sentenced to death. Over the next several years, public support for Sacco and





AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 611 Vanzetti grew to formidable proportions. But all requests for a new trial or a pardon were denied. On August 23, 1927, amid widespread protests around the world, Sacco and Vanzetti, still proclaiming their innocence, died in the electric chair. Theirs was a cause that a generation of Americans never forgot. Refuting the Red Scare Court—most notably Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis—gradually moved toward a strong position of defense of unpopular speech. The clash of "fighting faiths," Holmes wrote in a dissent in 1920, was best resolved "by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is . . . the competition of the market." This and other dissents eventually became law as other justices committed themselves to a robust defense of speech, however unpopular. An unexpected result of postwar turmoil was the emergence of a vigorous defense of civil liberties that not only discredited the Red Scare, but helped give new force of the Bill of Rights as well. The heavy-handed actions of the federal government after the war created a powerful backlash. It destroyed the career of A. Mitchell Palmer. It almost nipped in the bud the ascent of J. Edgar Hoover. It damaged the Democratic Party. And it led to an organization committed to protecting civil liberties: the National Civil Liberties Bureau, launched in 1917, which in 1920 was renamed the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which remains a prominent institution today. At the same time, members of the Supreme Court THE PALMER RAIDS In the years following World War I, many Americans feared political radicalism, especially from the left. The United States Department of Justice, led by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, conducted raids and arrested and deported more than 500 foreign citizens, including several prominent leftist leaders. (© Everett Collection Inc./Alamy)

The Retreat from Idealism On August 26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment, guaranteeing women the right to vote, became part of the Constitution. To the woman suffrage movement, this was the culmination of nearly a century of struggle. To many progressives, who had seen the inclusion of women in the electorate as a way of bolstering their political strength, it seemed to promise new support for reform. In some respects, the amendment helped fulfill that promise. Because of woman suffrage, members of Congress—concerned that women would vote as a bloc on the basis of women's issues—passed the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy

Act in 1921, one of the first pieces of federal welfare legislation that provided funds for supporting the health of women and infants. Concern about the women's vote also appeared to create support for the 1922 Cable Act, which granted women the rights of U.S. citizenship independent of their husbands' status, and for the proposed (but never ratified) 1924 constitutional amendment to outlaw child labor. In other ways, however, the Nineteenth Amendment marked less the beginning of an era of reform than an ending. Economic problems, feminist demands, labor unrest, racial tensions, and the intensity of the antiradicalism they helped create—all combined in the years immediately following the war to produce a general sense of disillusionment. That became particularly apparent in the election of 1920. Woodrow Wilson wanted the campaign to be a referendum on the League of Nations, and the Democratic candidates, Ohio governor James M. Cox and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, tried to keep Wilson's Return to "Normalcy" ideals alive. The Republican presidential nominee, however, offered a different vision. He was Warren Gamaliel Harding, an obscure Ohio senator whom party leaders had chosen as their nominee confident that he would do their bidding once in office. Harding offered few ideals, only a vague promise of a return, as he later phrased it, to "normalcy." He won in a landslide. The Republican ticket received 61 percent of the popular vote and carried every state outside the South. The party made major gains in Congress as well. Woodrow Wilson, who had tried and failed to create a postwar order based on democratic ideals, stood repudiated. Early in 1921, he retired to a house on S Street in Washington, where he lived quietly until his death in 1924. In the meantime, for most Americans, a new era had begun.



612 CHAPTER 21 LOOKING BACK The greatest and most terrible war in human history to that point was also an important moment in the rise of the United States to global preeminence. The powers of Europe emerged from more than four years of carnage with their societies and economies in disarray. The United States emerged from its own, much briefer, involvement in the war poised to become the most important political and economic force in the world. For a time after the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, most Americans-President Wilson among them-wanted to stay out of the conflict. Gradually, however, as the war dragged on and the tactics of Britain and Germany began to impinge on American trade and on freedom of the seas, the United States found itself drawn into the conflict. In April 1917, finally, Congress agreed (although not without considerable dissent) to the president's request that the United States enter the war as an ally of Britain. American forces quickly broke the stalemate that had bogged the European forces down in years of inconclusive trench warfare. Within a few months after the arrival of substantial numbers of American troops in Europe, Germany agreed to an armistice and the war shuddered to a close. American casualties, although not inconsiderable, were negligible compared to the millions suffered by the European combatants. In the meantime, the American economy experienced an enormous industrial boom as a result of the war. The social experience of the war in the United States was, on the whole, dismaying to reformers. Although the war enhanced some reform efforts-most notably prohibition and woman suffrage-it also introduced an atmosphere of intolerance and repression into American life, an atmosphere assisted by policies of the federal government designed to suppress dissent. The aftermath of the war was even more disheartening to progressives, both because of a brief but highly destabilizing recession and because of a wave of repression directed against labor, radicals, African Americans, and immigrants in 1919 and 1920. At the same time, Woodrow Wilson's bold and idealistic dream of a peace based on the principles of democracy and justice suffered a painful death. The Treaty of Versailles, which he helped to draft, was itself far from what Wilson had hoped. It did, however, contain a provision for a League of Nations, which Wilson believed could transform the international order. But the League quickly became controversial in the United

States; and despite strenuous efforts by the president efforts that hastened his own physical collapse-the treaty was defeated in the Senate. In the aftermath of that traumatic battle, the American people seemed to turn away from Wilson's ideals and entered a very different era. Key Terms/People/Places/Events Allies 589 Central Powers 589 Dollar Diplomacy 587 General John J. Pershing 589 "Great Migration" 598 League of Nations 605 Ludlow Massacre 597 Lusitania 590 Marcus Garvey 609 Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti 610 Nineteenth Amendment 611 Palmer Raids 610 Pancho Villa 589 Red Scare 609 Roosevelt Corollary 585 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge 605 The Fourteen Points 603 Treaty of Versailles 605 Trench warfare 594 Triple Alliance 589 Triple Entente 589 United Negro Improvement Association 609 ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM 591 RECALL AND REFLECT 1. Who opposed U.S. involvement in World War I and why? 2. How did the Wilson administration mobilize the nation for war? 3. What effect did the war have on race relations in the United States? 4. What were some of the ways that U.S. participation in the Great War changed American society? 5. Why did the battle over ratification of the Treaty of Versailles come to an impasse? Why did the Senate ultimately reject the treaty? What was the significance of that rejection?

AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR 613 SIGNIFICANT  
EVENTS 1904 "Roosevelt Corollary" announced 1914 World War I  
begins Panama Canal opens 1916 Wilson reelected president U.S.  
troops pursue Pancho Villa into Mexico 1905 Roosevelt mediates  
settlement of Russo-Japanese War \_ 1915 O Great Migration of  
blacks to the North begins Lusitania torpedoed o 1917 O Germany  
announces unrestricted submarine warfare United States declares  
war on Central Powers Selective Service Act passed War Industries  
Board created Bolshevik Revolution in Russia 1918 Sedition Act  
passed Armistice ends war (November 11) Paris Peace Conference  
convenes Wilson announces the Fourteen Points 1919 O Treaty of  
Versailles signed Senate rejects treaty Race riots break out in  
Chicago and other cities 1920 Nineteenth Amendment gives  
suffrage to women Federal government reacts to "radicalism" with  
Palmer Raids and Red Scare Workers engage in steel strike and  
other unrest Warren G. Harding elected president 1927 Q .....  
Sacco and Vanzetti executed



SETTING THE STAGE THE IMAGE OF THE 1920S IN THE American popular imagination is of an era of affluence, conservatism, and cultural frivolity. In reality, the decade was a time of significant and dramatic social, economic, and political change. During this era the American economy enjoyed spectacular growth and developed new forms of organization as well. A new urban, industrial, consumer-oriented culture emerged. American government, for all its apparent conservatism, experimented with new approaches to public policy. To a large degree, these changes were the result of industrialization, the rapid growth of cities, and the increasing size and power of the middle class. Contemporaries liked to refer to the 1920s as the "New Era"—an age in which America was becoming a modern nation. The idea of a "New Era" embraced the belief that the New Era was a time of liberation—in which people could reject traditional social restraints and live a freer life less constrained by tradition and propriety. But these same challenges to traditional values and ways of life also made the 1920s a turbulent era in which the nation experienced substantial cultural conflict. Many Americans rebelled against the new customs and morals of the urban middle class and sought to defend older values. The intense cultural conflicts of the 1920s were evidence of how many Americans remained outside the reach of the new affluent, consumer culture—some because their economic and social circumstances barred them from it, others because they found the character of this culture alien and unfulfilling. The New Era's exuberant modernization, in short, contributed to deep divisions in both politics and culture.

THE NEW ECONOMY After the recession of 1921-1922, the United States began a period of almost uninterrupted prosperity and economic expansion. Less visible at the time, but equally significant, was the survival (and even the growth) of inequalities and imbalances. Technology and Economic Growth No one could deny the remarkable, some believed miraculous, feats of the American economy in the 1920s. The nation's manufacturing output rose by more than 60 percent during the decade. Per capita income grew by a third. Inflation was negligible. A mild recession in 1923 interrupted the pattern of growth, but when it subsided early in 1924, the economy expanded with greater vigor than before. The economic boom was a result of many factors. An immediate cause was the debilitation of European



industry in the aftermath of World War I, which left the United States for the next ten years or so the only truly healthy industrial power in the world. More important in the long run Sources of was technology and the great industrial expansion it made possible. The autothe Boom mobile industry, as a result of the development of the assembly line and other innovations, now became one of the most important industries in the nation. It stimulated growth in many related industries as well. Auto manufacturers purchased the products of steel, rubber, glass, and tool companies. Auto owners bought gasoline from the oil corporations. Road construction in response to the proliferation of motor vehicles became an important industry. The increased mobility the automobile made possible increased the demand for suburban housing, fueling a boom in the construction industry. Other new industries benefiting from technological innovations contributed as well to the economic growth. Radio began to become a popular technology even before commercial broadcasting Radio began in 1920. Early radio had been able to broadcast little besides pulses, . 11 ""m" which meant that radio communication could occur only through the Morse code. But with the discovery of the theory of modulation, pioneered by the Canadian scientist Reginald Fessenden, it became possible to transmit speech and music. (Modulation also eventually made possible the transmission of video signals that later helped create radar and television.) Once

616 CHAPTER 22 THE STEAMFITTER Lewis Hine was among the first American photographers to recognize his craft as an art. In this photograph from the mid-1920s, Hine made a point that many other artists were making in other media: The rise of the machine could serve human beings, but might also bend them to its own needs. The steamfitter (carefully posed by the photographer) is forced to shape his body to the contours of his machine in order to complete his task. (© New York Public Library, USA/Bridgeman Images)

commercial broadcasting began, families flocked to buy conventional radio sets, which, unlike the cheaper "shortwave" or "ham" radios, could receive high-quality signals over short and medium distances. They were powered by vacuum tubes that were much more reliable than earlier models. By 1925, there were 2 million sets in American homes, and by the end of the 1920s almost every family had one. Commercial aviation developed slowly in the 1920s, beginning with the use of planes to deliver mail. On the whole, airplanes remained curiosities and sources of entertainment. But technological advances-the development of the radial engine and the creation of pressurized cabins-were laying the groundwork for the great increase in commercial travel in the 1930s and beyond. Trains became faster and more efficient as well with the development of the diesel-electric engine. Electronics, home appliances, plastics and synthetic fibers such as nylon (both pioneered by researchers at Du Pont), aluminum, magnesium, oil, electric power, and other industries fueled by technological advances-all grew and spurred the economic boom. Telephones continued to proliferate. By the late 1930s, there were approximately 25 million telephones in the United States, approximately one for every six people. The seeds of future technologies were also visible in the 1920s and 1930s. In both England and America, scientists and engineers were working to transform primitive calculating machines into devices capable of performing more complicated tasks. By the early 1930s, researchers at MIT, led by Vannevar Bush, had created an instrument capable of performing a variety of complicated tasks-the first analog computer, which became the starting point for dramatic progress over the next several decades. A few years later, Howard Aiken, with financial assistance from Harvard and MIT, built a much more complex computer with memory, capable of multiplying

eleven-digit numbers in three seconds. Genetic research had begun in Austria in the mid-nineteenth century through the work of Gregor Mendel, a Catholic monk who performed experiments on the hybridization of vegetables in the garden of his monastery. His findings attracted little attention during his lifetime, but in the early twentieth century they were discovered by several investigators and helped shape modern genetic research. Among the American pioneers was Thomas Hunt Morgan of Columbia University and later Cal Tech, whose experiments with fruit flies revealed how several genes could be transmitted together (as opposed to Mendel's belief that they could only be transferred separately). Morgan also revealed the way in which genes were arranged along the chromosome. His work helped open the path to understanding how genes could recombine—a critical discovery that led to advanced experiments in hybridization and genetics.

Economic Organization

Large sectors of American business were accelerating their drive toward national organization and consolidation. Certain industries—notably those, such as steel, dependent on largescale mass production—seemed naturally to move toward concentrating production in a few large firms; U.S. Steel, the nation's largest corporation, was so dominant that almost everyone used the term "Little Steel" to refer to all of its competitors combined. Other industries, such as textiles, that were less dependent on technology and less susceptible to great economies of scale, proved more resistant to consolidation, despite the efforts of many businessmen to promote it. In those areas where industry did consolidate, new forms of corporate organization emerged to advance the trend.

General Motors, by 1920 not only the largest automobile manufacturer but also the fifth-largest American corporation, was a classic example. GM's founder, William Durant, had expanded the company dramatically but had never replaced the informal, personal management style with which he began. When GM foundered in the recession of the early 1920s, leadership of the company fell to Alfred P. Sloan, who created a modern administrative system with an efficient



THE "NEW ERA" 617 divisional organization. The new system not only made it easier for GM to control its many subsidiaries; it also made it simpler for it-and for the many other corporations that adopted similar administrative systems-to expand further. Some industries less susceptible to domination by a few great corporations attempted to stabilize themselves not Trade through consolidation but through cooperAssociations ation. An important vehicle was the trade association-a national organization created by various members of an industry to encourage coordination in production and marketing techniques. Trade associations worked reasonably well in the mass-production industries that had already succeeded in limiting competition through consolidation. But in more decentralized industries, such as cotton textiles, their effectiveness was limited. The strenuous efforts by industrialists throughout the economy to find ways to curb competition through consolidation or cooperation reflected a strong fear of overproduction. Even in the booming mid- 1920s, industrialists remembered how too-rapid expansion had helped produce recessions in 1893, 1907, and 1920. The great, unrealized dream of the New Era was to find a way to stabilize the economy so that such collapses would never occur again. Labor in the New Era The remarkable economic growth was accompanied by a continuing, and in some areas even increasing, maldistribution of wealth and purchasing power. More than two-thirds of the American people in 1929 lived at no better than what one major study described as the "minimum comfort level." Half of those languished at or below the level of "subsistence and poverty." American industrial workers experienced both the successes and the failures of the 1920s as much as any other group. On the one hand, most workers saw their standard of living rise during the decade; many enjoyed greatly improved working conditions and other benefits. Some employers in the 1920s, eager to avoid disruptive labor unrest and the growth of independent trade unions, adopted paternalistic techniques that came to be known as "welfare capitalism." Henry Ford, for "Welfare example, shortened the workweek, raised Capitalism" wages, and instituted paid vacations. U.S. Steel made conspicuous efforts to improve safety and sanitation in its factories. For the first time, some workers became eligible for pensions on retirement-nearly 3 million by 1926. (Women workers

in such companies tended to receive other kinds of benefits-less often pensions, more often longer rest periods and vacations.) When labor grievances surfaced despite these efforts, workers could voice them through the so-called company unions that were emerging in many industries. These were workers' councils and shop committees, organized by the corporations themselves and thus without the independence later unions demanded. Welfare capitalism brought many workers important economic benefits, but it did not help them gain any real control over their own fates. Company unions were feeble vehicles, forbidden in most industries to raise the issues most important to workers. And welfare capitalism survived only as long as industry prospered. After 1929, with the economy in crisis, the system quickly collapsed. Welfare capitalism affected only a relatively small number of workers in any case. Most employers were interested primarily in keeping their labor costs to a minimum. Workers as a whole, therefore, received wage increases at a rate far below increases in production and profits. Unskilled workers, in particular, saw their wages increase by only a little over 2 percent between 1920 and 1926. In the end, American workers in the 1920s remained a relatively impoverished and powerless group. Their wages rose; but the average annual income of a worker remained below \$1,500 a year when \$1,800 was considered necessary to maintain a minimally decent standard of living. Only by relying on the earnings of several family members could many working-class families make ends meet. And almost all such families had to live with the very real possibility of one or more members losing their jobs. Unemployment was lower in the 1920s than it had been in the previous two decades, and much lower than it would be in the 1930s. But a large proportion of the workforce (estimated at 5-7 percent at any given time) was out of work for at least some period during the decade-in part because the rapid growth of industrial technology made many jobs obsolete. Many laborers continued to regard an effective, independent union movement as their best hope. But the New Era was a bleak time for labor organization, in part because the unions themselves were generally conservative and failed to adapt to the realities of the modern economy. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) remained committed to the concept of the craft union, in which workers were organized on the basis of particular skills. It continued to make no provision for the fastest-growing area of the

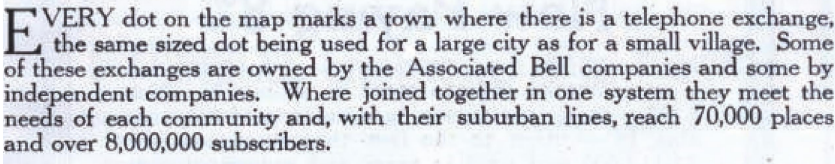
workforce: unskilled, industrial workers, who had few organizations of their own. William Green, who became president of the AFL in 1924, was committed to peaceful cooperation with employers and to strident opposition to communism and socialism. He frowned on strikes. Women and Minorities in the Workforce A growing proportion of the workforce consisted of women, who were concentrated in what have since become known as "Pink-Collar" \*P ink-collar" jobs-low-paying service occuJobs pations with many of the same problems as iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii r • l manufacturing employment. Large numbers of women worked as secretaries, salesclerks, telephone operators, and in other, similarly underpaid jobs. Because technically such positions were not industrial jobs, the AFL and other labor organizations were generally uninterested in organizing these workers. Similarly, the half-million African Americans who had migrated from the rural South to the cities during the Great Hard Times for Organized Labor

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/ COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY— THE TELEPHONE— 1914  
 SCOTTISH-BORN INVENTOR AND SCIENTIST Alexander Graham Bell received a patent for his invention of the telephone on March 7, 1876. The Bell Telephone Company was formed in July of the following year; in the first month of the company's existence, it sold only six phones. By the end of the year, however, more than 3,000 telephones were in service in the United States. The nation's first telephone system (or exchange) was installed in Hartford, Connecticut, that same year. The first exchange linking two major cities was established in 1883 between What the Telephone Map Shows 56.A% TD.S'Tf 9,2% EiehAp ifra H el Ncdiui'- cle-d , Eichklliv\* Bdkimed. Eichinne\* \*ii\*6 BrIL Plkh »\*Wed l# but Ml ^flkwunl. avaed oi\* traiujcctccl two compinieI.. EVERY dot on the map marks a town where there is a telephone exchange, the same sized dot being used for a large city as for a small village, Some of these exchanges are owned by the Associated Bell companies and some by independent companies. Where joined together in one system they meet the needs of each community and, with their suburban lines, reach 70,000 places arid over 8,000\*000 subscribers. The pyramids show that only a minority of the exchanges are Bdl-owned\* and that the greater majority of the exchanges are Owned by independent companies and connected with the Bell System. The recent agreement between the Attorney General of the United States and the Bell System will facilitate connections between all telephone subscribers regardless of who owns the exchanges. At comparatively few points are there two telephone companies, and there are comparatively few exchanges, chiefly rural, which do not have outside connections Over 8.000 different telephone companies have already connected their exchanges to provide universal service for the whole country. American Telephone and Telegraph Company AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES One Policy One ^System Universal •Service J\*J m Vlhftl Idvutiri nntlan Popular EltrtrflUr Htfsn IfttbtntiflR writiii tv IdvtrtLm, New York City and Boston. By the turn of the century there were more than 5 million phones in the United States. As the map below shows, in 1914 telephone exchanges linked more than 70,000 places and 8 million subscribers in the United States. The



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One of the next big revolutions in communications technology occurred in the 1970s, with the development of the Internet. The Soviet Union's launch of the satellite Sputnik in 1957 spurred the United States to develop computers and computer communications technology largely for defense-related purposes. The Department of Defense's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) formed the first computer network (ARPANET) in 1969, linking the computers of four universities-Stanford, UCLA, the University of California at Santa Barbara, and the University of Utah. By 1971, the ARPANET had expanded to twenty-three hosts at universities and government research centers throughout the United States. The Department of Defense withdrew from ARPANET in the early 1980s for security reasons. Now free to develop independently, the network-renamed the Internet-expanded rapidly, not only throughout the United States but across the globe as well. GLOBAL COMMUNICATION NETWORKS (© iStock Vectors/Getty Images) MAKE CONNECTIONS

[illegible]

1. Does any area of the United States in the map above appear to be underserved by Internet connections? Does the map point to regional and/or economic differences in access to technology, or a so-called digital divide, in the United States? 2. What major shifts are evident between the two maps? What factors would account for these shifts?

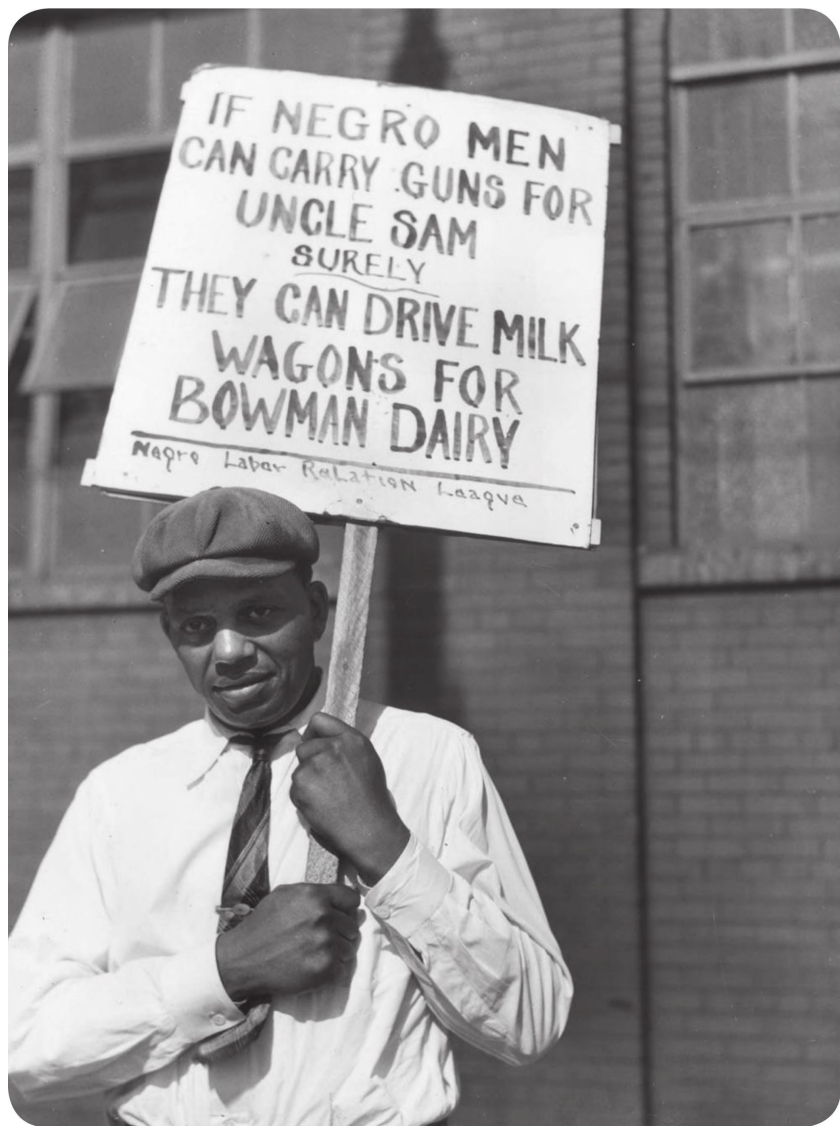


620 CHAPTER 22 PREPARING WOMEN FOR WORK This school was established during World War I by the Northern Pacific Telegraph Company to train new women employees to be telephone operators. Both during and after the war, telephone companies were among the largest employers of women. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

Migration after 1914 had few opportunities for union representation. The skilled crafts represented in the AFL often A Philip worked actively to exclude blacks from Randolph their trades and organizations. Most blacks . worked in Jobs in which the AFL took no interest-as Janitors, dishwashers, garbage collectors, commercial laundry attendants, and domestics, and in other types of service Jobs. This general reluctance to organize service-sector workers was in part because AFL leaders did not want women and minorities to become union members. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, founded in 1925 and led for years by A. Philip Randolph, was a notable exception: a vigorous union, led by an African American and representing a virtually allblack workforce. Over time, Randolph won some significant gains for his members-increased wages, shorter working hours, and other benefits. He also enlisted the union in battles for civil rights for African Americans. In the West and the Southwest, the ranks of unskilled workers included considerable numbers of Asians and Hispanics, few of them organized, most of them actively excluded from white-dominated unions. In the wake of the Chinese Exclusion Acts of the late nineteenth century, Japanese immigrants increasingly took the place of the Chinese in menial Jobs in California, despite the continuing hostility of the white population. They worked on railroads, construction sites, and farms, and in many other low-paying workplaces. Some Japanese managed to escape the ranks of the unskilled by forming their own small businesses or setting themselves up as truck farmers (farmers who grow small food crops for local sale). Many of the Issei (Japanese immigrants) and Nisei (their American-born children) enjoyed significant economic success-so much so that California passed laws in 1913 and 1920 to make it more difficult for them to buy land. Other Asians-most notably Filipinos-also swelled the unskilled workforce and generated considerable hostility. Anti-Filipino riots in California beginning in 1929 helped produce legislation in 1934 virtually eliminating immigration from the Philippines. Mexican immigrants

formed a major part of the unskilled workforce throughout the Southwest and California. Nearly half a million Mexicans entered the United States in the 1920s, more than any other national group, increasing the total Mexican population to over a million. Most lived in California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico; and by 1930, most lived in AFRICAN AMERICAN WORKER PROTESTING The frail union movement among African Americans in the 1920s, led by A. Philip Randolph and others against imposing obstacles, slowly built up a constituency within the black working class. Here, an aspiring black dairy worker draws attention to the contrast between African American patriotism in war and the discriminatory treatment African Americans faced at home. (© John Vachon/Getty Images)

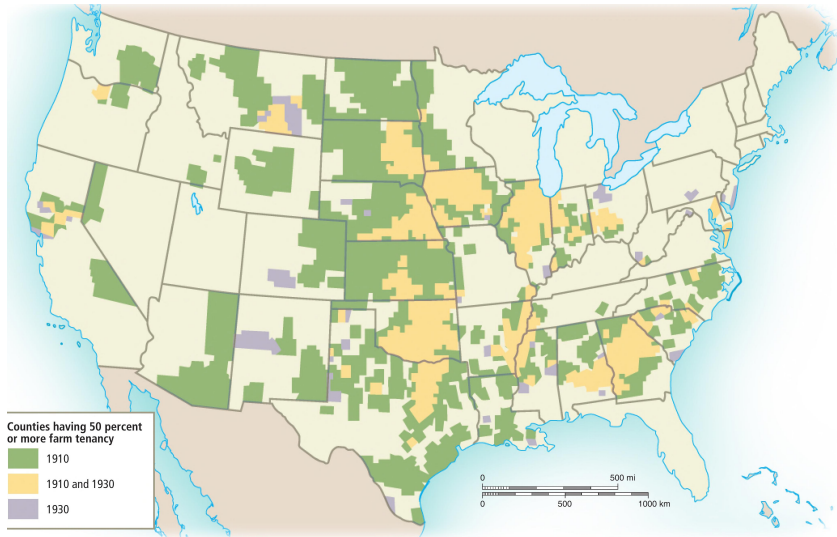




THE "NEW ERA" 621 cities. Large Mexican barrios-usually raw urban communities, often without even such basic services as plumbing and sewage-grew up in Los Angeles, El Paso, San Antonio, Denver, and many other cities and towns. Some of the residents found work locally in factories and shops; others traveled to mines or did migratory labor on farms, but returned to the cities between jobs. Mexican workers, too, faced hostility and discrimination from the Anglo population of the region; but there were few efforts actually to exclude them. Employers in the relatively underpopulated West needed this ready pool of low-paid, unskilled, and unorganized workers. The "American Plan" Whatever the weaknesses of the unions and of unorganized, unskilled workers, the strength of the corporations was the principal reason for the absence of effective Protecting Ar. i ^ THE open labor organization. After the turmoil of Shop 1919, corporate leaders worked hard to spread the doctrine that unionism was somehow subversive, that a crucial element of democratic capitalism was the protection of the open shop (a shop in which no worker could be required to join a union). The crusade for the open shop, euphemistically titled the 'American Plan," received the endorsement of the National Association of Manufacturers in 1920 and became a pretext for a harsh campaign of union busting across the country. When such tactics proved insufficient to counter union power, government assistance often made the difference. In 1921, the Supreme Court upheld a lower-court ruling that declared picketing illegal and supported the right of courts to issue injunctions against strikers. In 1922, the Justice Department intervened to quell a strike by 400,000 railroad workers. In 1924, the courts refused protection to members of the United Mine Workers Union when mine owners launched a violent campaign in western Pennsylvania to drive the union from the coal fields. As a result of these developments, union membership fell from more than 5 million in 1920 to under 3 million in 1929. Agricultural Technology and the Plight of the Farmer Like industry, American agriculture in the 1920s was embracing new technologies for increasing production. The number FARM TENANCY, 1910-1930 This map illustrates the significant increase in farm tenancy— that is, the number of farmers who did not own their land but worked as tenants for others— between 1910 and 1930. The dark green areas of the map show how



extensive tenancy was even in 1910; over 50 percent of the land in those areas was farmed by tenants. The gold and purple parts of the map show the significant expansion of tenancy between 1910 and 1930— creating many new areas in which more than half the farmers were tenants. • How did the increasing efficiency and technological progress of agriculture in these years contribute to the growth of tenancy?





of tractors on American farms, for example, quadrupled during the 1920s, especially after they began to be powered by internal combustion engines (like automobiles) rather than by the cumbersome steam engines of the past. They helped to open 35 million new acres to cultivation. Increasingly sophisticated combines and harvesters were proliferating, helping make it possible to produce more crops with fewer workers. Agricultural researchers were already at work on other advances that would later transform food production in America and around the world: the invention of hybrid corn (made possible by advances in genetic research), which became available to farmers in 1921 but was not grown in great quantities until the 1930s; and the creation of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, which also began to have limited use in the 1920s but proliferated quickly in the 1930s and 1940s. The new technologies greatly increased agricultural productivity, both in the United States and in other parts of the world. But the demand for agricultural goods was not rising as fast as production. The results were substantial surpluses, a disastrous decline in food prices, and a severe drop in farmers' income beginning early in the 1920s. More than 3 million people left agriculture in the course of the decade. Of those who remained, many lost ownership of their lands and had to rent instead from banks or other landlords. In response, some farmers began to demand relief in the form of government price supports. One price-raising scheme in particular came to dominate agrarian demands: the idea of "parity." Parity was a complicated formula for setting an adequate price for farm goods and ensuring that farmers would earn back at least their production costs no matter how the national or world agricultural market might fluctuate. Champions of parity urged high tariffs against foreign agricultural goods and a government commitment to buy surplus domestic crops at parity and sell them abroad at whatever the market would bring. The legislative expression of the demand for parity was the McNary-Haugen Bill, named after its two principal sponsors in McNary-Haugen Congress and introduced repeatedly gILL between 1924 and 1928. In 1926 and u i i i again in 1928 Congress (where farm interests enjoyed disproportionate influence) approved a bill requiring parity for grain, cotton, tobacco, and rice, but President

Coolidge vetoed it both times. "Parity"

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii THE NEW CULTURE I  
III III MINIM III III iiiiiiiiii III III III Mill III III III MINIM III III III  
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iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii III III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III MINIM III  
III III MINIM III III III MINIM III III Mill The increasingly urban and  
consumer-oriented culture of the 1920s helped many Americans in  
all regions live their lives and perceive their world in increasingly  
similar ways. That same culture exposed them to a new set of  
values that reflected the prosperity and complexity of the modern  
economy. But the new culture could not, of course, erase the  
continuing, and indeed increasing, diversity of the United States.  
Consumerism Among the many changes industrialization produced  
in the United States was the creation of a mass consumer culture.  
By Growing Mass the 1920s' America was a society in which  
Consumption many men and women could afford not . merely the  
means of subsistence, but a considerable measure of additional,  
discretionary goods and services; a society in which people could  
buy items not just because of need but for pleasure as well. Middle-  
class families purchased such new appliances as electric  
refrigerators, washing machines, electric irons, and vacuum  
cleaners, which revolutionized housework and had a particularly  
dramatic impact on the lives of women. Men and women wore  
wristwatches and smoked cigarettes. Women purchased cosmetics  
and mass-produced fashions. Above all, Americans bought  
automobiles. By the end of the decade, there were more than 30  
million cars on American roads. The automobile affected American  
life in countless ways. It greatly expanded the geographic horizons  
of millions of \_\_ people who in the past had seldom venSocial  
Impact tured far from their homes. Rural men Ur 1 He Automobile  
and women, in particular, found in the automobile a means of  
escaping the isolation of farm life; now they could visit friends or  
drive into town quickly and at will, rather than spending hours  
traveling by horse or foot. City dwellers found in the automobile an  
escape from the congestion of urban life. Weekend drives through  
the countryside became a staple of urban leisure. Many families  
escaped the city in a permanent sense: by moving to the new  
suburbs that were rapidly growing up around large cities in  
response to the ease of access the automobile had created. The  
automobile also transformed the idea of vacations. In the past, the

idea of traveling for pleasure had been a luxury reserved for the wealthy. Now many middle-class and even working-class people could aspire to travel considerable distances for vacations, which were a new concept for most men and women in this era. Many businesses and industries began to include paid vacations among their employee benefits; and many employers encouraged their vacationing workers to travel, on the assumption that a change of scene would help restore their energy and vigor at work. For young people in families affluent enough to afford a car, the automobile was often a means of a different kind of escape. It allowed them to move easily away from parents and family and to develop social lives of their own. It contributed to one of the distinctive developments of the early twentieth century: the emergence of a well-developed and relatively independent youth culture.

Advertising No group was more aware of the emergence of consumerism (or more responsible for creating it) than the advertising industry. The first advertising and public relations firms (N. W. Ayer and

THE "NEW ERA" 623 1900 AREA REACHED IN: 1 hour 2 hours 3 hours More than 3 hours + + + + + Railroads (1900) - Paved roads (1930) - - - - Unpaved roads (1930) 1930 BREAKING DOWN RURAL ISOLATION: THE EXPANSION OF TRAVEL HORIZONS IN OREGON, ILLINOIS This map uses the small town of Oregon, Illinois west of Chicago— to illustrate the way in which railroads and then automobiles reduced the isolation of rural areas in the first decades of the twentieth century. The gold and purple areas of the two maps show the territory that residents of Oregon could reach within two hours. Note how small that area was in 1900 and how much larger it was in 1930, by which time an area of over a hundred square miles had become easily accessible to the town. Note, too, the significant network of paved roads in the region by 1930, few of which had existed in 1900. • Why did automobile travel do so much more than railroads to expand the travel horizons of small towns? J. Walter Thompson) had appeared well before World War I; but in the 1920s, partly as a result of techniques pioneered by wartime propaganda, advertising came of age. Publicists no longer simply conveyed information; they sought to identify products with a particular lifestyle, to invest them with glamour and prestige, and to persuade potential consumers that purchasing a commodity could be a personally fulfilling and enriching experience. Advertisers also encouraged the public to absorb the values of promotion and salesmanship and to admire those who were effective "boosters" and publicists. One of the most successful books of the 1920s was *The Nobody Nobody Knows*, by advertising executive H. Bruce Barton. It portrayed Jesus Christ as not only a religious prophet but also a "super salesman," who "picked up twelve men from the bottom ranks of business and forged them into an organization that conquered the world." The parables, Barton claimed, were "the most powerful advertisements of all time." Barton's message was fully in tune with the new spirit of the consumer culture. Jesus had been a man concerned with living a full and rewarding life in this world; twentieth-century men and women should do the same. ("Life is meant to live and enjoy as you go along," Barton once wrote.) Jesus had succeeded because he knew how to make friends, to become popular, to please others; that talent was a prescription for success in the modern era as well. The advertising industry

could never have had the impact it did without the emergence of new vehicles of communication that made it possible to reach large audiences quickly and easily. Newspapers were being absorbed into national chains, and wire services were making it possible even for independent newspapers to carry nationally syndicated material. New or expanded mass-circulation magazines also attracted broad, national audiences. The Saturday Evening Post, which Mass began publication as a magazine in 1871, Circulation appealed to rural and small-town families Magazines with its homey stories and its conspicuous traditionalism; its popularity was, in some respects, evidence of a yearning for an earlier time. But other magazines responded directly to the realities of modern, urban life. The Reader's Digest, founded in 1921 by DeWitt and Lila Wallace, condensed stories and even books originally published in other places in an effort to make the expanding world of knowledge and information available in a brief, efficient form for people who would otherwise have no access to it. Time magazine, founded in 1923 by Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, set out to condense the news of the week into a brief, accessible, lively format for busy people who did not have the time or desire to read newspapers. Hollywood The Movies and Broadcasting At the same time, movies were becoming an ever more popular and powerful form of mass communication. More than 100 million people saw films in 1930, as compared to 40 million in 1922. The addition of sound to motion pictures-beginning in 1927 with the first feature-length "talkie," The Jazz Sinyer with Al Jolson-created nationwide excitement. An embarrassing scandal in 1921 involving the popular comedian Fatty Arbuckle produced public outrage and political pressure to "clean up" Hollywood. In response, the film industry introduced "standards" to its films. Studio owners created the Motion Picture Association, a new trade association, and hired former postmaster general Will Hays to head it. More important, they gave Hays broad

624 • CHAPTER 22 powers to review films and to ban anything likely to offend viewers (or politicians). Hays exercised his powers broadly and imposed on the film industry a safe, sanctimonious conformity for many years. The most important communications vehicle was the only one truly new to the 1920s: radio. The first commercial radio station in America, KDKA in Pittsburgh, began broadcasting in 1920; and the first national radio network, the National Broadcasting Company, was formed in 1927. By 1923, there were more than 500 radio stations, covering every area of the country. The radio industry, too, feared government regulation and control, and thus monitored program content carefully and excluded controversial or provocative material. But radio was much less centralized than filmmaking. Individual stations had considerable autonomy, and even carefully monitored stations and networks could not control the countless hours of programming as effectively as the Hays office could control films. Radio programming, therefore, was more diverse-and at times more controversial and even subversive-than film. Modernist Religion The influence of the consumer culture, and its increasing emphasis on immediate, personal fulfillment, was visible even in religion. Theological modernists taught their followers to abandon some of the traditional tenets of evangelical Christianity (literal interpretation of the Bible, belief in the BSUe fHIHTti! hSy BLSTRiSLOTB □ L'tfl m 009 COPIES OF THE. IOD WIRELESS MAGAZINE 25 Cents February in\* tmr lit) IlluiinflM\* E

THE "NEW ERA" 625 challenge the long-held assumption that women had an instinctive capacity for motherhood. Maternal affection was not, as they claimed, sufficient preparation for child rearing. Instead, mothers should rely on the advice and assistance of experts and professionals: doctors, nurses, and trained educators in nursery schools and kindergartens. For many middle-class women, these changes helped redefine what had been an all-consuming activity. Motherhood was no less important in behaviorist theory than it had been before; if anything, it was more so. But for many women it was less emotionally fulfilling, less connected to their instinctive lives, more dependent on (and tied to) people and institutions outside the family. Many attempted to compensate by devoting new attention to their roles as wives and companions, to developing what became known as "companionate marriage." The middle-class wife shared increasingly in her husband's social life; she devoted more attention to cosmetics and clothing; she was less willing to allow children to interfere with their marriage. Most of all, many more women considered their sexual relationships with their husbands not simply as a means of procreation, as earlier generations had been taught to do, but as an important and pleasurable experience in its own right, as the culmination of romantic love. Progress in the development of birth control was both a cause and a result of this change. The pioneer of the American birth-control movement was Margaret Sanger, who had become committed to the cause in part because of the influence of Emma Goldman—a Russian immigrant and political radical who had agitated for birth control before World War I. Sanger began her career promoting the diaphragm and other birth-control devices out of a concern for working-class women, believing that large families were among the major causes of poverty and distress in poor communities. By the 1920s, partly because she had limited success in persuading working-class women to accept her teachings, she was becoming more concerned with persuading middle-class women of the benefits of birth control. Women, she argued, should be free to enjoy the pleasures of sexual activity without any connection to procreation. Birth-control devices began to find a large market among middle-class women, even though some techniques remained illegal in many states (and abortion remained

illegal nearly everywhere). The "Flapper": Image and Reality The new, more secular view of womanhood had effects on women beyond the middle class as well. Some women concluded that in the "New Era" it was no longer necessary to maintain a rigid, Victorian female "respectability." Women could smoke, drink, dance, wear seductive clothes and makeup, and attend lively parties. They could strive for physical and emotional fulfillment, for release from repression and inhibition. (The wide popularity of Freudian ideas in the 1920s—often simplified and distorted for mass consumption—contributed to the growth of these attitudes.) THE FLAPPER By the mid-1920s, the flapper—the young woman who challenged traditional expectations—had become not only a social type but a movement in fashion as well. Here, Catherine Dear is shown posing in the latest "beach costume," a fashion a long way from the rigid "respectability" of Victorian age women. (© Bettmann/Corbis)





AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Cinema |T| fr ^ is probably no cultural or commercial product more closely identified with the United States than motion pictures— or, as they are known in much of the world, the cinema. Although the technology of cinema emerged from the work of inventors in England and France as well as the United States, the production and distribution of films has been dominated by Americans almost from the start. The United States was the first nation to create a film "industry," and it did so at a scale vaster than that of any other country. The 700 feature films a year that Hollywood produced in the 1920s was more than ten times the number created by any other nation, and its films were dominating not only the vast American market, but much of the world's market as well. Seventy percent of the films seen in France, 80 percent of those seen in Latin America, and 95 percent of the movies viewed in Canada and Great Britain were produced in the United States in the 1920s. As early as the 1930s, the penetration of other nations by American movies was already troubling many governments. The Soviet Union responded to the popularity of Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse cartoons by inventing a cartoon hero of its own— a porcupine, designed to entertain in a way consistent with socialist values and not the capitalist ones that the Soviets believed Hollywood conveyed. During World War II, American films were banned in occupied France (prompting some antifascist dissidents to screen such American films as Frank Capra's *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* in protest). American dominance was a result in part of World War I and its aftermath, which debilitated European filmmaking just as movies were vigorously growing in the United States. By the end of World War I, half the theaters of the world were in America. Two decades later, despite an extraordinary expansion of theaters in other nations, the United States continued to have over 40 percent of the world's cinemas. And while the spread of theaters through other areas of the world helped launch film industries in many other countries, it also increased the market (and the appetite) for American films and strengthened American supremacy in their production. "The sun, it now appears," *The Saturday Evening Post* commented in the mid-1920s, "never sets on the British empire and the American motion picture." Movies were then, and perhaps remain still, America's most influential cultural export. Even American popular

music, which has enormous global reach, faces more significant local competition than American movies do in most parts of the world. Despite this American dominance, however, filmmaking has flourished— and continues to flourish in many countries around the world. India's famed "Bollywood," for example, produces an enormous number of movies for its domestic market— almost as many as the American industry creates, even ^ JohnWeons!

ri™.Jf.^\*H^p RUD01PH VALENTINO 'ThfiSorvofthfl Sheik' W  
 VILMA BANKY J)p ft— H ■ \* QC&fiflE PITIHWttCE wmmti am L  
 ■ i^fr'iir^mira-Pxmr"! VALENTINO The popularity of the film star Rudolph Valentino among American women was one of the most striking cultural phenomena of the 1920s. Valentino was slight and delicate, not at all like the conventional image of "manliness." But he developed an enormous following among women, in part— as this poster is obviously intended to suggest— by baring his body on screen. Valentino was Italian, which made him seem somehow strange and foreign to many older-stock Americans, and he was almost always cast in exotic roles, never as an American. His sudden death in 1926 (at the age of 31) created enormous outpourings of grief among many American women. (© UA/ Photofest) Such assumptions became the basis of the "flapper"—the modern woman whose liberated lifestyle found expression in dress, hairstyle, speech, and behavior. The flapper lifestyle had a particular impact on lower-middle-class and working-class single women, who were flocking to new jobs in industry and the service sector. (The young, affluent, upper-class "Bohemian" women most often associated with the flapper image were, in fact, imitating a style that emerged first among this larger working-class group.) At night, such women flocked, often alone, to clubs and dance halls in search of excitement and companionship. Despite the image of liberation the flapper evoked in popular culture, most women remained highly dependent on men both in the workplace, where they were usually poorly paid, and in the home—and relatively powerless when men exploited that dependence.

626 • Pressing for Women's Rights The realization that the "new woman" was as much myth as reality inspired some American feminists to continue their crusade for reform. The National Woman's Party, under the leadership of Alice Paul, pressed on with its campaign to make the Equal Rights Amendment, first proposed in 1923, a part of the Constitution, although it found little Equal Rights support in

Congress (and met continued Amendment resistance from other feminist groups). Nevertheless, womens organizations and female political activities grew in many ways in the 1920s. Responding to the suffrage victory, women organized the League of Women Voters and the women's auxiliaries of both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Female-dominated iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

THE "NEW ERA" 627 though few of them are widely exported. The global cinema has had a significant impact on American filmmaking, just as American films have influenced filmmakers abroad. The small British film industry had a strong early influence on American movies partly because of the quality and originality of British films, and partly because of the emigration of talented actors, directors, and screenwriters to the United States. The great Alfred Hitchcock, for example, made his first films in London before moving to Hollywood, where he spent the rest of his long career. After World War II, French "new wave" cinema helped spawn a new generation of highly individualistic directors in the United States. Asian cinema— especially the thriving film industry in Hong Kong, with its gritty realism— helped lead to some of the powerfully violent American films of the 1980s and beyond, as well as the genre of martial-arts films that has become popular around the world. German, Italian, Swedish, Dutch, Japanese, Australian, and Indian filmmakers also had influence on Hollywood— and over time perhaps even greater influence on the large and growing "independent film" movement in the United States. In recent decades, as new technologies and new styles have transformed films around the world, the American movie industry has continued to dominate global cinema. But national boundaries no longer adequately describe moviemaking in the twenty-first century. It is becoming a truly globalized enterprise in the same way that so many other commercial ventures are becoming international. "American" films today are often produced abroad, often have non-American directors and actors, and are often paid for with international financing. Hollywood still dominates worldwide filmmaking, but Hollywood itself is now an increasingly global community.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Did American movies, as the Soviet Union claimed in the 1930s, promote capitalism?
2. Why has the American movie industry continued to dominate global cinema?
3. With the increasing globalism of the movie industry, is there still an identifiable American cinema?

consumer groups grew rapidly and increased the range and energy of their efforts. Women activists won a significant triumph in 1921, when they helped secure passage in Congress of a measure in keeping with the traditional feminist goal of securing "protective" legislation for women: the Sheppard-Towner Act. It

provided federal Sheppard-Towner Act and child health-care programs. From the start, however, the bill produced controversy. Alice Paul and her supporters opposed the measure, arguing that it classified all women as mothers. Margaret Sanger's objection was that the new programs would discourage birth-control efforts. More important, the American Medical Association fought Sheppard-Towner, warning that it would introduce untrained outsiders into the health-care field. In 1929, Congress terminated the program.

**Education and Youth** The growing secularism of American culture and its expanding emphasis on training and expertise found reflection in the increasingly important role of education in the lives of American youth. First, more people were going to school in the 1920s than ever before. High-school attendance more than doubled during the decade, from 2.2 million to more than 5 million. Enrollment in colleges and universities increased threefold between 1900 and 1930, with much of that increase occurring after World War I. In 1918, there had been 600,000 college students; in 1930, there were 1.2 million, nearly 20 percent of the college-age population. Attendance was increasing as well at trade and vocational schools and in other institutions providing the specialized training that the modern economy demanded. Schools were beginning to offer instruction not only in the traditional disciplines, but also in modern technical skills: engineering, management, economics. The growing importance of education contributed to the emergence of a separate youth culture. The idea of adolescence as a distinct period in the life of an individual was for Youth the most Part new to the twentieth century. In some measure it was a result of the influence of Freudian psychology. But it was a result, too, of society's recognition that a more extended period of training and preparation was necessary before a young person was ready to move into the workplace. Schools and colleges provided adolescents with a setting in which they could develop their own social patterns, their own hobbies, their own interests and activities. An increasing number of students saw school as a place not just for academic training, but also for organized athletics, extracurricular activities, clubs, and fraternities and sororities-that is, as an institution that allowed them to define themselves less in terms of their families and more in terms of their peer group. The Disenchanted The generation that lived through

(and in many cases fought in) the Great War quickly came to see the conflict as a useless waste of lives lost for no purpose. For many young people in the 1920s, disenchantment with the war contributed to a growing disenchantment with the United States. The newly prosperous and consumer-driven era they encountered seemed meaningless and vulgar to many artists and intellectuals in particular. As a result, they came to view their own culture with contempt. Rather than trying to influence and reform their society, they isolated themselves from it and embarked on a restless search for personal fulfillment. The American writer Gertrude Stein once referred to the young Americans emerging from World War I as a "Lost Generation." For some writers and intellectuals, at least, it was an apt description.

Dance Halls 11N's booming, boisterous, consumer-oriented world of the 1920s, many Americans— especially those living in urban areas— challenged the inhibitions of traditional public culture. They looked instead for freedom, excitement, and release. Nowhere did they do so more vigorously and visibly than in the great dance halls that were proliferating in cities across the nation in these years. The dance craze that swept urban America in the 1920s and 1930s was a result of many things. The great African American migration during World War I had helped bring new forms of jazz out of the South and into the urban North— where the phonograph and the radio popularized it. The growth of a distinctive youth culture— and the increasing tendency of men and women to socialize together in public— created an audience for uninhibited, sexually titillating entertainment. The relative prosperity of the 1920s enabled many young working-class people to afford to spend evenings out. And prohibition, by closing down most saloons and taverns, limited their other options. Night after night, in big cities and small, young people flocked to dance halls to hear the powerful, pulsing new music; to revel in dazzling lights and ornate surroundings; to show off new clothes and hairstyles; and, of course, most of all, to dance. Like the new movie palaces that were being built at the same time, many of the dance halls provided a sense of grandiosity and glamour. Some of the larger dance halls in the big cities— Roseland and the Savoy in New York, the Trianon and the Aragon in Chicago, the Raymor in Boston, the Greystone in Detroit, the Hollywood Paladium, and many others— were truly cavernous, capable of accommodating thousands of couples at once. Over 10 percent of the men and women between the ages of 17 and 40 in New York went dancing at least once a week, and the numbers were comparable in other large cities. What drew so many people to the dance halls? In large part, it was the music, which both its defenders and critics recognized as something very new in mainstream American culture. Dancing was "moral ruin," the Ladies' Home Journal primly warned in 1921, prompting "carelessness, recklessness, and laxity of moral responsibility" with its "direct appeal to the body's sensory centers." Many young dancers might have agreed with the description, if not with the moral judgment. Jazz encouraged a kind of uninhibited, even frenetic dancing— expressive, athletic, sensual— that young

couples, in particular, found extraordinarily exciting, a welcome release from the often staid worlds of family, school, or work. Performances by some of the most famous bands and musicians of the day, Paul Whiteman, Ben Pollack, Fletcher Henderson, Bix Beiderbecke, Louis Armstrong, and Duke Ellington— already familiar to everyone through radio performances and recordings— drew enormous crowds. Some of the less savory halls also attracted dancers for illicit reasons— as sources of bootleg liquor or as places to buy drugs. "Taxi-dance" ballrooms, which allowed men without their own THE SAVOY The Savoy ballroom in New City's Harlem was one of the largest and most popular dance halls in America, and a regular home to many of the most noted dance bands in the 1920s and 1930s. (© Archive Photos/Getty) JITTERBUGGERS As dance halls became more popular, dancing became more exuberant — perhaps never more so than when the "jitterbug" became popular in the 1930s. This photograph shows an acrobatic pair of dancers during a huge dance event in Los Angeles designed to raise money for the Salvation Army. More than 10,000 people attended the event, and the police on hand to keep order had to call for reinforcements as the crowd became more and more frenzied and enthusiastic. (© Bettmann/Corbis) partners to buy tickets to dance with "hostesses" and "instructresses," were sometimes closed by municipal authorities for "lewd" dancing and prostitution. Managers of the larger ballrooms tried to distance themselves from the unsavory image of the taxi-dance halls by imposing dress codes and making at least some efforts, usually futile, to require "decorum" among their patrons. Dance halls were particularly popular with young men and women from working-class, immigrant communities. For them, going dancing was part of becoming American, a way to escape— even if momentarily— the insular world of the immigrant neighborhood. (Their parents saw it that way too, and often tried to stop their children from going because they At the heart of the Lost Generation's critique of modern society was a sense of personal alienation. The repudiation of Wilsonian idealism, the restoration of "business as usual," the growing emphasis on materialism and consumerism suggested that the war had been a fraud; that the suffering and the dying had been in vain. Ernest Hemingway, one of the most celebrated (and most commercially successLost ful) of the new breed of writers, expressed Generation's the generation's contempt for the war in his novel A



Farewell to Arms (1929). Its 628 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

**DANCING AT THE SAVOY** This photograph of the interior of the famous Savoy ballroom shows the crowds of men and women who typically flocked there to dance to the great black jazz bands of the 1920s and 1930s. (© International Center of Photography/Getty Images) feared the dance halls would pull them out of the family and the community.) Going dancing was a chance to mingle with hundreds, sometimes thousands, of strangers of diverse backgrounds, and to participate in a cultural ritual that had no counterpart in ethnic cultures. But dance halls were not melting pots. African Americans— who flocked to ballrooms at least as eagerly as whites— usually gathered at clubs in black neighborhoods, where there were only occasional white patrons. White working-class people might encounter a large number of different ethnic groups in a great hall at once, but the groups did not mix very much. In Chicago's Dreamland, for example, Italians congregated near the door, Poles near the band, and Jews in the middle of the floor. Still, the experience of the dance hall— like the experience of the movie palace or the amusement park— drew people into the growing mass culture that was competing with and beginning to overwhelm the close-knit ethnic cultures into which many young Americans had been born. • **UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE** 1. Besides the music, what was the appeal of the dance hall? 2. Although thousands of young people attended dance halls, why were the halls unable to break down the ethnic or racial barriers of those who flocked to them? 3. Is there an equivalent today of the dance hall of the 1920s and 1930s? If so, what is its appeal? Who are its customers? How is it different from the dance halls of the earlier era? protagonist, an American officer fighting in Europe, decides that there is no justification for his participation in the conflict and deserts the army with a nurse with whom he has fallen in love. Hemingway suggested that the officer was to be admired for doing so. One result of this alienation was a series of savage critiques of modern society by a wide range of writers, some of whom H L Mencken were known as the "debunkers." Among . them was the Baltimore journalist H. L. Mencken. His magazines- first the Smart Set and later the . 629 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



The progressive ethos of the early twentieth century inspired many groups to fight for reform. These workingclass women enrolled in a labor summer school at Bryn Mawr College in the summer of 1916 to prepare to become politically active. (The Library of Congress (LC-DIG-npcc-32693)) American Mercury- ridiculed everything most middle-class Americans held dear: religion, politics, the arts, even democracy itself. Mencken could not believe, he claimed, that "civilized life was possible under a democracy," because it was a form of government that placed power in the hands of the common people, whom he ridiculed as the "booboisie." Echoing Mencken's contempt was the novelist Sinclair Lewis, the first American to win a Nobel Prize in Literature. In a series of savage novels -Main Street (1920), Babbitt (1922), Arrowsmith (1925), and others-he lashed out at one aspect of modern society after another: the small town, the modern city, the medical profession, popular religion. The novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald ridiculed the American obsession with material success in *The Great Gatsby* (1925). The novel's title character, Jay Gatsby, spends his life accumulating wealth and social prestige in order to win the woman he loves. The world to which he has aspired, however, turns out to be one of pretension, fraud, and cruelty, and it ultimately destroys him. Rejecting Success  
 iiii The Harlem

Renaissance In postwar Harlem in New York City, a new generation of black artists and intellectuals created a flourishing African American culture widely described as the "Harlem Renaissance." There were nightclubs (among them the famous Cotton Club) featuring many of the great jazz musicians who would later become staples of national popular culture: Duke Ellington, Jelly Roll Morton, Fletcher Henderson, and others. There were theaters featuring ribald musical comedies and vaudeville acts. Many white New Yorkers traveled up to Harlem for the music and theater, but the audiences were largely black. Harlem in the 1920s was above all a center of literature, poetry, and art that drew heavily from both American and African roots. Black artists were trying in part to demonstrate the richness of their own racial heritage (and, not incidentally, to prove to whites that their race was worthy of respect). The poet Langston Hughes captured much of the THE ART OF THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE Aaron Douglas (1899-1979), one

of the most significant African American artists of the 1920s, combined an interest in African and African American themes with an attraction to the modernist trends in American art during this period. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images)



THE "NEW ERA" 631 African spirit of the movement in a American single sentence: "I am a Negro. I am, and beautiful."

One of the leaders of the Harlem Renaissance was Alain Locke, who assembled a notable collection of black writings published in 1925 as *The New Negro*. Gradually, white publishers began to notice and take an interest in the writers Locke helped launch. Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, James Weldon Johnson, and others gradually found readerships well beyond the black community. The painter Aaron Douglas, talented chronicler of the African American experience, eventually found himself commissioned to create important murals in universities and public buildings. A CONFLICT OF CULTURES HARLEM, 1925 Well-dressed schoolchildren gather on a street in Harlem, illustrating the growing affluence of the African American elite in New York. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

The modern, secular culture of the 1920s was not unchallenged. It grew up alongside older, more traditional cultures, with which it continually and often bitterly competed. Prohibition When the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of alcohol went into effect in January 1920, it had the support of most i-, T \_ members of the middle class and most of Failure of Prohibition those who considered themselves progres. sives. Within a year, however, it had become clear that the "noble experiment," as its defenders called it, was not working well. Prohibition did substantially reduce drinking, at least in some regions of the country. But it also produced conspicuous and growing violations that made the law an almost immediate source of disillusionment and controversy. The federal government hired only 1,500 agents to enforce the prohibition laws, and in many places they . received little help from local police. Before Organized long, it was almost as easy to acquire illegal Crime alcohol in much of the country as it had once been to acquire legal alcohol. And since an enormous, lucrative industry was now barred to legitimate businessmen, organized crime figures took it over. In Chicago, Al Capone built a criminal empire based largely on illegal alcohol. He guarded it against interlopers with an army of as many as 1,000 gunmen, whose zealotry contributed to the violent deaths of more than 250 people in the city between 1920 and 1927. Other regions produced gangsters and gang wars of their own. Many middle-class progressives who had originally supported prohibition soon soured

on the experiment. But an enormous constituency of provincial, largely rural, Protestant Americans continued vehemently to defend it. Opponents of prohibition (or "wets," as they came to be known) gained steadily in influence. Not until 1933, however, when the Great Depression added weight to their appeals, were they finally able effectively to challenge the "drys" and win repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Nativism and the Klan Agitation for a curb on foreign emigration to the United States had begun in the nineteenth century; and like the prohibition movement, it had gathered strength in the years before the war largely because of the support of middle-class progressives. Such concerns had not been sufficient in the first years of the century to win passage of curbs on immigration; too many employers fought to keep low-paid immigrant workers flooding into the country. But in the troubled and repressive years immediately following the war, many old-stock Americans began to associate immigration with radicalism. Sentiment on behalf of restriction grew rapidly as a result. In 1921, Congress passed an emergency immigration act, establishing a quota system by which annual immigration from any country could not exceed 3 percent of the number of persons of that nationality who had been in the United States in 1910. The new law cut immigration from 800,000 to 300,000 in any single year, but nativists remained unsatisfied and pushed for a harsher law. The National Origins Act of 1924 strengthened the exclusionist provision of Origins Act 1921 law. It banned immigration from of 1924 east Asia entirely. That provision deeply angered the Japanese, who understood that they were the principal target; Chinese immigration had been illegal since 1882. The law also reduced the quota for Europeans from 3 percent to 2 percent. The quota would be based, moreover, not on the 1910 census, but on the census of 1890, a year in which there had been many fewer southern



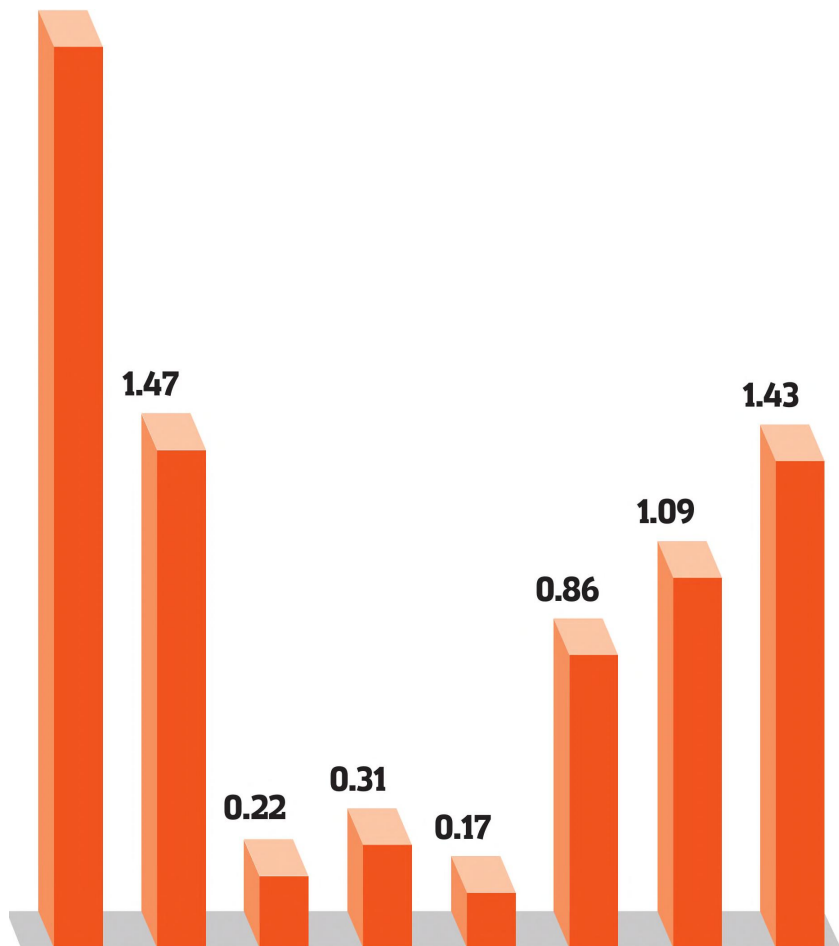


632 CHAPTER 22 PROHIBITION, 1921 A New York City police commissioner oversees agents pouring illegal liquor into the street. This raid occurred in the early months of prohibition, when the battle against alcohol was still popular— hence the eagerness of the commissioner to appear in the photograph. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-123257)) and eastern Europeans in the country. What immigration there was, in other words, would heavily favor northwestern Europeans—people of "Nordic" or "Teutonic" stock. Five years later, a further restriction set a rigid limit of 150,000 immigrants a year. In the years that followed, immigration officials seldom permitted even half that number actually to enter the country. But the nativism of the 1920s extended well beyond restricting immigration. Among other things, this nativism helped instigate the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan as a major force in American society. The first Klan, founded during Reconstruction, had died in the 1870s. But in 1915, another „ group of white southerners The New Klan & r luiij 1 1 1 mi 1 1 mi 1 1 1 mi 1 1 mi 1 1 1 in 1 1 iiiiii 1 1 1 iii 1 1 mi 1 1 iiim met on Stone Mountain near Atlanta and established a new version of the society. Nativist passions had swelled in Georgia and elsewhere in response to the case of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory manager in Atlanta convicted in 1914 (on very flimsy evidence) of murdering a female employee; a mob stormed Frank's jail and lynched him. The premiere (also in 2.64 Total immigration during five-year periods (in millions) 1921- 1926- 1931- 1936- 1941- 1946- 1951- 1956)1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 Year TOTAL

IMMIGRATION, 1920-1960 After many years of extremely high rates of immigration from Europe and elsewhere, the United States experienced several decades of much lower immigration beginning in the 1920s. Immigration-restriction legislation passed in 1921 and 1924 was one important reason for the decline. • What other factors depressed immigration in the 1930s and 1940s? SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1920-1960 This chart shows a significant change in the sources of immigration between 1920 and 1960, a direct result of the National Origins Act of 1924, which established national quotas for immigrants to the United States based on the number of such immigrants who had been in the country in 1890. Note the shift back toward northern and western Europe and away from Italy and other southern and eastern European nations (which had not

been heavily represented in the immigration of the 1890s). But the most dramatic change was the huge increase in the proportion of immigrants from Latin America, a region explicitly exempted from the quota system established in 1924. • Why were Latin Americans treated differently than Europeans in immigration law in these years?





THE "NEW ERA" 633 Atlanta) of D. W. Griffith's film *The Birth of a Nation*, which glorified the early Klan, also helped inspire white southerners to form a new one. At first the new Klan, like the old, was largely concerned with intimidating African Americans, who, according to Klan leader William J. Simmons, were becoming insubordinate. And at first it remained small, obscure, and almost entirely southern. After World War I, however, concern about African Americans became secondary to concern about Catholics, Jews, and foreigners. At that point, membership in the Klan expanded rapidly and dramatically, not just in the small towns and rural areas of the South, but also in industrial cities in the North and Midwest. Indiana had the largest Klan membership of any state, and there were substantial Klans in Chicago, Detroit, and other northern industrial cities. The Klan was also strong in the West, with particularly large and active chapters in Oregon and Colorado. By 1924, there were reportedly 4 million members. In some communities, where Klan leaders came from the most "respectable" segments of society, the organization operated much like a fraternal society, engaging in nothing more dangerous than occasional political pronouncements. Many Klan units (or "klaverns") tried to present themselves as patriots and community leaders. Some established women's and even children's auxiliaries to demonstrate their commitment to the family. Often, however, the Klan also operated as a brutal, even violent, opponent of "alien" groups and as a defender of traditional, fundamentalist morality. Some Klansmen systematically terrorized blacks, Jews, Catholics, and foreigners and boycotted their businesses, threatened their families, and attempted to drive them out of their communities. Occasionally, they resorted to violence: public whipping, tarring and feathering, arson, and lynching. What the Klan feared, it soon became clear, was not simply "foreign" or "racially impure" groups; it was anyone who posed a threat to "traditional values," as the "Traditional Klan defined them. Klansmen persecuted Values" not only immigrants and African Americans, but also those white Protestants they considered guilty of irreligion, sexual promiscuity, or drunkenness. The Klan worked to enforce prohibition; it attempted to institute compulsory Bible reading in schools; it worked to punish divorce. It also provided its members, many of them people of modest means with little real power in

society, with a sense of community and seeming authority. Its bizarre costumes, its elaborate rituals, its "secret" language, its burning crosses-all helped produce a sense of excitement and cohesion. The Klan declined quickly after 1925, when a series of internal power struggles and several sordid scandals discredited some of its most important leaders. The most damaging David episode involved David Stephenson, head Stephenson of the Indiana Klan > who raPed a young . secretary, kidnapped her, and watched her die rather than call a doctor after she swallowed poison. The Klan staggered on in some areas into the 1930s, but by World KLAN INITIATION A Ku Klux Klan chapter in Jackson, Mississippi, holds an initiation ceremony for new members in August 1923. (The Library of Congress (LC-USZ62-28024))



634 CHAPTER 22 War II it was effectively dead. (The postwar Ku Klux Klan, which still survives, is modeled on but has no direct connection to the Klan of the 1920s and 1930s.) Religious Fundamentalism Another bitter cultural controversy of the 1920s challenged the place of religion in contemporary society. By 1921, American Protestantism was divided into two warring camps. On one side stood the modernists: mostly urban, middleclass people who had attempted to adapt religion to the teachings of science and to the realities of their modern, secular society. On the other side stood the defenders of traditional faith: provincial, largely rural men and women, fighting to maintain the centrality of traditional religion in American life. They became known as "fundamentalists," a term derived from an influential set of pamphlets. The Fundamentals, published before World War I. The fundamentalists were outraged at the abandonment of traditional beliefs in the face of scientific discoveries. They insisted the Bible was to be interpreted literally. Above all, they opposed the teachings of Charles Darwin, who had openly challenged the biblical story of the Creation. Human beings had not evolved from lower orders of animals, the fundamentalists insisted; they had been created by God, as described in Genesis. Fundamentalism was a highly evangelical movement, interested in spreading the doctrine to new groups. Fundamentalist evangelists, among them the celebrated Billy Sunday, traveled from state to state (particularly in the South and parts of the West) attracting huge crowds to their revival meetings. Protestant modernists looked on much of this activity with condescension and amusement. But by the mid- 1920s, to their great alarm, evangelical fundamentalism was gaining political strength in some states with its demands for legislation to forbid the teaching of evolution in the public schools. In Tennessee in March 1925, the legislature adopted a measure making it illegal for any public school teacher "to teach any theory that denies the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible." The Tennessee law attracted the attention of the fledgling American Civil Liberties Union, which had been founded in 1920 by men and women alarmed by the repressive legal and social climate of World War I and its aftermath. The ACLU offered free counsel to any Tennessee educator willing to defy the law and become the defendant in a test case. A twentyfour-year-old biology teacher in the town of Dayton,

John T. Scopes, agreed to have himself arrested. And when the ACLU decided to send the famous attorney Clarence Darrow to defend Scopes, the aging William Jennings Bryan (now an important fundamentalist spokesman) announced that he would travel to Dayton to assist the prosecution. Journalists from across the country flocked to Tennessee to cover what became known as the "Monkey Trial," which opened in an almost circuslike atmosphere. Scopes had, of course, clearly violated the law; and a verdict of guilty was a foregone conclusion, especially when the judge refused to permit "expert" testimony by evolution scholars. Scopes was fined \$100, and the case was ultimately dismissed in a higher court because of a technicality. Nevertheless, Darrow scored an important victory for the modernists by calling Bryan to the stand to testify as an "expert on the Bible." In the course of the cross-examination, which was broadcast by radio to BRYAN AND DARROW IN DAYTON Clarence Darrow (left), a famous lawyer who defended Scopes, and William Jennings Bryan, an even more famous politician who supported the prosecution, pose for photographers during the 1925 Scopes trial. Both men had removed their jackets because of the intense heat, and Bryan had shocked many of his admirers by revealing that he was not wearing suspenders (as most country people did), but a belt— which in rural Tennessee was a symbol of urban culture. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images)





THE "NEW ERA" 635 much of the nation, Darrow made Bryan's stubborn defense of biblical truths appear foolish and finally tricked him into admitting the possibility that not all religious dogma was subject to only one interpretation. The Scopes trial was a traumatic experience for many fundamentalists. It isolated and ultimately excluded them from many mainstream Protestant denominations. It helped put an end to much of their political activism. But it did not change their religious convictions. Even without connection to traditional denominations, fundamentalists continued to congregate in independent churches or new denominations of their own. The Democrats' Ordeal The anguish of provincial Americans attempting to defend an embattled way of life proved particularly troubling to the Democratic Party, which suffered during the 1920s as a result of tensions between its urban and rural factions. More than the Republicans, the Democrats were a diverse coalition of interest groups, linked to the party by local traditions. Among those interest groups were prohibitionists, Klansmen, and fundamentalists on one side and Catholics, urban workers, and immigrants on the other. In 1924, the tensions between them proved devastating. At the Democratic National Convention in New York City that summer, bitter conflict broke out over the platform when the party's urban wing attempted to win approval of planks calling for the repeal of prohibition and a denunciation of the Klan. Both planks narrowly failed. More damaging to the party was a deadlock in the balloting for a presidential candidate. Urban Democrats supported Alfred E. Smith, the Irish Catholic Tammanyite who had risen to become a progressive governor of New York. Rural Democrats backed William McAdoo, Woodrow Wilson's Treasury secretary (and son-in-law), later to become a senator from California; he had skillfully positioned himself to win the support of southern and western delegates suspicious of Tammany Hall and modern urban life. The convention dragged on for 103 ballots, until finally, after both Smith and McAdoo withdrew, the party settled on a compromise: the bland corporate lawyer John W. Davis, who had served as solicitor general and ambassador to Britain under Wilson. He was easily defeated by President Calvin Coolidge. A similar schism plagued the Democrats again in 1928, when Al Smith finally secured his party's nomination for president after a much shorter

[illegible]

636 CHAPTER 22 second-rater.” Harding appointed capable men to the most important cabinet offices, and he attempted to stabilize the nation’s troubled foreign policy. But even as he attempted to rise to his office, he seemed baffled by his responsibilities, as if he recognized his own unfitness. “I am a man of limited talents from a small town,” he reportedly told friends on one occasion. “I don’t seem to grasp that I am President.” Harding’s intellectual limits were compounded by personal weaknesses: his penchant for gambling, illegal alcohol, and attractive women. Harding lacked the strength to abandon the party hacks who had helped create his political success. One of them, Harry Daugherty, the Ohio party boss principally responsible for Teapot Dome’s meteoric political ascent, he appointed attorney general. Another, New Mexico senator Albert B. Fall, he made secretary of the Interior. Members of the so-called Ohio Gang filled important offices throughout the administration. Unknown to the public (and perhaps also to Harding), Daugherty, Fall, and others were engaged in fraud and corruption. The most spectacular scandal involved the rich naval oil reserves at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California. At the urging of Fall, Harding transferred control of those reserves from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. Fall then secretly leased them to two wealthy businessmen and received in return nearly half a million dollars in “loans” to ease his private financial troubles. Fall was ultimately convicted of bribery and sentenced to a year in prison; Daugherty barely avoided a similar fate for his part in another scandal. In the summer of 1923, only months before Senate investigations and press revelations brought the scandals to light, a tired and depressed Harding left Washington for a speaking tour in the West. In Seattle late in July, he suffered severe pain, which his doctors wrongly diagnosed as food poisoning. A few Calvin COOLIDGE days later, in San Francisco, he suffered two major heart attacks and died. In many ways, Calvin Coolidge, who succeeded Harding in the presidency, was utterly different from his predecessor. Where Harding was genial, garrulous, and debauched, Coolidge was dour, silent, even puritanical. And while Harding was, if not perhaps personally corrupt, then at least tolerant of corruption in others, Coolidge seemed honest beyond reproach. In other ways, however, Harding and Coolidge were similar figures. Both took an essentially

passive approach to their office. Like Harding, Coolidge had risen to the presidency on the basis of few substantive accomplishments. Elected governor of Massachusetts in 1919, he had won national attention with his laconic response to the Boston police strike that year. That was enough to make him his party's vice presidential nominee in 1920. Three years later, after Harding's death, he took the oath of office from his father, a justice of the peace, by the light of a kerosene lamp. If anything, Coolidge was even less active as president than Harding, partly as a result of his conviction that government should interfere as little as possible in the life of the nation. In 1924, he received his party's presidential nomination virtually unopposed. Running against John W. Davis, he won a comfortable victory: 54 percent of the popular vote and 382 of the 531 electoral votes. Robert La Follette, the candidate of the reincarnated Progressive Party, received 16 percent of the popular vote but carried only his home state of Wisconsin. Coolidge probably could have won renomination and reelection in 1928. Instead, in characteristically laconic fashion, he walked into a press room one day and handed each reporter a slip of paper containing a single sentence: "I do not choose to run for president in 1928."

**HARDING AND FRIENDS** President Warren G. Harding (center left, holding a rod) poses with companions during a fishing trip to Miami in 1921. He enjoyed these social and sporting events with wealthy friends and political cronies. Two of his companions here, Attorney General Harry Daugherty (to the left of Harding) and Interior Secretary Albert Fall (at far right) were later principal figures in the scandals that rocked the administration before and after Harding's death. (© Bettmann/Corbis) **COCOLOBO CAY CLUB**  
**PRIVATE PROPERTY NO TRESPASSING.**



## THE "NEW ERA" 637 CALVIN COOLIDGE AT LEISURE

Coolidge was a silent man of simple tastes. But he was not really an outdoorsman, despite his efforts to appear so. He is shown here fishing in Simsbury, Connecticut, carefully attired in suit, tie, hat, and rubber boots. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

Government and Business

The story of Harding and Coolidge themselves, however, is only a part-and by no means the most important part-of the story of their administrations. However passive the New Era presidents may have been, much of the federal government was working effectively and efficiently during the 1920s to adapt public policy to the widely accepted goal of the time: Mellon helping business and industry operate with maximum efficiency and productivity. The close relationship between the private sector and the federal government that had been forged during World War I continued. Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon, a wealthy steel and aluminum tycoon, devoted himself to working for substantial reductions in taxes on corporate profits, personal incomes, and inheritances. Largely because of his efforts, Congress cut them all by more than half. Mellon also worked closely with President Coolidge after 1924 on a series of measures to trim dramatically the already modest federal budget. The administration even managed to retire half the nation's World War I debt. The most energetic member of the cabinet was Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover, who considered himself, and was considered by others, a notable progressive. During his eight years in the Commerce Department, Hoover encouraged voluntary cooperation in the private sector as the best avenue to stability. But the idea of voluntarism, he believed, did not require that the government remain passive; on the contrary, public institutions, Hoover insisted, should play an active role in creating the new, cooperative "Associationalism" order. Above all, Hoover himself became the champion of the concept of business "associationalism"-a concept that envisioned the creation of national organizations of businessmen in particular industries. Through these trade associations, private entrepreneurs could, Hoover believed, stabilize their industries and promote efficiency in production and marketing. Many progressives derived encouragement from the election of Herbert Hoover to the presidency in 1928. Hoover easily defeated Al Smith, the Democratic candidate. And he entered office promising bold new

efforts to solve the nation's remaining economic problems. But Hoover had few opportunities to prove himself. Less than a year after his inauguration, the nation plunged into the severest and most prolonged economic crisis in its history—a crisis that brought many of the optimistic assumptions of the New Era crashing down and launched the nation into a period of unprecedented social innovation and reform.

**LOOKING BACK** The remarkable prosperity of the 1920s—a prosperity without parallel in the previous history of the United States—shaped much of what exuberant contemporaries liked to call the "New Era." In the years after World War I, America created a vibrant and extensive national culture. Its middle class moved increasingly to embrace consumerism. Its politics reorganized around the needs of a booming, interdependent industrial economy—rejecting many of the reform crusades of the previous generation, but also creating new institutions to help promote economic growth and stability. Beneath the glittering surface of the New Era, however, were roiling controversies and timeless injustices clamoring for redress. Although the prosperity of the 1920s was more widely shared than at any other time in the nation's industrial history, more than half the population failed to achieve any real benefits from the growth. A new, optimistic, secular culture was attracting millions of urban, middle-class people. But many other Americans looked at this culture with alarm and fought against it with great fervor. Few eras in modern American history have seen so much political and cultural conflict.





638 CHAPTER 22 The 1920s ended in a catastrophic economic crash that has colored the image of those years ever since. The crises of the 1930s should not obscure the real achievements of the New Era economy. Neither, however, should the prosperity of the 1920s obscure the inequity and instability in those years that helped produce the difficult years to come. Key Terms/People/Places/Events A. Philip Randolph 620 Alain Locke 631 Al Smith 635 \* American Plan” 621 H. L. Mencken 629 Harlem Renaissance 630 Herbert Hoover 637 Issei 620 Ku Klux Klan 632 Langston Hughes 630 Lost Generation 627 Margaret Sanger 625 National Origins Act of 1924 631 Nisei 620 Parity 622 Scopes "Monkey Trial" 634 Sinclair Lewis 630 Teapot Dome 636 The Jazz Singer 623 Welfare capitalism 617

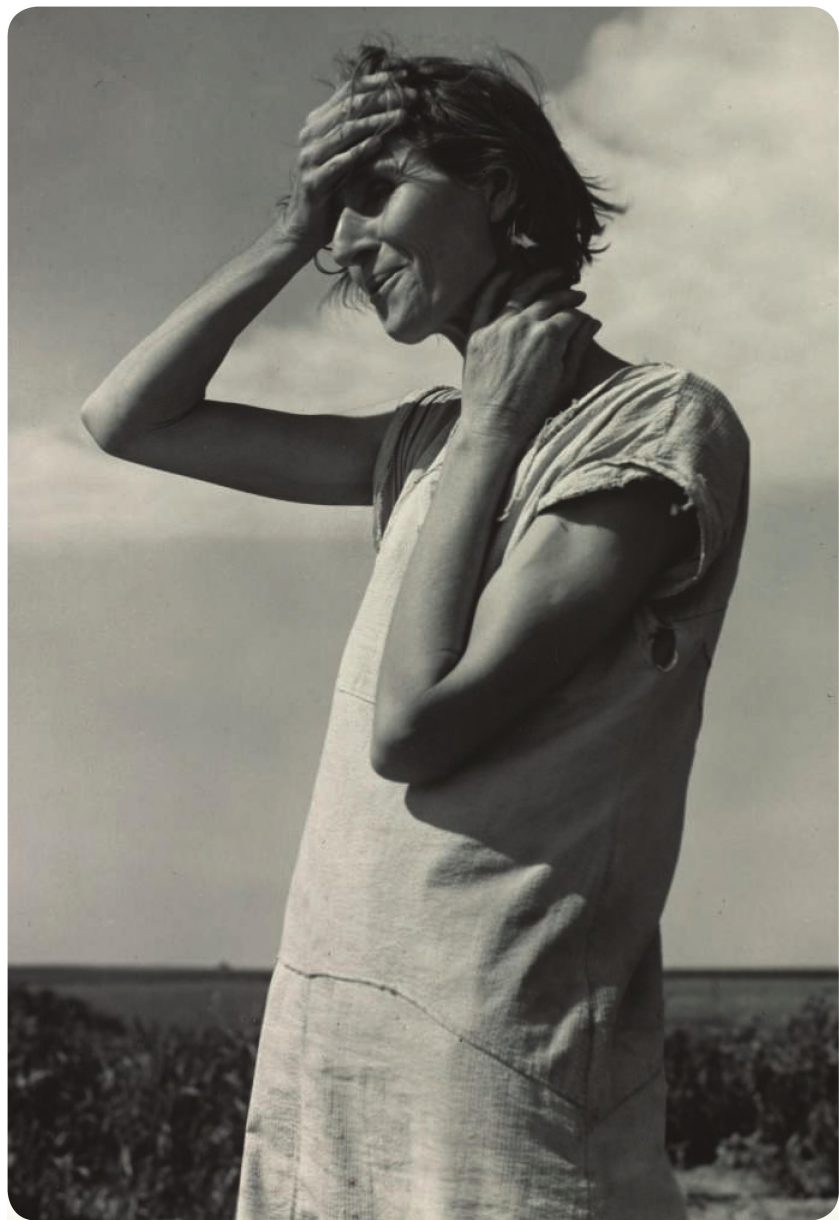
RECALL AND REFLECT 1. What was the impact of the automobile on American life? 2. How did labor fare during the 1920s? What particular problems did female, black, immigrant, and unskilled laborers face? 3. How did religion respond to the consumer culture of the 1920s? 4. What was the myth and what was the reality of the "new woman" of the 1920s? 5. What was the nature and extent of the nativism of the 1920s?

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1914-1920 Great Migration of black southerners to northern cities 1922 Sinclair Lewis publishes *Babbitt* Motion Picture Association, under Will Hays, founded to regulate film industry 1920 Prohibition begins Warren G. Harding elected president First commercial radio station, KDKA in Pittsburgh, begins broadcasting 1924 National Origins Act passed Ku Klux Klan reaches peak membership Coolidge elected president 1927 Charles Lindbergh makes solo transatlantic flight First feature-length sound motion picture, *The Jazz Singer*, released ^ 1923 O. Harding dies; Calvin Coolidge becomes president ^ Teapot Dome and other scandals revealed ^ 1925 O. Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee ^ A. Philip Randolph founds Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters F. Scott Fitzgerald publishes *The Great Gatsby* 1929 Ernest Hemingway publishes *A Farewell to Arms* 1928 Herbert Hoover elected president

“ IF YOU DIE, YOU’RE DEAD-THAT’S ALL ” This poignant photograph, taken by Dorothea Lange (1895-1965) in 1938, shows a plains woman, Nettie Featherston, enduring one of the great natural disasters in U.S. history: the Dust Bowl of the 1930s. Featherston, a migrant laborer's wife and mother of three, lived in the draught-ridden Texas Panhandle. Her despair could not be more evident. (© New York Public Library, USA/Bridgeman Images)

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1. What were some of the causes of the Great Depression? What made it so severe, and why did it last so long? 2. What was the impact of the Depression on farmers, minorities, and women? 3. How did President Hoover and his administration try to deal with the Depression? What was the result of those efforts?



SETTING THE STAGE IN AUGUST 1928, NOT LONG before his election to the presidency, Herbert Hoover proclaimed: "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us." Only fifteen months later those words would return to haunt him, as the nation plunged into the severest and most prolonged economic depression in its history— a depression that continued in one form or another for more than a decade, not only in the United States but throughout much of the rest of the world as well. The Depression reached into every area of both economic and social life. It destroyed the great "bull market" of the 1920s and sent stock prices into a long and steep decline from which they did not recover for years. It halted the great wave of investment in industrial plants and infrastructure that had done so much to fuel economic growth before the crash. It jeopardized the health of the national banking system. Most of all, it created massive unemployment, which rose at some points to nearly 25 percent of the workforce. This massive and persistent unemployment was the most visible and, to many, most frightening aspect of the Depression. In the midst of this crisis, Herbert Hoover used the tools of the federal government more aggressively and creatively than any president had ever used them before to address economic problems. But it was not enough to stem the tide of the Depression. And there were many steps that Hoover refused to consider because he believed they would violate basic principles of American life— most notably the rights and responsibilities of individuals. These values had been greatly admired through most of American history, but the crisis of the Depression called them into question, undermined Hoover's reputation, and contributed eventually to a major shift in the character of American politics.

THE COMING OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION The sudden economic decline that began in 1929 came as an especially severe shock because it followed so closely a period in which the New Era seemed to be performing another series of economic miracles. The Great Crash In February 1928, stock prices began a steady rise that continued, with only a few temporary lapses, for a year and a half. Between May 1928 and September 1929, the average price of stocks „ m „ increased over 40 percent. The stocks of the major industrials- the stocks that Stock JViarket Boom are usec~ t0 determine the Dow

Jones Industrial Average-doubled in value in . that same period. Trading mushroomed from 2 or 3 million shares a day to over 5 million and, at times, to as many as 10 or 12 million. A widespread speculative fever grew steadily more intense, particularly once brokerage firms began encouraging the mania by recklessly offering easy credit. In the autumn of 1929, the great bull market began to fall apart. On October 21 and again on October 23, there were alarming declines in stock prices, in both cases followed by temporary recoveries (the second of them engineered by J. P. Morgan and Company and other big bankers, "Black who consPiguous^y bought up stocks to restore public confidence). But on Tuesday" October 29, "Black Tuesday," all efforts to save the market failed. Sixteen . million shares of stock were traded; the industrial index dropped 43 points; stocks in many companies became worthless. The market remained deeply depressed for more than four years. Many people believed that the stock market crash was the beginning, and even the cause, of the Great Depression. But although October 1929 might have been the first visible sign of the crisis, the Depression had earlier beginnings and more important causes. 640

## THE GREAT DEPRESSION 641 AFTERMATH OF THE

CRASH Walter Thornton, shown here in October 1929 next to an expensive roadster he had bought not long before, was one of the affluent Americans who suffered substantial losses in the crash of the stock market in the fall of 1929. In popular mythology, many such people committed suicide in despair. In reality, very few people did. Much more common were efforts such as this to sell off assets to make up for the losses. Thornton was more fortunate than many victims of the Depression. Most had few assets to sell. (© Bettmann/Corbis) Causes of the Depression Economists, historians, and others have argued for decades about the causes of the Great Depression without reaching any consensus. (See "Debating the Past," pp. 642-643.) But most agree on several things. They agree, first, that what is remarkable about the crisis is not that it occurred; periodic recessions are a normal feature of capitalist economies. What is remarkable is that it was so severe and that it lasted so long. The important question, therefore, is not so much why there was a depression, but why it was such a bad one. Most observers agree, too, that a number of different factors account for the severity of the crisis, even if there is considerable disagreement about which was the most important. One of those factors was a lack of diversification in the American economy in the 1920s. Prosperity had depended excessively on a few industries, notably construction and automobiles. In the late 1920s, those industries began to decline. Expenditures on construction fell from \$11 billion to less than \$9 billion between 1926 and 1929. Automobile sales fell by more than a third in the first nine months of 1929. Newer industries were emerging to take up the slack among them petroleum, chemicals, plastics, and others oriented toward the expanding market for consumer goods-but had not yet developed enough strength to compensate for the decline in other sectors. A second factor was the maldistribution of purchasing power and, as a result, a weakness in consumer demand, which meant the market was too small to create an adequate market. MALDISTRIBUTION of Wealth The American economy was producing. Even in 1929, after nearly a decade of economic growth, more than half the families in America lived on the edge of or below the minimum subsistence level-too poor to buy the goods

the industrial economy was producing. **THE UNEMPLOYED, 1930**  
Thousands of unemployed men wait to be fed outside the Municipal  
Lodgers House in New York City. (The Library of Congress)



DEBATING THE PAST i Causes of the Great Depression f  
ittj it mwere the causes of the Great Depression? Economists and historians have VV n 1 debated this question since the economic collapse began and still have not reached anything close to agreement on an answer to it. In the process, however, they have produced several very different theories about how a modern economy works. During the Depression itself, different groups offered interpretations of the crisis that fit comfortably with their own self-interests. Some corporate leaders claimed that the Depression was the result of a lack of "business confidence," that businessmen were reluctant to invest because they feared government regulation and high taxes. The Hoover administration, unable to solve the crisis with the tools it considered acceptable, blamed international economic forces and sought, therefore, to stabilize world currencies and debt structures. New Dealers, determined to find a domestic solution to the crisis and ideologically inclined to place limits on corporate power, argued that the Depression was a crisis of "underconsumption"— that low wages and high prices had made it too difficult to buy the products of the industrial economy— and that a lack of demand had led to the economic collapse. Scholars in the years since the Great Depression have also created interpretations that fit their views of how the economy works. One of the first important postwar interpretations came from the economists Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz, in their *Monetary History of the United States* (1963). In a chapter titled "The Great Contraction," they argued for what has become known as the "monetary" interpretation. The Depression, they claimed, was a result of a drastic contraction of the currency (a result largely of mistaken decisions by the Federal Reserve Board, which raised interest rates when it should have lowered them). These deflationary measures, Friedman and Schwartz argue, turned an ordinary recession into the Great Depression. Friedman, in particular, advocated for many years that sound monetary policy is the best way to solve economic problems — as opposed to fiscal policies, such as taxation and spending. A second, very different argument, known as the "spending" interpretation, is identified with, among others, the economist Peter Temin and his book *Did Monetary Forces Cause the Great Depression?* (1976). Temin's answer to his own question is "no." The



cause of the crisis was not monetary contraction (although the contraction made it worse), but a drop in investment and consumer spending, which preceded the decline in the money supply and helped to cause it. Here again, there are obvious political implications. If a decline in spending was the cause of the Depression, then the proper response was an effort to stimulate demand—raising government spending, increasing purchasing power, redistributing wealth. According to this theory, the New Deal never ended the Depression because it did not spend enough. World War II did end it because it pumped so much public money into the economy. This is a liberal, Keynesian explanation, just as the "monetary hypothesis" is a conservative explanation. In *The Great Depression* (1987), the economic historian Michael Bernstein avoids trying to explain why the economic downturn occurred and asks, instead, why it lasted so long. The reason the recession of 1929

Another major problem was the credit structure of the economy. Farmers were deeply in debt—their land mortgaged, crop prices too low to allow them to pay off what they owed. Small banks, especially those tied to the agricultural economy, were in constant trouble in the 1920s as their customers defaulted on loans; many of these small banks failed. Large banks were in trouble, too. Although most American bankers were very conservative, some of the nation's biggest banks were investing recklessly in the stock market or making unwise loans. When the stock market crashed, many of these banks suffered losses greater than they could absorb. A fourth factor contributing to the coming of the Depression was America's position in international trade. Late in the 1920s, European demand for American goods began to decline. That was partly because of high American tariffs, partly because European industry and agriculture were becoming more productive, and partly because some European nations (most notably Germany, under the Weimar Republic) were having financial difficulties and could not afford to buy goods from overseas. But it was also because the European economy was being destabilized by, a fifth factor contributing to the Depression, the international debt structure that had emerged in the aftermath of World War I. When the war ended in 1918, all the European nations that had been allied with the United States owed large sums of money to American banks, sums much too large to be repaid out of their shattered economies. That was one reason the Allies had insisted



**SHOP WINDOW** Arthur Rothstein, one of the most significant photographers of the Great Depression, photographed this shop window in West Frankfort, Illinois, in 1939. The windows are plastered with signs pleading for customers to help them by purchasing their goods. (© The Granger Collection, New York)

became the Depression of the 1930s, he argues, was the timing of the collapse. The recession began as an ordinary cyclical downturn. Had it begun a few years earlier, the basic strength of the automobile and construction industries in the 1920s would have led to a reasonably speedy recovery. Had it begun a few years later, a group of newer, emerging industries would have helped produce a recovery in a reasonably short time. But the recession began in 1929, too late for the automobile and construction industries to help and too soon for emerging new industries to help, since they were still in their infancies. One of the reasons World War II was so important to the long-term recovery of the U.S. economy, Bernstein's argument suggests, was not just that it pumped money into the economy, but that much of that money contributed to developing new industries that would help sustain prosperity after the war. This is, in other words, an explanation of the Depression that seems to support some of the economic ideas that became popular in the 1970s and 1980s calling for a more direct government role in stimulating the growth of new industries. Other explanations include the rise of protectionism (increased by the ill-advised Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1931, which stifled international trade); the weakness of the banking system; the reckless credit policies of the 1920s; and many others. In the end, however, no single explanation of the Great Depression has ever seemed adequate to most scholars. The event, the economist Robert Lucas once argued, is simply "inexplicable" by any rational calculation. •

**UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE**

1. How do the "monetary" and "spending" arguments about the causes of the Great Depression differ from each other?
2. What is Michael Bernstein's theory of the causes of the Depression?
3. Why have there been such widespread and long-standing differences on the question of the causes of the Depression?

credit structure was one of the reasons the Depression spread to Europe (and grew much worse in America) after 1931. (See "America in the World," pp. 644-645.)

**Progress of the Depression** The stock market crash of 1929 did not

so much cause the Depression, then, as help trigger a chain of events that exposed long-standing weaknesses in the American economy. During the next three years, the crisis steadily worsened. A collapse of much of the banking system followed the stock market crash. More than 9,000 American banks either went bankrupt or closed their doors to avoid bankruptcy between 1930 and 1933. Depositors lost over \$2.5 billion in deposits. Partly as a result of these banking failures, the money supply of the nation fell by more than a third between 1930 and 1933. The declining money supply meant a decline in purchasing power, and thus deflation. Manufacturers and merchants began reducing prices, cutting back on production, and laying off workers. Some economists argue that a severe depression could have been avoided if the Federal Reserve system had acted more responsibly. But the members of the Federal Reserve Board, concerned about protecting its own solvency in a dangerous economic environment, raised interest rates in 1931, which contracted the money supply even further. The American gross national product plummeted from more than \$104 billion in 1929 to \$76.4 billion in 1932—a 25 percent decline in three years. In 1929, Americans had spent \$16.2 billion on capital investment; in 1933, they invested only a third of a billion. The consumer price index declined 25 percent between 1929 and 1933, the wholesale price index 32 percent. Gross farm income dropped from \$12 billion to \$5 billion in four years.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN HARD TIMES

Someone asked the British economist John Maynard Keynes in the 1930s whether he was aware of any historical era comparable to the Great Depression. "Yes," Keynes replied. "It was called the Dark Ages, and it lasted 400 years." The Depression did not, of course, last 400 years, but it did bring unprecedented despair to the economies of the United States and .

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## AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Global Depression |T| fj

Great Depression began in the United States, but it did not end there. The collapse of the American economy— the largest in the world— sent shock waves around the globe. By 1931, the American depression had become a world depression. The origins of the worldwide depression lay in the pattern of debts that had emerged during and after World War I, when the United States loaned billions of dollars to European nations. In 1931, large banks in New York began calling in their loans from Germany and Austria. That precipitated the failure of one of Austria's largest banks, which in turn created panic through much of central Europe. The economic collapse in Germany and Austria meant that those nations could not continue paying reparations to Britain and France (required by the Treaty of Versailles of 1919), which meant in turn that Britain and France could not continue paying off their loans to the United States. This spreading financial crisis was accompanied by a dramatic contraction of international trade, precipitated in part by the Smoot-Flawley Tariff in the United States, which established the highest import duties in history and stifled much global commerce. Depressed agricultural prices— a result of worldwide overproduction— also contributed to the downturn. By 1932, worldwide industrial production had declined by more than a third, and world trade had plummeted by nearly two-thirds. By 1933, thirty million people in industrial nations were unemployed, five times the number four years before. But the Depression was not confined to industrial nations. Imperialism and industrialization drew almost all regions of the world into the international industrial economy. Colonies and nations in Africa, Asia, and South America— critically dependent on exporting raw materials and agricultural goods to industrial countries— experienced a decline in demand for their products, which led to rising levels of poverty and unemployment. Some nations— among them the Soviet Union and China— remained unconnected to the global economy and suffered relatively little from the Great Depression. But in most parts of the world, the Depression caused tremendous social and economic hardship. It also created political turmoil. Among the countries hardest hit by the Depression was Germany, where industrial production had declined by 50 percent and unemployment reached 35 percent in the early 1930s. The desperate economic conditions

there contributed greatly to the rise of the Nazi Party and its leader, Adolf Hitler, who became chancellor in 1932. Japan suffered greatly as well, and as in Germany, Japan's economic troubles produced political turmoil and aided the rise of a new militaristic regime. In Italy, the fascist government of Benito Mussolini, which had first taken power in 1922, also saw militarization and territorial expansion as a way out of economic difficulties. In other nations, governments sought solutions to the Depression through reform of their domestic economies. Among the most common responses to the much of the Western world. And it had far-reaching effects on American society and culture. Unemployment and Relief In the industrial Northeast and Midwest, cities were becoming paralyzed by unemployment. Cleveland, Ohio, in 1932 had an unemployment rate of roughly 50 percent; Akron, 60 percent; Toledo, 80 percent. Many industrial workers were accustomed to periods of unemployment, but no one was prepared for the scale and duration of the joblessness of the 1930s. Most Americans had been taught to believe that every individual was responsible for his or her own fate, that unemployment and poverty were signs of personal failure. Many adult men, in particular, felt deeply ashamed of their joblessness; the helplessness of unemployment was a challenge to traditional notions of masculinity. Unemployed workers walked through the streets day after day looking for jobs that did not exist. An increasing number of families were turning to state and local public relief systems, just to be able to eat. But those systems, which in the 1920s had served only a small number of indigent persons, were unequipped to handle the new demands. In many places, relief simply collapsed. Private charities attempted to supplement the public relief efforts, but the problem was far beyond their capabilities as well. State governments felt pressure to expand their own assistance to the unemployed; but tax revenues were declining along with everything else, and state leaders balked at placing additional strains on already tight budgets. Moreover, many public officials believed that an extensive welfare system would undermine the moral fiber of its clients. Breadlines stretched for blocks outside Red Cross and Salvation Army kitchens. Thousands of people sifted

through garbage cans Belief in Personal Responsibility 644  
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**THE GREAT DEPRESSION** 645 Depression around the world was substantial government investment in public works. The United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, and other countries made substantial investments in roads, bridges, dams, public buildings, and other large projects. All the industrial countries of the world also experimented with some form of government-funded relief for the unemployed, often borrowing ideas from one another in the process. Furthermore, because classical models of economic behavior seemed unable to explain, or provide solutions to, the crisis, the Depression helped create new approaches to economics. The great British economist John Maynard Keynes revolutionized economic thought in much of the world. His 1936 book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, despite its bland title, created a sensation by arguing that the Depression was a result not of declining production but, rather, of inadequate consumer demand. Governments, he said, could stimulate their economies by increasing the money supply and creating investment— through a combination of lowering interest rates and public spending. Keynesianism, as Keynes's theories became known, began to have an impact in the United States in 1938, and in much of the rest of the world in subsequent years. The Great Depression was an important turning point not only in American history, but in the history of the twentieth-century world as well. It transformed ideas of public policy and economics in many nations. It toppled old regimes and created new ones. Above all, it was a major factor— maybe the single most important factor— in the coming of World War II. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and the Hawley-Smoot Tariff contribute to the global depression of the 1930s? 2. How did the governments of European nations respond to the depression? 3. What effect did the global depression have on economic theory? Why was Keynes's economic theory so revolutionary? for scraps of food or waited outside restaurant kitchens in hopes of receiving plate scrapings. Nearly 2 million men, most of them young (and a much smaller number of women), took to the roads, riding freight trains from city to city, living as nomads. Farm income declined by 60 percent between 1929 and 1932. A third of all American farmers lost their land. In addition, a large area of agricultural settlement in the Great Plains of the South

and West was suffering from a catastrophic "Dust Bowl" natural disaster: one of the worst droughts . in the history of the nation. Beginning in 1930, a large area of the nation, stretching north from Texas into the Dakotas, came to be known as the "Dust Bowl." It began to experience a steady decline in rainfall and an accompanying increase in heat. The drought continued for a decade, turning what had once been fertile farm regions into deserts. In Kansas, the soil in some places was without moisture as far as three feet below the surface. In Nebraska, Iowa, and other affected states, summer temperatures were averaging over 100 degrees. Swarms of grasshoppers were moving from region to region, devouring what meager crops farmers were able to raise, often even devouring fenceposts or clothes hanging out to dry. Great dust storms-called "black blizzards"-swept across the plains, blotting out the sun and suffocating livestock as well as people unfortunate or foolish enough to stay outside. Even with these disastrous conditions, the farm economy continued through the 1930s to produce far more food than American consumers could afford to buy. Farm prices fell so low that few growers made any profit on their crops. As a result, many farmers, like many urban unemployed, left their homes in search of work. In the South, in particular, many dispossessed farmers-black and white-wandered from town to town, hoping to find jobs or handouts. Hundreds of thou"Okies" sands of families from the Dust Bowl (often . known as "Okies," since many came from Oklahoma) traveled to California and other states, where they found conditions little better than those they had left. Many worked as agricultural migrants, traveling from farm to farm picking fruit and other crops at starvation wages. Throughout the nation, problems resulting from malnutrition and homelessness grew at an alarming rate. Hospitals pointed to a striking increase in deaths from starvation. On the outskirts of cities, families lived in makeshift shacks constructed of flattened tin cans, scraps of wood, abandoned crates, and other debris. Many homeless Americans simply kept moving-sleeping in freight cars, city parks, subways, or unused sewer ducts. African Americans and the Depression As the Depression began, over half of all black Americans still lived in the South. Most were farmers. The collapse of prices for cotton and other staple crops left some with no income. Many . left the land altogether-either by choice or African ° J American forced by landlords who no longer found Suffering the

sharecropping system profitable. Some migrated to southern cities. But unemployed whites in the urban South believed they had first claim to all work and began to take positions as janitors, street cleaners, and domestic servants, displacing the African Americans who formerly had occupied such jobs. As the Depression deepened, whites in many southern cities began to demand that all blacks be dismissed from their jobs. In Atlanta in 1930, an organization calling itself the Black Shirts organized a campaign with the slogan "No Jobs for Niggers Until Every White Man Has a Job!" In other areas, whites used intimidation and violence to drive blacks from jobs. By 1932, over half the African Americans in the South were without employment. And what limited relief there was went almost invariably to whites first. Unsurprisingly, therefore, many black southerners-perhaps 400,000-left the South in the 1930s and journeyed to the cities of the North. There they generally found less blatant discrimination. But conditions were little better than in the South. In New York, and in many other cities, black unemployment

646 CHAPTER 23 MIGRANT FAMILY Dorothea Lange, one of the great photographers of the Depression era, worked in the 1930s for the photographic division of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The FSA photographers sought to record the conditions of life in America's troubled agrarian world during the Great Depression in the hopes of stimulating reform. Lange's photograph here represents a family in transit as they, like thousands of others, moved from the Great Plains to California. (Photo by Dorothea Lange/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

associated with the Communist Party, came to the aid of the accused youths and began to publicize the case. Later, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) provided assistance as well. The trials continued throughout the 1930s. Although the white southern juries who sat on the case never acquitted any of the defendants, all of them eventually gained their freedom—four because the charges were dropped, four because of early paroles, and one because he escaped. But the last of the Scottsboro defendants did not leave prison until 1950. The Depression was a time of important changes in the role and behavior of leading black organizations. The NAACP, for example, began to work diligently to win a position for blacks within NAACP's emergent labor movement. Changing supporting the formation of the Role Congress of Industrial OrganI Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II Hill II III II Mill II . III\* 11 izations and helping to break down racial barriers within labor unions. Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, once made a personal appearance at an auto plant to implore African Americans not to work as strikebreakers. Partly as a result of such efforts, more than half a million blacks were able to join the labor movement. In the Steelworkers Union, for example, African Americans constituted about 20 percent of the membership. Mexican Americans in Depression America was 50 percent or more. In other cities, it was higher. Two million African Americans were on some form of relief by 1932. Traditional patterns of segregation and disenfranchisement in the South survived the Depression largely unchanged. But a few particularly notorious Case examples of racism did attract national attention. The most celebrated was the Scottsboro case. In March 1931, nine black teenagers were taken off a freight train in Alabama (in a small town

near Scottsboro) and arrested for vagrancy and disorder. Later, two white women who had also been riding the train accused them of rape. In fact, there was overwhelming evidence, medical and otherwise, that the women had not been raped that they may have made their accusations out of fear of being arrested themselves. Nevertheless, an all-white jury in Alabama quickly convicted all nine of the "Scottsboro boys" (as they were known to both friends and foes) and sentenced eight of them to death. The Supreme Court overturned the convictions in 1932, and a series of new trials began that attracted increasing national attention. The International Labor Defense, an organization similar patterns of discrimination confronted the large and growing population of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, which numbered approximately 2 million in the 1930s. Mexican Americans filled many of the same menial jobs in the West and elsewhere that African Americans filled in other regions. Some farmed small, marginal tracts. Some became agricultural migrants, traveling from region to region harvesting fruit, lettuce, and other crops. But most lived in urban areas-in California, New Mexico, and Arizona, but also in Detroit, Chicago, New York, and other eastern industrial cities-and occupied the lower ranks of the unskilled labor force in such industries as steel, automobiles, and meatpacking. As in the South, unemployed white Anglos in the Southwest \_ demanded jobs held by Hispanics. Thus Discrimination m J r against Mexican unemployment rose quickly to Hispanics levels far higher than those for Anglos. Some Mexicans were, in effect, forced to leave the country by officials who arbitrarily removed them from relief rolls or simply rounded them up and transported them across the border. Perhaps half a million Chicanos left the United States for Mexico in the first years of the Depression. Most relief programs excluded Mexicans from their rolls or



**THE GREAT DEPRESSION 647 DUST STORM,**  
**SOUTHWEST PLAINS, 1937** The dust storms of the 1930s were a terrifying experience for all who lived through them. Resembling a black wall sweeping in from the western horizon, such a storm engulfed farms and towns alike, blotting out the light of the sun and covering everything with fine dirt. (© Bettmann/Corbis)  
**BLACK MIGRANTS** The Great Migration of African Americans from the rural South into the cities had begun before World War I. But in the 1930s and 1940s the movement accelerated. Northerners were not always so welcoming. Here, vans move African Americans to the federal Sojourner Truth Housing Project in Detroit under the guard of Michigan state troopers and police. (© The Granger Collection, New York)







648 CHAPTER 23 offered them benefits far below those available to whites. Latinos generally had no access to American schools. Many hospitals refused them admission. Occasionally, there were signs of organized resistance by Mexican Americans themselves, most notably in California, where some formed a union of migrant farmworkers. But harsh repression by local growers and the public authorities allied with them prevented such organizations from having much impact. Like African American farmworkers, many Mexicans began as a result to migrate to cities such as Los Angeles, where they lived in a poverty comparable to that of urban blacks in the South and Northeast. Asian Americans in Hard Times For Asian Americans, too, the Depression reinforced long-standing patterns of discrimination and economic marginalization. In California, where the largest Japanese American and Chinese American populations resided, even educated Asians had always found it difficult, if not impossible, to move into mainstream professions. Japanese American college graduates often found themselves working at family fruit stands; 20 percent of CHINATOWN, NEW YORK A Chinese man carries a "sandwich board" through the streets of New York's Chinatown bearing the latest news of the war between China and Japan, which in 1938 was already well under way. Chinese Americans had the dual challenge in the 1930s of dealing both with large-scale unemployment and with continuing news of catastrophe from China, where most still had many family members. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images) all Japanese Americans in Los Angeles worked at such stands at the end of the 1930s. For those who found Jobs (usually poorly paid) in the industrial or service economy, employment was precarious; like blacks and Hispanics, they often lost Jobs to white Americans desperate for work that a few years earlier they would not have considered. Japanese farmworkers, like Chicano farmworkers, suffered from the increasing competition for even these low-paying jobs from white migrants from the Great Plains. In California, younger men and women organized Japanese American Democratic Clubs in several cities, which worked for, among other things, laws protecting racial and ethnic minorities from discrimination. At the same time, some Japanese American businessmen and professionals tried to overcome obstacles by encouraging other Japanese to become more assimilated, more

"American." They formed the Japanese American Citizens League in 1930 to promote their goals. By 1940, it had nearly 6,000 members. Chinese Americans fared no better. The overwhelming majority continued to work in Chinese-owned laundries and restaurants. Those who moved outside the Asian community could rarely find jobs above the entry level.

The Japanese American Citizens League  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii Women and the Workplace in the Great Depression Popular Disapproval of Women's Employment iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

The economic crisis served in many ways to strengthen the widespread belief that a woman's proper place was in the home. Most men and many women believed that what work there was should go to men. Many people believed that no woman whose husband was employed should accept a job. But the widespread assumption that married women, at least, should not work outside the home did not stop them from doing so. Both single and married Increased , , , , Female women worked in the 1930s, despite pubEmployment li c condemnation of the practice, because . they or their families needed the money. In fact, the largest new group of female workers consisted of wives and mothers. By the end of the Depression, 20 percent more women were working than had been doing so at the beginning. The increase occurred despite considerable obstacles. Professional opportunities for women declined because unemployed men began moving into professions, such as teaching and social work, that had previously been considered women's fields. Female industrial workers were more likely to be laid off or to experience wage reductions than their male counterparts. But white women also had certain advantages in the workplace. The nonprofessional jobs that women traditionally held-as salesclerks and stenographers, and in other service positions-were less likely to disappear than the predominantly male jobs in heavy industry. Nor were many men, even unemployed men, likely to ask for such jobs.

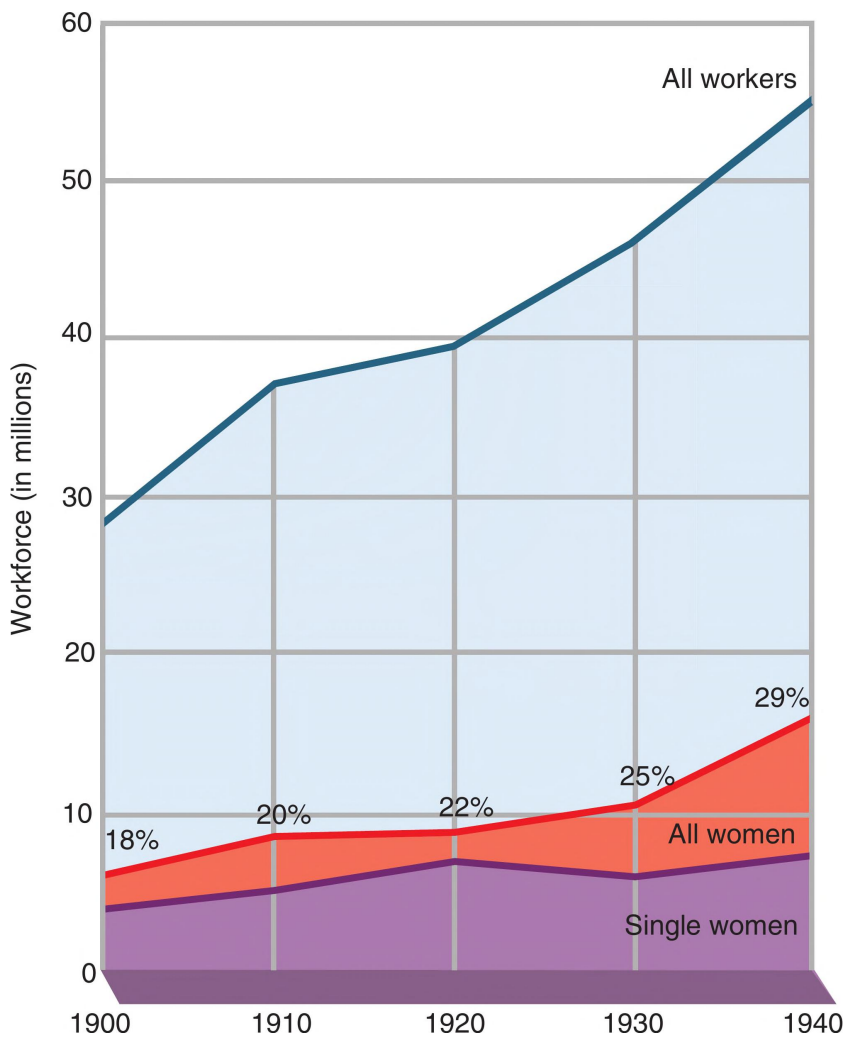


**THE GREAT DEPRESSION 649** **Year WOMEN IN THE PAID WORKFORCE, 1900-1940** The participation of women in the paid workforce increased slowly but steadily in the first forty years of the twentieth century. Note, however, the general leveling off of the participation of single women—who traditionally accounted for the vast majority of women workers—after 1920, at the same time that the total number of women in the paid workforce was rising. Many more married women began entering the paid workforce in these years, particularly in the 1930s. • Why did so many married women begin doing paid work during the Great Depression? Such circumstances forced many families to retreat from the consumer patterns they had developed in the 1920s. Women often returned to sewing clothes for themselves and Retreat from their families and to preserving their own Consumerism food rather than buying such products in . stores. Others engaged in home businesses taking in laundry, selling baked goods, accepting boarders. Many households expanded to include distant relatives. Parents often moved in with their children and grandparents with their grandchildren, or vice versa. But the Depression also eroded the strength of many family units. There was a decline in the divorce rate, but largely because divorce was now too expensive for some. More common was the informal breakup of families, particularly the desertion of families by unemployed men bent on escaping the humiliation of being unable to earn a living. The marriage and birth rates declined simultaneously for the first time since the early nineteenth century.

**THE DEPRESSION AND AMERICAN CULTURE** The Great Depression was a traumatic experience for millions of Americans, and it shook the confidence of many people in themselves or in their nation or both. Out of the crisis emerged some of the most probing criticisms of American society and the American economic system of the industrial age. At the same time, the Depression produced powerful confirmations of traditional values and reinforced many traditional goals. There was not one Depression culture, but many. **Depression Values** Black women suffered massive unemployment because of a great reduction of domestic service jobs. As many as half of all black working women lost their jobs in the 1930s. Even so, at the end of the 1930s, 38 percent of black women were employed, as compared to 24 percent of white women. That was because black women—both married and

unmarried-had always been more likely to work than white women, less out of preference than out of economic necessity. For American feminists, the Depression years were, on the whole, a time of frustration. Although economic pressures pushed more women into the workforce, those same pressures helped to erode the frail support that feminists had won in the 1920s for the idea of women becoming economically and professionally independent.

**Families** The economic hardships of the Depression years placed great strains on American families, many of whom had become accustomed in the 1920s to a steadily rising standard of living but now found themselves plunged suddenly into uncertainty. American social values seemed to change relatively little in response to the Depression. Instead, many people responded to hard times by redoubling their commitment to familiar ideas and goals. The sociologists Robert Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, who had published a celebrated study of Muncie, Indiana, Middletown, in 1929, returned there in the mid- 1930s to see how the city had changed. They concluded in their 1937 book, *Middletown in Transition*, that in most respects "the texture of Middletown's culture has not changed. . . . Middletown is overwhelmingly living by the values by which it lived in 1925." Above all, the men and women of "Middletown"-and by implication many other Americans-remained committed to the traditional American emphasis on the individual. In some respects, the economic crisis worked to undermine \_ the traditional "success ethic" in America. Pfrststfncl of the "Success ManY people began to look to government Ethic" for assistance; many blamed corporate . moguls, international bankers, "economic royalists," and others for their distress. Yet the Depression did not, in the end, seriously erode the success ethic.



expressed anger and struck out at the economic system. Many, however, seemed to blame themselves. Nothing so surprised foreign observers of America Self-Blame 1930s as the apparent passivity of the unemployed, many of whom were so ashamed of their joblessness that they refused to leave their homes. At the same time, millions of people responded eagerly to reassurances that they could, through their own efforts, restore themselves to prosperity and success. The writer and lecturer Dale Carnegie's self-help manual *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936) was one of the best-selling books of the decade. Carnegie's message was not only that personal initiative was the route to success; it was also that the best way for people to get ahead was to fit in and make other people feel important. Artists and Intellectuals in the Great Depression Just as many progressives had become alarmed when, early in the twentieth century, they "discovered" the existence of "Discovery" widespread poverty in the cities, so many of Rural Americans were shocked during the 1930s Poverty at their discovery of debilitating rural poverty. Among those who were most effective in conveying the dimensions of this poverty was a group of documentary photographers, many of them employed by the federal Farm Security Administration in the late 1930s, who traveled through the South recording the nature of agricultural life. Roy Stryker, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Ben Shahn, Margaret Bourke-White, Dorothea Lange, and others produced memorable studies of farm families and their surroundings, studies often designed to reveal the savage impact of a hostile environment on its victims. Many writers, similarly, turned away from the personal concerns of the 1920s and devoted themselves to exposes of social injustice. Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* (1932), which later became a long-running Broadway play, was an expose of poverty in the rural South. Richard Wright, a major African American ~ novelist, exposed the plight of residents of Literature the urban ghetto in *Native Son* (1940). John Steinbeck's novels portrayed the trials of workers and migrants in California. John Dos Passos's trilogy, *U.S.A.* (1930-1936), attacked modern capitalism outright. Playwright Clifford Odets provided an explicit demonstration of the appeal of political radicalism in

Waiting for Lefty (1935). But the cultural products of the 1930s that attracted the widest popular audiences were those that diverted attention away from the Depression. And they came to Americans primarily through the two most powerful instruments of popular culture in the 1930s—radio and the movies. Radio Almost every American family had a radio in the 1930s. In cities and towns, radio consoles were now as familiar a part of the furnishing of parlors and kitchens as tables and chairs. Even in remote rural areas without access to electricity, many families purchased radios and hooked them up to car batteries when they wished to listen. Unlike in later times, radio in the 1930s was often a community experience. Young people would place radios on their front porches and invite friends over to sit, talk, or dance. In poor urban neighborhoods, many people who could not afford A RADIO PLAY Among the most popular entertainments of the 1930s were live readings of plays over the radio—many of them mysteries or romances written specifically for the new medium. Here, a group of actors performs a radio comedy over WNBC in New York City in the early 1930s. The actors (from left to right) are Jack Benny, George Murphy, Jean Cranford, and Reginald Gardiner. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images)





## THE GREAT DEPRESSION 651 A NIGHT AT THE OPERA

The antic comedy of the Marx Brothers provided a popular and welcome escape from the rigors of the Great Depression. The Marx Brothers, shown here in a poster for one of their most famous films, effectively lampooned dilemmas that many Americans faced in their ceaseless, and usually unsuccessful, efforts to find an easy route to wealth and comfort. (© Everett Collection)

moments of the 1930s were a result of radio coverage of celebrated events: the World Series, major college football games, the Academy Awards, political \_ , conventions, presidential inauguRadio's r i ^ & . Impact rations. When the German dirigi111,11 . ble the Hindenburg crashed in flames in Lakehurst, New Jersey, in 1937 after a transatlantic voyage, it produced an enormous national reaction largely because of the live radio account by a broadcaster overcome with emotion who cried out, as he watched the terrible crash, "Oh the humanity! Oh the humanity!" The actor/director Orson Welles created another memorable event in 1938 when he broadcast "War of the Worlds," which created panic among millions of people who believed for a while that the fictional events it described were real. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 696-697.) Radio was important for the way it drew the nation together by creating the possibility of shared experiences and common access to culture and information. It was also significant for the way it helped reshape the social life of the nation, for the way it encouraged many families and individuals to center their lives more around the home than they had in the past. other kinds of social activities would gather on a street or in a backyard to listen to sporting events or concerts. Within families, the radio often drew parents and children together in the evening to listen to favorite programs. What did Americans hear on the radio? Although radio stations occasionally carried socially and politically provocative Escapist programs, the staple of broadcasting was Programming escapism: comedies such as Amos ' n Andy . (with its humorous, if demeaning, picture of urban blacks); adventures such as Superman , Dick Tracy , and The Lone Ranger; and other entertainment programs. Radio brought a new kind of comedy-previously limited to vaudeville or to ethnic theaters-to a wide audience. Jack Benny, George Burns and Gracie Allen, and other masters of elaborately timed jokes and repartee began to develop broad followings (that they would later take with them to

television). Soap operas, also later to become staples of television programming, were enormously popular on radio in the 1930s, especially with women who were alone in the house during the day. (That was one reason they became known as soap operas; soap companies-whose advertising was targeted at women-generally sponsored them.) Almost invariably, radio programs were broadcast live; and as a result, radio spawned an enormous number of public performances. Radio comedies and dramas were often performed before audiences in theaters or studios. Band concerts were broadcast from dance halls, helping jazz and swing bands to achieve broad popularity. Classical music, too, was broadcast live from studios. Radio provided Americans with their first direct access to important public events, and radio news and sports divisions grew rapidly to meet the demand. Some of the most dramatic Movies in the New Era Moviegoing would seem particularly vulnerable to hard times. Families struggling to pay the rent or buy food could easily decide to forgo an evening at the movies. In the first years of the Depression, movie attendance did drop Popularity significantly. By the mid- 1930s, however, of Movies most Americans had resumed their movie. going habits-in part because movies were a less expensive entertainment option than many other possibilities, and in part because the movies themselves (all of them now with sound, and by the end of the decade many of them in color) were becoming more appealing. In many ways, movies were as safely conventional in the 1930s as they had been in the late 1920s. Hollywood continued to exercise tight control over its products in the 1930s through its resilient censor Will Hays, who ensured that most movies carried no sensational or controversial messages. The studio system-through which a few large movie companies exercised iron control over actors, writers, and directors, and through which a few great moguls, such as Louis B. Mayer or Jack Warner, could single-handedly decide the fate of most projects-also worked to ensure that Hollywood films avoided controversy. But neither the censor nor the studio system could (or wished to) prevent films from exploring social questions altogether. A few films, such as King Vidor's *Our Daily Bread* (1932) and John Ford's adaptation of John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), did explore political themes. The director Frank Capra provided a muted social message in several of his comedies-Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (1936), Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (1939), and Meet

John Doe (1941)-which



## PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE The Films of Frank

Capra ■p q a jrr tt Capra is probably best remembered today for his last successful film, *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), widely replayed every year at Christmas. In it, George Bailey, a kind and compassionate small-town savings-and-loan operator (played by Jimmy Stewart), is almost destroyed by a wealthy, greedy, and malicious banker. In despair and contemplating suicide, Bailey receives a visit from an angel who shows him what life in his community, Bedford Falls, would have been like had George never been born. After a few hours of wandering through a coarse, corrupt, degraded version of the town he knew, Bailey comes to understand the value of his own life. Fie returns to the real Bedford Falls to find that his family, friends, and neighbors have rallied together to rescue him from his financial difficulties and affirm his value to them, and theirs to him. By the time *It's a Wonderful Life* appeared, Frank Capra had been the most famous and successful director in Flollywood for more than a decade. His films during those years had almost all been great commercial and critical successes. Capra's popularity was a result in part of his tremendous talent as a director. But it was also a result of his ideas. Most of his films expressed a vision of society, and of politics, that resonated clearly with the concerns of millions of Americans as they struggled through the years of the Great Depression. Capra was born in 1897 in a small village in Sicily and moved with his family to America six years later. After working his way through college, he found a job in the still-young movie industry in California and eventually became a director of feature films. His great MR. DEEDS GOES TO TOWN Gary Cooper, playing the newly wealthy Longfellow Deeds, leaves the friendly, virtuous small town of Mandrake Falls en route to New York to receive the fortune he has inherited. Capra's evocation of the warmth and generosity of Mandrake Falls was part of his effort to contrast the decent America of ordinary people with the grasping and corrupt America of the wealthy and the city. (© Columbia Pictures/Photofest) THE GREATEST OF ALL CAPRA PROMOTING CAPRA Capra was unusual among directors of the 1930s in having a distinct following of his own. Most films attempted to attract audiences by highlighting their stars. Capra films highlighted Capra himself. (© Columbia Pictures/Photofest) celebrated the virtues of the small town and the decency of the

common people in contrast to the selfish, corrupt values of the city and the urban rich. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 652-653.) Gangster movies such as *Little Caesar* (1930) and *The Public Enemy* (1931) portrayed a dark, gritty, violent world with which few Americans were familiar, but their desperate stories were popular nevertheless with those engaged in their own difficult struggles. More often, however, the commercial films of the 1930s were deliberately and explicitly escapist: lavish musicals such as *Gold Diggers of 1933* (whose theme song was "We're in the Money"), "screwball" comedies such as Capra's *It Happened One Night*, or the many films of the Marx Brothers-films designed to divert audiences from their troubles and, often, indulge their fantasies about quick and easy wealth. The 1930s saw the beginning of Walt Disney's long reign as the champion of animation and children's entertainment. After producing cartoon shorts for theaters in the late 1920s-many of them starring the newly created character of Mickey Mouse, who made his debut in 1928.



**FRANK CAPRA** Frank Capra was one of the most famous and successful Hollywood movie directors of the 1930s and 1940s. His films evoked a romantic populism and patriotism during a time of great stress and deprivation. (© Moviepix/Getty Images)

breakthrough came in 1934 with *It Happened One Night*, a now-classic comedy that won five major Academy Awards, including best picture and best director. Over the next seven years, he built on that success by making a series of more-pointed films through which he established himself as a powerful voice of a comfortably populist vision of democracy and American life. Capra made no secret of his romantic image of the small town and the common man, his distaste for cities, his contempt for opportunistic politicians, and his condemnation of what he considered the amoral (and often immoral) capitalist marketplace. In *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), a simple man from a small town inherits a large fortune, moves to the city, and— not liking the greed and dishonesty he finds there— gives the money away and moves back home. In *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), a decent man from a western state is elected to the U.S. Senate, refuses to join in the selfinterested politics of Washington, and dramatically exposes the corruption and selfishness of his colleagues. (The rugged western actor Gary Cooper portrayed Mr. Deeds, and Jimmy Stewart played Mr. Smith.) In *Meet John Doe* (1941), released on the brink of American entry into World War II, an ordinary man— played again by Gary Cooper— is manipulated by a fascist cartel to dupe the public on their behalf. He comes to his senses just in time and, by threatening suicide, rallies ordinary people to turn against the malign plans of the fascists. He then disappears into the night. Capra was entirely conscious of the romantic populism that he brought to his films. He was intensely patriotic, and he believed fervently that America stood for individual opportunity and was defined by the decency of ordinary people. He did not like the term "masses" and found it "insulting, degrading." He saw the people, rather, as a "collection of free individuals . . . each an island of human dignity." When America entered World War II, Capra collaborated with the government (and the Walt Disney studios) to make a series of films designed to explain to new soldiers what the war was about— a series known as *Why We Fight*. They contrasted the individualistic democracy of the American small town with the

dark collectivism of the Nazis and Fascists. Capra poured into them all his skills as a filmmaker and all his romantic, patriotic images. *It's a Wonderful Life*, released a year after the war ended, continued his evocation of the decency of ordinary people. In the decades that followed, Capra ceased to be an important force in American cinema. The sentimental populism and comic optimism that had been so appealing to audiences during the hard years of the Depression and the war gave way to a harder, more realistic style of filmmaking in the 1950s and 1960s; and Capra— a romantic to the end— was never fully able to adjust. But in a time of crisis, Capra had helped his audiences find solace in his romantic vision of the American past, and in the warmth and goodness of small towns and the decency of ordinary people.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Why were Capra's films so popular with people suffering through the economic crisis of the Great Depression?
2. What social messages do Capra's films convey?
3. If Capra's style was considered dated after World War II, why has his film *It's a Wonderful Life* continued to be so popular?

in the 1928 cartoon *Steamboat Wizz* Disney began to produce feature-length animated films, starting in 1937 with *Snow White*. Other enormously popular films of the 1930s were adaptations of popular novels: *The Wizard of Oz* and *Gone with the Wind*, both released in 1939.

Popular Literature and Journalism

The social and political strains of the Great Depression found voice much more successfully in print than they did on the airwaves or the screen. Much literature and journalism in the 1930s dealt directly or indirectly with the tremendous disillusionment, and the increasing radicalism, of the era. Not all literature, of course, was challenging or controversial. The most popular books and magazines of the time were as escapist and romantic as the most popular radio shows and *Life Magazine* movies. Two of the best-selling novels of the decade were romantic sagas set in earlier eras: Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936) and Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* (1933). Leading magazines .

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654 CHAPTER 23 focused more on fashions, stunts, scenery, and the arts than on the social conditions of the nation. The enormously popular new photographic *Journal Life*, which began publication in 1936 and quickly became one of the most successful magazines in American history, had one of the largest readerships of any publication in the United States. It devoted some attention to politics and to the economic conditions of the Depression, more, in fact, than did many of its competitors. But it was best known for stunning photographs of sporting and theater events, natural landscapes, and impressive public projects. Its first cover was a striking photograph by Margaret Bourke-White of a New Deal hydroelectric project. One of its most popular features was "Life Goes to a Party," which took the chatty social columns of daily newspapers and turned them into glossy photographic glimpses of Americans having fun. Other Depression writing, however, was frankly and openly challenging to the dominant values of American popular culture. In the first years of the Depression, some of the most significant literature offered corrosive portraits of the harshness and emptiness of American life: Nathanael West's *Miss Lonelyhearts* (1933), the story of an advice columnist overwhelmed by the sadness he encounters in the lives of those who consult him; Jack Conroy's *The Disinherited* (1933), a harsh portrait of the lives of coal miners; and James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* (1932), a portrait of a lost, hardened working-class youth. The Popular Front and the Left In the later 1930s, much of the political literature was a result of the rise of the Popular Front, a broad coalition of "antifascist" groups on the left, of which the most important was the American Communist Party. The party had long been a harsh and unrelenting critic of American capitalism and the government it claimed was controlled by it. But in 1935, under instructions from the Soviet Union, the party softened its attitude toward Franklin Roosevelt (whom Stalin considered a potential ally in the coming battle against Hitler) and formed loose alliances with many other "progressive" groups. The party began to praise the New Deal. It even supported John L. Lewis, a powerful (and strongly anticommunist) labor leader. The party adopted the slogan "Communism is twentieth-century Americanism." In its heyday, the Popular Front did much to enhance the reputation and influence of the Communist Party, whose formal membership grew to perhaps

100,000 in the mid- 1930s, the highest it had ever been or would be again. But it also helped mobilize writers, artists, and intellectuals-many of them unconnected with (and many of them uninterested in) the Communist Party-behind a pattern of social criticism. For some intellectuals, the Popular Front offered an escape from the lonely and difficult stance of detachment and alienation they had embraced in the 1920s. The Spanish Civil War Spanish Civil was <sup>TM</sup>Portant t0 manY American intellecWar tuals, especially those on the left. It helped . give meaning and purpose to individual lives. The war in Spain pitted the fascists of Francisco Franco (who was receiving support from Hitler and Mussolini) against the existing republican government. It attracted a substantial group of young Americans-more than 3,000-who formed the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (directed and in part created by the American Communist Party) and traveled to Spain to join the fight against the fascists. About a third of its members died in combat. Ernest Hemingway, who spent time as a correspondent in Spain during the conflict, wrote in his novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) of how the war provided those Americans who fought in it with "a part in something which you could believe in wholly and completely and in which you felt an absolute brotherhood with others who were engaged in it." The Communist Party was active as well in organizing the unemployed in the early 1930s and staged a hunger march in Washington, D.C., in 1931. Party members were among the most effective union organizers in some industries. And the party was among the few political organizations that took a firm stand in favor of racial justice; its active defense of the Scottsboro defendants was but one example of its efforts to ally itself with the aspirations of African Americans. The American Communist Party was not, however, the open, patriotic organization it tried to appear. It was always under the close and rigid supervision of the Soviet Union. Its leaders took their orders from the Comintern in Moscow. Most members obediently followed the "party line" (although there were many areas in which Communists were active for which there was no party line, areas in which members acted independently). The subordination of the party leadership to the Soviet Union was most clearly demonstrated in 1939, when Stalin signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany. Moscow then sent orders to the American Communist Party to abandon the Popular Front and return to its old stance of harsh criticism of American

liberals; and Communist Party leaders in the United States immediately obeyed-although thousands of disillusioned members left the party as a result. The Socialist Party of America, under the leadership of Norman Thomas, also cited the economic crisis as evidence of the failure of capitalism and sought vigorously to win public \_ support for its own political program. Southern a . . . , ° . Tenant Among other things, it attempted to mobiFarmers\* Union li ze support among the rural poor. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), supported by the party and organized by a young socialist, H. L. Mitchell, attempted to create a biracial coalition of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and others to demand economic reform. Neither the STFU nor the party itself, however, made any real progress toward establishing socialism as a major force in American politics. By 1936, membership in the Socialist Party had fallen below 20,000. Antiradicalism was a powerful force in the 1930s, just as it had been during and after World War I and would be again in the 1940s and 1950s. Hostility toward the Communist Party, in particular, was intense at many levels of government. Congressional committees chaired by Hamilton Fish of New York and Martin Dies of Texas investigated communist influence wherever they

THE GREAT DEPRESSION 655 MIGRANT FAMILY This photograph by the great Depression photographer Dorothea Lange portrays a family of migrants leaving Texas in search of work in California. It suggests the plight of hundreds of thousands of families who fled the regions affected by drought in the 1930s— a devastation that became known as the Dust Bowl. (© The Granger Collection, New York) could find it (or imagine it). State and local governments harried and sometimes imprisoned communist organizers. White southerners tried to drive communist organizers out of the countryside, just as growers in California and elsewhere tried (unsuccessfully) to keep communists from organizing Mexican American and other workers. Even so, only a few times before in American history (and in few since) did being part of the left seem so respectable and even conventional among workers, intellectuals, and others. Thus the The Left's 1930s witnessed a significant, if temporary. Newfound widening of the ideological range of main Respectability stream art and politics. The New Deal sponsored artistic work through the Works Projects Administration that was frankly challenging to the capitalist norms of the 1920s. The filmmaker Pare Lorentz, with funding from New Deal agencies, made a series of powerful and polemical documentaries—The Plow That Broke the Plains (1936), The River (1937)—that combined a celebration of New Deal programs with a harsh critique of the exploitation of people and the environment that industrial capitalism had produced. Perhaps the most successful chronicler of social conditions in the 1930s was the novelist John Steinbeck, particularly in his celebrated novel The Grapes of Wrath, published in 1939. In telling the story of the Joad family, migrants from the Dust Bowl to California who encounter an unending string of calamities and failures, he offered The Grapes of Wrath not only a harsh portrait of the exploitive features of agrarian life in the West, but also a tribute to the endurance of his main characters—and to the spirit of community they represent. THE UNHAPPY PRESIDENCY OF HERBERT HOOVER

Herbert Hoover began his presidency in March 1929 believing, like most Americans, that the nation faced a bright and prosperous future. For the first six months of his Republican administration, he

attempted to expand the policies he had advocated during his eight years as secretary of commerce, policies that would, he believed, complete a stable system of cooperative individualism and sustain a successful economy. The economic crisis that began before the year was out forced



656 CHAPTER 23 the president to deal with a new set of problems, but for most of the rest of his term, he continued to rely on the principles that had always governed his public life. The Hoover Program Hoover's first response to the Depression was to attempt to restore public confidence in the economy. "The fundamental business of this country, that is, production and distribution of commodities," Hoover said in 1930, "is on a sound and prosperous basis." He then summoned leaders of business, labor, and agriculture to the White House and urged them to adopt a program of voluntary cooperation for recovery. He implored businessmen not to cut production or lay off workers; he talked labor leaders into forgoing demands for higher wages or better hours. But by mid- 1931, economic conditions had deteriorated so much that the modest structure of voluntary cooperation he had erected collapsed. Hoover also attempted to use government spending as a tool for fighting the Depression. The president proposed to Congress an increase of \$423 million—a significant sum by the standards of the time—in federal public works programs, and he exhorted state and local governments to fund public construction. But the spending was not nearly enough in the face of such devastating problems. And when economic conditions worsened, he became less willing to increase spending, worrying instead about creating large government deficits. In 1932, at the depth of the Depression, he proposed a tax increase to help the government avoid a deficit. Even before the stock market crash. Hoover had begun to construct a program to assist the already troubled agricultural economy. In April 1929, he proposed the Agricultural Marketing Act, which established the first major government program to . help farmers maintain prices. A federally sponsored Farm Board would make loans to national marketing cooperatives or establish corporations to buy surpluses and thus raise prices. At the same time. Hoover attempted to protect American farmers from international competition by raising agricultural tariffs. The Tariff Act of 1930 (also known as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff and the Hawley-Smoot Tariff) increased protection on seventy-five farm products. But neither the Agricultural Marketing Act nor the Hawley-Smoot Tariff ultimately helped American farmers

significantly. The tariff, on the contrary, harmed the agricultural economy by stifling exports of food. By the spring of 1931, Herbert Hoover's political position had deteriorated considerably. In the 1930 congressional elections, Democrats won control of the House and made substantial inroads in the Senate by promising increased government Hoover's assistance to the economy. Many Americans Declining held President personally to blame for Popularity the crisis and began calling the shantytowns that unemployed people established on the outskirts of cities "Hoovervilles." Democrats urged the HOOVER THE PATRICIAN Although Herbert Hoover grew up in a family of modest means in a small town in Iowa, his critics in the 1930s delighted in portraying him as an aloof aristocrat, fond of fancy dinners and elegant surroundings. As this formal portrait shows, Hoover gave his critics many opportunities to strengthen that image. (© Corbis) president to support more-vigorous programs of relief and public spending. Hoover continued to believe his policies were working. The international financial panic of the spring of 1931 destroyed the illusion that the economic crisis was coming to an end. Throughout the 1920s, European nations had depended on loans from American banks to allow them to make payments on their debts. After 1929, when they could no longer get such loans, the financial fabric of several European nations began to unravel. In May 1931, one of the largest banks in Austria collapsed. Over the next several months, panic gripped the financial institutions of neighboring countries. The American economy rapidly declined to new lows. By the time Congress convened in December 1931, conditions had grown so desperate that Hoover supported a series of measures designed to keep endangered banks afloat and protect homeowners from foreclosure on their mortgages. More important was a bill passed in January 1932 establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), Reconstruction a government agency whose purpose was Finance to prOvide federal loans to troubled banks, railroads, and other businesses. It even Corporation







## THE GREAT DEPRESSION 657 HOOVERVILLES Herbert

Hoover remained a symbol of despair for many Americans enduring the stresses of the Great Depression. This shanty town in Seattle and many others throughout the country were called by critics of the president "Hoovervilles." (© World History Archive/Alamy) made funds available to local governments to support public works projects and assist relief efforts. Unlike some earlier Hoover programs, it operated on a large scale. In 1932, the RFC had a budget of \$1.5 billion for public works alone. Nevertheless, the new agency failed to deal directly or forcefully enough with the real problems of the economy to produce any significant recovery. The RFC lent funds only to financial institutions with sufficient collateral; much of its money went to large banks and corporations. At Hoover's insistence, it helped finance only those public works projects that promised ultimately to pay for themselves (toll bridges, public housing, and others). Above all, the RFC did not have enough money to make any real impact on the Depression, and it did not even spend all the money it had. Of the \$300 million available to support local relief efforts, the RFC lent out only \$30 million in 1932. Of the \$1.5 billion public works budget, it released only about 20 percent. Popular Protest For the first several years of the Depression, most Americans were either too stunned or too confused to raise any effective protest. By the middle of 1932, however, dissident voices began to be heard. In the summer of 1932, a group of unhappy farm owners gathered in Des Moines, Iowa, to establish a new organization: Farmers' Holiday Association, which Holiday endorsed the withholding of farm products from the market in effect a farmers' strike. . The strike began in August in western Iowa, spread briefly to a few neighboring areas, and succeeded in blockading several markets, but in the end it dissolved in failure. A more celebrated protest movement emerged from American veterans. In 1924, Congress had approved the payment of a \$ 1,000 bonus to all those who had served in World War I, the money to be paid beginning in 1945. By 1932, however, many veterans were demanding that the bonus be paid immediately. Hoover, concerned about balancing the budget, rejected their appeal. In June, more than 20,000 veterans, members of the self-proclaimed Bonus Expeditionary Force, or "Bonus Army," marched into Washington, built crude camps around

the city, and promised to stay until Congress approved legislation to pay the bonus. Some of the veterans departed in July, after Congress voted down their proposal. Many, however, remained where they were. Their continued presence in Washington disturbed President Hoover. Finally, in mid-July, he ordered police to clear the marchers out of several abandoned federal buildings in which they had been staying. A few marchers threw rocks at the police, and someone opened fire; two veterans fell dead. Hoover considered the incident evidence of growing violence and radicalism, and he ordered the U.S. Army to assist the police in clearing out the buildings. General Douglas MacArthur, the army chief of staff, carried out the mission himself (with the assistance of his aide, Dwight D. Eisenhower) and greatly exceeded the president's orders. He led the Third Cavalry (under the command of George S. Patton), two infantry regiments, a machine-gun detachment, and six tanks down Pennsylvania Avenue in pursuit of the Bonus Army. The veterans fled in terror. MacArthur followed them across the Anacostia River, where he ordered the soldiers to burn their tent city to the ground. More than 100 marchers were injured.



## 658 CHAPTER 23 CLEARING OUT THE BONUS

**MARCHERS** In July 1932, President Hoover ordered the Washington, D.C., police to evict the Bonus marchers from some of the public buildings and land they had been occupying. The result was a series of pitched battles (one of them visible here), in which both veterans and police sustained injuries. Such skirmishes persuaded Hoover to call out the U.S. Army to finish the eviction. (© Bettmann/Corbis) The incident served as perhaps the final blow to Hoover's already-battered political standing. Hoover's own reserved personality reinforced the public image of him as aloof and unsympathetic to distressed people. The Great Engineer, the personification of the optimistic days of the 1920s, had become a symbol of the nation's failure to deal effectively with its startling reversal of fortune. Roosevelt had been a well-known figure in the party for many years already. A Hudson Valley aristocrat, a distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt (a connection strengthened by his marriage in 1904 to the president's niece, Eleanor), and a handsome, charming young man, he progressed rapidly: from a seat in the New York State legislature to a position as assistant secretary of the navy during World War I to his party's vice presidential nomination in 1920 on the ill-fated ticket with James M. Cox. Less than a year later, he was stricken with polio. Although he never regained use of his legs (and eventually could appear to walk only by using crutches and braces), he built up sufficient physical strength to return to politics in 1928. When Al Smith received the Democratic nomination for president that year, Roosevelt was elected to succeed him as governor of New York. In 1930, he easily won reelection. Roosevelt worked no miracles in New York, but he did initiate enough positive programs of government assistance to be able to present himself as a more energetic and imaginative leader than Hoover. In national politics, he avoided such divisive cultural issues as religion and prohibition and emphasized the economic grievances that most Democrats shared. He was able as a result to assemble a broad coalition within the party and win his party's nomination. In a dramatic break with tradition, he flew to Chicago to address the convention in person and accept the nomination. In the course of his acceptance speech, Roosevelt aroused the delegates with his ringing promise: "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people," giving his

future program a name that would long endure. Neither then nor in the subsequent campaign did Roosevelt give much indication of what that program would be. But Herbert Hoover's unpopularity virtually ensured Roosevelt's election. In November, to the surprise of no one, Roosevelt won by a landslide. He received 57.4 percent of the popular vote to 1932 Election Hoover's 39.7. In the electoral college, the i him him him him M mi M him him him him M mi M mi M him him M result was even more overwhelming Hoover carried Delaware, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine. Roosevelt won everything else. Democrats won majorities in both houses of Congress. It was a broad and convincing mandate. The Election of 1932 As the 1932 presidential election approached, few people doubted the outcome. The Republican Party dutifully renominated Herbert Hoover for a second term of office, but the FDR gloomy atmosphere of the convention made Nominated k clear that few delegates believed he could . win. The Democrats, in the meantime, gathered jubilantly in Chicago to nominate the governor of New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The "Interregnum" The period between the election and the inauguration (which in the early 1930s lasted more than four months) was a season of growing economic crisis. Presidents-elect traditionally do not involve themselves directly in government. But in a series of brittle exchanges with Roosevelt in the months following the election. Hoover tried to exact from the president-elect a pledge to maintain policies of economic orthodoxy. Roosevelt genially refused.



THE GREAT DEPRESSION 659 Candidate (Party) Electoral  
Vote Popular Vote (%) Franklin D. Roosevelt (Democratic) Herbert  
Hoover (Republican) Norman Thomas (Socialist) Other candidates  
(Communist, Prohibition, Socialist Labor, Liberty) 56.9% of  
electorate voting 472 22,821,857 (57.4) 59 15,761,841 (39.7) —  
881,951 (2.2) — 271,355 ELECTION OF 1932 Like the election of  
1928, the election of 1932 was exceptionally one-sided. But this  
time, the landslide favored the Democratic candidate, Franklin  
Roosevelt, who overwhelmed Herbert Hoover in all regions of the  
country except New England. Roosevelt obviously benefited  
primarily from popular disillusionment with Hoover's response to  
the Great Depression. • But what characteristics of Roosevelt himself  
contributed to his victory? THE CHANGING OF THE GUARD  
Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt travel together to the  
Capitol for Roosevelt's inauguration. The ride appeared  
uncomfortable for the outgoing president. Hoover seems glum and  
uncommunicative whereas Roosevelt seems ready to take on his  
new responsibilities. (© Bettmann/Corbis) In February, only a  
month before the inauguration, a new crisis developed when the  
collapse of the American banking system suddenly and rapidly  
accelerated. Public confidence in Banking ^an^s was ebbing;  
depositors were Crisis withdrawing their money in panic; and ''''  
111 11 one bank after another was closing its doors and declaring  
bankruptcy. Hoover again asked Roosevelt to give prompt public  
assurances that there would be no tinkering with the currency, no  
heavy borrowing, no unbalancing of the budget. Roosevelt again  
refused. March 4, 1933, was, therefore, a day of both economic  
crisis and considerable personal bitterness. On that morning,  
Herbert Hoover, convinced that the United States was headed for  
disaster, rode glumly down Pennsylvania Avenue with a beaming,  
buoyant Franklin Roosevelt, who would shortly be sworn in as the  
thirty-second president of the United States. LOOKING BACK ||||| III  
III III III III III III |||||||| III III III III III III III |||||||| III III III III  
III III III |||||||| III III III III III III |||||||| III III III III III III  
|||||| III III III III III III MINIMA The Great Depression, which  
began so unexpectedly and spread so quickly and widely, changed  
many things in American life. It created unemployment on a scale  
never before experienced in the nation's history. It put enormous  
pressures on families, on communities, on state and local

governments, and ultimately on Washington- which during the innovative but ultimately failed presidency of Herbert Hoover was unable to produce policies capable of dealing effectively with the crisis. In the nation's politics and culture, the Depression provoked strong currents of radicalism and protest; and many middle-class Americans came to fear (and many less-affluent people to hope) that a revolution might be approaching. In reality, while the Great Depression shook much of American society and culture, it actually toppled very little. The capitalist system survived, damaged for a time but never truly threatened. The widely shared values of materialism and personal responsibility were shaken, but never overturned. The American people in the 1930s were more receptive than



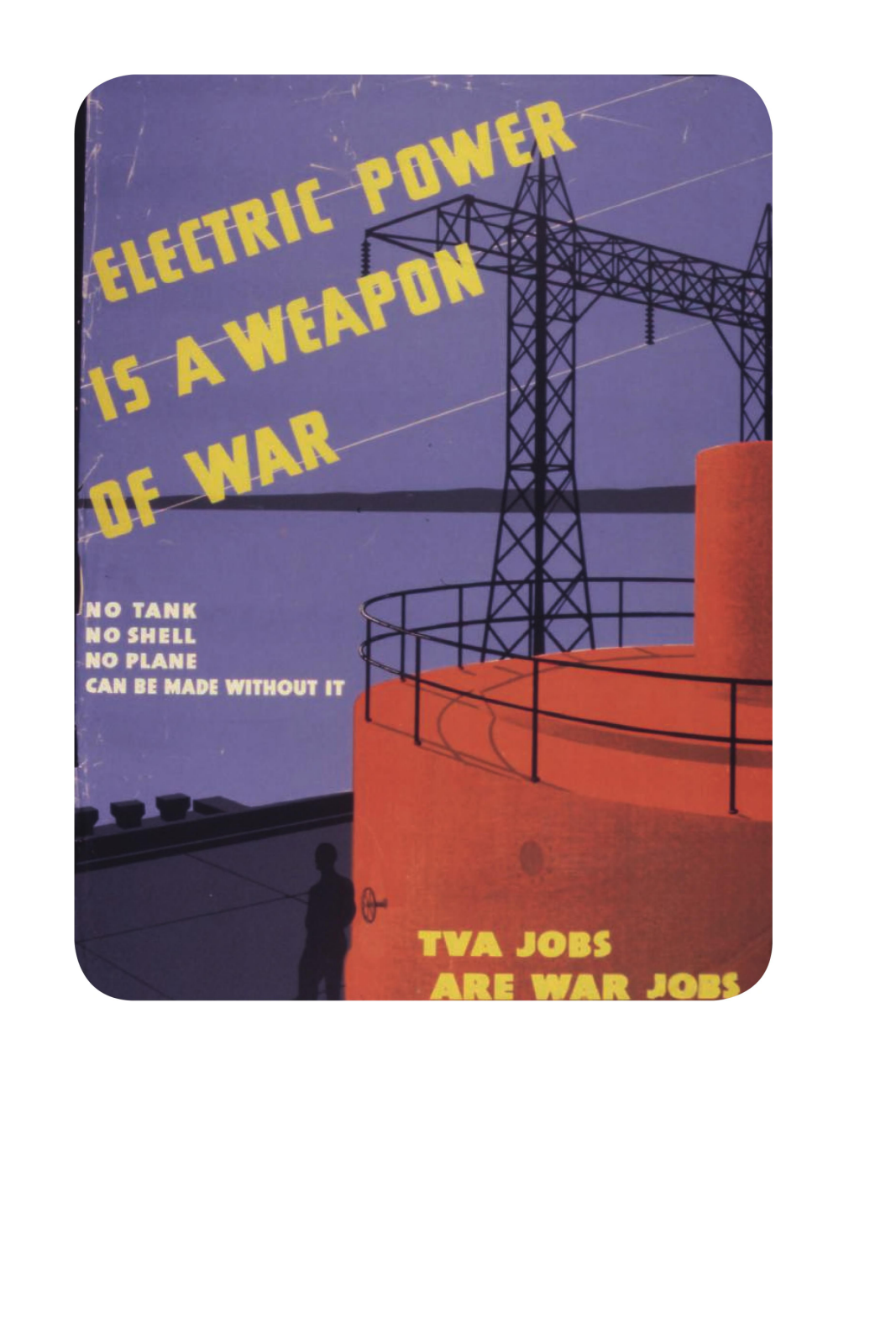


660 CHAPTER 23 they had been in the 1920s to evocations of community, generosity, and the dignity of common people. They were more open to experiments in government and business and even private lives than they had been in earlier years. But for most Americans, belief in the "American way of life"-a phrase that became widely resonant in the 1930s for the first time remained strong throughout the long years of economic despair. Key Terms/People/Places/Events Agricultural Marketing Act 656 "Black Tuesday" 640 Bonus Army 657 Clifford Odets 650 Dust Bowl 645 Erskine Caldwell 650 Frank Capra 651 Tariff Act of 1930 656 Hindenburg 651 Hoovervilles 656 John Dos Passos 650 John Steinbeck 650 Life magazine 653 "Okies" 645 Orson Welles 651 Popular Front 654 Reconstruction Finance Corporation 657 Richard Wright 650 SCOTTSBORO CASE 646 Soap operas 651 RECALL AND REFLECT

1. Was the 1929 stock market crash the cause of the Depression? Why or why not? 2. How did farmers fare during the Depression? What environmental conditions contributed to their plight? 3. What particular problems faced women, both black and white, who worked outside the home? 4. How did radio affect both social life and the life of the family? 5. What was the Popular Front? What groups did it comprise? How did they respond to the Depression? 6. What popular protests arose in response to the Depression? How successful were these protests? 7 How did Hoover's political beliefs affect his attempt to deal with the economic crisis of the Depression? SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1929 Stock market crash signals onset of Great Depression Agricultural Marketing Act passed 1931 Scottsboro defendants arrested Communist Party stages hunger march in Washington, D.C. 1933 Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated; New Deal begins (see Chapter 24) 1935 American Communist Party proclaims Popular Front 1939 John Steinbeck publishes The Grapes of Wrath Nazi-Soviet Pact weakens American Communist Party 1941 James Agee and Walker Evans publish Let Us Now Praise Famous Men 1930 Tariff Act of 1930 Ten-year drought begins in South and Midwest (the Dust Bowl) 1932 Reconstruction Finance Corporation established Bonus marchers come to Washington, D.C. Franklin D. Roosevelt elected president Banking crisis begins 1934 Southern Tenant Farmers' Union organized 1936 Margaret Mitchell

publishes *Gone with the Wind* Life magazine begins publication  
1940 Richard Wright publishes *Native Son* Ernest Hemingway  
publishes *For Whom the Bell Tolls*

[illegible]



# **ELECTRIC POWER IS A WEAPON OF WAR**

**NO TANK  
NO SHELL  
NO PLANE  
CAN BE MADE WITHOUT IT**

**TVA JOBS  
ARE WAR JOBS**

SETTING THE STAGE THE ADMINISTRATION of Franklin Roosevelt was in many ways the most politically successful presidency in American history. Roosevelt won four successive terms in office, and his administration constructed a series of programs that permanently altered the shape of the federal government and its relationship to society. By the end of the 1930s, the New Deal (as the Roosevelt program was called) had created many of the broad outlines of the political world we know today. It had created a powerful coalition within the Democratic Party that would dominate American politics for most of the next thirty years, and it had produced the beginnings of a new liberal ideology that would govern reform efforts for decades. One thing the New Deal had not done, however, was end the Great Depression. At the end of 1940, near the end of Roosevelt's second term, many of the basic problems of the Depression remained unsolved. The persistence of the Depression created many challenges to the New Deal. Dissident groups on both the right and the left— some of them of considerable size and strength— mobilized outside the conventional party system to promote alternative paths to recovery. Factions within the Democratic Party, most notably southern conservatives, turned against Roosevelt's policies, joined with Republicans, and helped create a conservative coalition in Congress that frustrated many of his goals. Only the advent of World War II in 1940 and 1941 succeeded in ending the Great Depression. It also brought to a close most of the domestic initiatives of the New Deal.

LAUNCHING THE NEW DEAL

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Roosevelt's first task upon taking office was to alleviate the panic that was threatening the financial system. He did so in part by force of personality and in part by constructing very rapidly an ambitious and diverse program of legislation. Restoring Confidence Much of Roosevelt's success was a result of his ebullient personality. In his inaugural address, he assured the American people that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," and promised to Roosevelt's ta^e Mastic, even warlike, action against the emergency. He projected an infecPersonality tious optimism that helped alleviate the growing despair. He was the first . president to make regular use of the radio, and his friendly "fireside chats," during which he explained his programs and plans to the people, helped build public

confidence in the administration. Roosevelt held frequent informal press conferences and won the respect and friendship of most reporters. Their regard for him was such that by unwritten agreement, no journalist ever photographed the president getting into or out of his car or sitting in his wheelchair. Much of the American public remained unaware throughout the Roosevelt years that the president's legs were completely paralyzed. But Roosevelt could not rely on image alone. On March 6, 1933, two days after taking office, he issued a proclamation closing all American banks for four days until Congress could meet in special session to consider banking-reform legislation. So great was the panic about bank failures that the "bank holiday," as the president euphemistically described it, created a general sense of relief. Three "Bank days" after Roosevelt sent to Congress the Emergency Banking Act, a generally "conservative" bill (much of it drafted by Hoover administration holdovers) designed primarily to protect the larger banks from being dragged down by the weakness of smaller ones. The bill provided for Treasury Department inspection of all banks before they would be allowed to reopen, for federal assistance to some troubled institutions, and for a thorough reorganization of those in the greatest difficulty. A confused and frightened Congress passed the bill within four hours of its introduction. "I can assure you," Roosevelt told the public on March 12, in his first fireside chat, "that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress." Whatever else the new law accomplished, it helped dispel the panic. Three-quarters of the banks in the Federal Reserve system reopened within the next three days, and \$1 billion in 1933

THE NEW DEAL 663 THE "RADIO PRESIDENT" Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first American president to master the use of radio. Beginning in his first days in office, he regularly bypassed the newspapers and communicated directly with the people through his famous "fireside chats." He is shown here speaking in 1938, urging communities to continue to provide work relief for the unemployed. (© Bettmann/Corbis) hoarded currency and gold flowed back into them within a month. The immediate banking crisis was over. On the morning after passage of the Emergency Banking Act, Roosevelt sent to Congress another measure-the Economy Act-designed to convince fiscally conservative Americans (especially the business community) that the federal government was in safe, responsible hands. The act proposed to balance the federal budget by cutting the salaries of government employees and reducing pensions to veterans by as much as 15 percent. Otherwise, the president warned, the nation faced a \$ 1 billion budget deficit. Like the banking bill, this one passed Congress almost instantly-despite heated protests from some congressional progressives. Roosevelt also moved in his first days in office to put to rest one of the divisive issues of the 1920s. He supported and then signed a bill to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer with Prohibition a 3 2 Percent alcohol content-an interim Repealed measure pending the repeal of prohibition, 1 1 1 . . " . "" for which a constitutional amendment (the Twenty-First) was already in process. The amendment was ratified later in 1933. Agricultural Adjustment These initial actions were largely stopgaps, to buy time for comprehensive programs. The first of them was the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which Congress passed in May 1933. Its most important feature was its provision for reducing crop production to end agricultural surpluses and halt the downward spiral of farm prices. Under the provisions of the act, producers of seven basic commodities (wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, and dairy products) would decide on production limits for their crops. iiii AAA The government, through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), would then tell individual farmers how much they should produce and would pay them subsidies for leaving some of their land idle. A tax on food processing (for example, the milling of wheat) would provide the funds for the new payments. Farm prices would be



subsidized up to the point of parity. The AAA helped bring about a rise in prices for farm commodities in the years after 1933. Gross farm income increased by half in the first three years of the New Deal, and the agricultural economy emerged from the 1930s much more stable and prosperous than it had been in many years. The AAA did, however, favor larger farmers over smaller ones, particularly since local administration of its programs often fell into the hands of the most powerful producers in a community. By distributing payments to landowners, not those who worked the land, the government did little to discourage planters who were reducing their acreage from evicting tenants and sharecroppers and firing field hands. In January 1936, the Supreme Court struck down the crucial provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, arguing that the government had no constitutional authority to require farmers to limit production. But within a few weeks the administration had secured passage of new legislation (the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act), which permitted the government to pay farmers to reduce production so as to "conserve soil," prevent erosion, and accomplish other secondary goals. The Court did not interfere with the new laws. The administration launched several efforts to assist poor farmers as well. The Resettlement Administration, established in 1935, and its successor, the Farm Security Administration, created in 1937, provided loans to help farmers cultivating submarginal soil to relocate to better lands. But the programs never moved more than a few thousand farmers. More effective was the Rural Electrification Administration, created in 1935, which worked to make electric power available for the first time to thousands of farmers through utility cooperatives. "Rural Electrification" I Mil I HIM Mill Mill Mill Mill Mill II III II III II III II III II Mill Mill Mill II Industrial Recovery Ever since 1931, leaders of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and many others had been urging the government to adopt an antideflation scheme that would permit trade associations to cooperate in stabilizing prices within their industries. Existing antitrust laws clearly forbade such practices, and Herbert Hoover had refused to endorse suspension of the laws. The Roosevelt administration was more receptive. In exchange for relaxing antitrust provisions, however. New Dealers insisted on other provisions. Business leaders would have to make important concessions to labor-recognize the workers' right to bargain

collectively through unions-to ensure that the incomes of workers would rise along with prices. And to help create jobs and increase consumer buying power, the administration added a major program of public works spending. The result of these and many other impulses

## CONSIDER THE SOURCE

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BANKING CRISES WHEN FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT TOOK OFFICE AS PRESIDENT IN 1933, the U S. banking system was close to collapse. As depositors, panicked by the worsening Depression, withdrew their savings from the banks, bank after bank was forced to close. To prevent a complete collapse of the banking system, FDR first declared a "bank holiday/" calling for the closing of all banks, and then called Congress into special session to pass banking-reform legislation, the Emergency Banking Act. In his first fireside chat on March 12, 1933-excerpted in the first source document below-the president sought to explain to the public the actions he and Congress had undertaken and to reassure his listeners that their money would be safe in banks. Some seventy-five years after the Great Depression of the 1930s, the nation once again experienced a serious financial crisis in the Great Recession of 2007-2010. Once again. Congress passed banking-reform legislation calling for closer regulation of banks and providing greater protections for consumers. In his address of July 21, 2010, President Barack Obama outlined the provisions of the new legislation and sought to reassure the public. Excerpts from this address comprise the second source in this feature. THE GREAT DEPRESSION-1933 r Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "The Banking Crisis (First Fireside Chat)" First of all, let me state the simple fact that when you deposit money in a bank, the bank does not put the money into a safe deposit vault. It invests your money in many different forms of credit in bonds, in commercial paper, in mortgages and in many other kinds of loans. In other words, the bank puts your money to work to keep the wheels of industry and of agriculture turning around. . . . What, then, happened during the last few days of February and the first few days of March? Because of undermined confidence on the part of the public, there was a general rush by a large portion of our population to turn bank deposits into currency or gold, a rush so great that the soundest banks couldn't get enough currency to meet the demand. ... By the afternoon of March third, a week ago last Friday, scarcely a bank in the country was open to do business. Proclamations closing them, in whole or in part, had been issued by the Governors in almost all the states. It was then that I issued the proclamation providing for the national bank holiday, and this was

the first step in the Government's reconstruction of our financial and economic fabric. The second step, last Thursday, was the legislation promptly and patriotically passed by the Congress confirming my proclamation and broadening my powers so that it became possible in view of the requirement of time to extend the holiday and lift the ban of that holiday gradually in the days to come. This law also gave authority to develop a program of rehabilitation of our banking facilities. . . . The new law allows the twelve Federal Reserve Banks to issue additional currency on good assets and thus the banks that reopen will be able to meet every legitimate call. ... It is necessary that the reopening of banks be extended over a period [of several days] in order to permit the banks to make applications for the necessary loans, to obtain currency needed to meet their requirements, and to enable the Government to make common sense checkups. . . . We have had a bad banking situation. Some of our bankers had shown themselves either incompetent or dishonest in their handling of the people's funds. They had used the money entrusted to them in speculations and unwise loans. This was, of course, not true in the vast majority of our banks, but it was true in enough of them to shock the people of the United States, for a time, into a sense of insecurity and to put them into a frame of mind where they did not differentiate, but seemed to assume that the acts of a comparative few had tainted them all. And so it became the Government's job to straighten out this situation and do it as quickly as possible. And that job is being performed. . . . s \_ \_ \_ \_ ) 664 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

[T]here is an element in the readjustment of our financial system more important than currency, more important than gold, and that is the confidence of the people themselves. Confidence and courage are the essentials of success in carrying out our plan. You people must have faith; you must not be stampeded by rumors or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system, and it is up to you to support and make it work. Source: [whitehouse.c-span.org](http://whitehouse.c-span.org) \_j

THE GREAT RECESSION OF 2007-2010 UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

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1. How does President Roosevelt explain the current economic crisis? What group does he single out as being most to blame? 2. What tone does President Roosevelt use in addressing the public? What specific actions does he ask of the American public? \ Barack Obama: Signing of Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act

Over the past two years, we have faced the worst recession since the Great Depression. Eight million people lost their Jobs. Tens of millions saw the value of their homes and retirement savings plummet. Countless businesses have been unable to get the loans they need and many have been forced to shut their doors. And although the economy is growing again, too many people are still feeling the pain of the downturn. Now, while a number of factors led to such a severe recession, the primary cause was a breakdown in our financial system. It was a crisis born of a failure of responsibility from certain corners of Wall Street to the halls of power in Washington. For years, our financial sector was governed by antiquated and poorly enforced rules that allowed some to game the system and take risks that endangered the entire economy. Unscrupulous lenders locked consumers into complex loans with hidden costs. Firms like AIG placed massive, risky bets with borrowed money. And while the rules left abuse and excess unchecked, they also left taxpayers on the hook if a big bank or financial institution ever failed. Now, let's put this in perspective. The fact is, the financial industry is central to our nation's ability to grow, to prosper, to compete and to innovate. There are a lot of banks that understand and fulfill this vital role, and there are a

whole lot of bankers who want to do right-and do right-by their customers. This reform will help foster innovation, not hamper it. It is designed to make sure that everybody follows the same set of rules, so that firms compete on price and quality, not on tricks and not on traps. . . . [R]eform will also rein in the abuse and excess that nearly brought down our financial system. It will finally bring transparency to the kinds of complex and risky transactions that helped trigger the financial crisis. Shareholders will also have a greater say on the pay of CEOs and other executives, so they can reward success instead of failure. And finally, because of this law, the American people will never again be asked to foot the bill for Wall Street's mistakes. There will be no more tax-funded bailouts-period. If a large financial institution should ever fail, this reform gives us the ability to wind it down without endangering the broader economy. And there will be new rules to make clear that no firm is somehow protected because it is "too big to fail." . . . The fact is every American-from Main Street to Wall Street-has a stake in our financial system. Wall Street banks and firms invest the capital that makes it possible for start-ups to sell new products. They provide loans to businesses to expand and to hire. They back mortgages for families purchasing a new home. That's why we'll all stand to gain from these reforms. We all win when investors around the world have confidence in our markets. We all win when shareholders have more power and more information. We all win when consumers are protected against abuse. And we all win when folks are rewarded based on how well they perform, not how well they evade accountability. Source: [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) V J MAKE CONNECTIONS

1. What specifics does Obama offer in his explanation of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act? Why do you think Obama's explanation is more detailed than FDR's? 2. Both presidents appealed to the public to support the new legislation. How do their appeals to the public differ? 3. Which message, FDR's or Obama's, do you think offers greater reassurance to the public? Why is that message more reassuring? 665 iiiiimiiiiimiiiiimmi

Several thousand San Francisco schoolchildren assembled on a baseball field in 1933 to form the symbol of the National Recovery Administration: an eagle clutching a cogwheel (to symbolize industry) and a thunderbolt (to symbolize energy). This display is evidence of the widespread (if brief) popular enthusiasm the NRA produced. NRA administrators drew from their memories of World War I Liberty Loan drives and tried to establish the Blue Eagle as a symbol of patriotic commitment to recovery. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

NRA was the National Industrial Recovery Act, which Congress passed in June 1933. At first, the new industrial recovery program appeared to work well. At its center was a new federal agency, the National Recovery Administration (NRA), under the direction of the flamboyant and energetic Hugh S. Johnson. Johnson called on every business establishment in the nation to accept a temporary "blanket code": a minimum wage of between 30 and 40 cents an hour, a maximum workweek of thirty-five to forty hours, and the abolition of child labor. Adherence to the code, he claimed, would raise consumer purchasing power and increase employment. At the same time, Johnson negotiated another, more specific set of codes with leaders of the nation's major industries. These industrial codes set floors below which no company would lower prices or wages in its search for a competitive advantage. He quickly won agreements from almost every major industry in the country. From the beginning, however, the NRA encountered serious difficulties. The codes themselves were hastily and often poorly written. Administering them was beyond the capacities of federal officials with no prior experience in running so vast a program. Large producers consistently dominated the code-writing process and ensured that the new regulations would work to their advantage and to the disadvantage of smaller firms. And the codes at times did more than simply set floors under prices; they actively and artificially raised them-sometimes to levels higher than the market could sustain. Other NRA goals did not progress as quickly as the efforts to raise prices. Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act Promised workers the right to form unions and engage in collective bargaining and encouraged many workers to join unions for the first time. But Section 7(a) contained no enforcement

mechanisms. Hence recognition of unions by employers (and thus the significant wage increases the unions were committed to winning) did not follow. The Public Works Administration (PWA), established in 1933 to administer the National Industrial Recovery Act's spending programs, only gradually allowed the \$3.3 billion in public works funds to trickle out. Not until 1938 was the PWA budget pumping an appreciable amount of money into the economy. Perhaps the clearest evidence of the NRA's failure was that industrial production actually declined in the months after the agency's establishment—from an index of 101 in July 1933 to 71 in November—despite the rise in prices that the codes had helped to create. By the spring of 1934, the NRA was besieged by criticism, and businessmen were ignoring many of its provisions. That fall, Roosevelt pressured Johnson to resign and established a new board of directors to oversee the NRA. Then, the Supreme Court intervened. In 1935, a case came before the Court involving alleged NRA code violations by the Schechter brothers, who operated a wholesale poultry business confined to Brooklyn, New York. The Court ruled unanimously that the Schechters were not engaged in interstate commerce (and thus not subject to federal regulation) and, further, that Congress had unconstitutionally delegated legislative power to the president to draft the NRA codes. The Justices struck down the legislation establishing the agency. Roosevelt denounced the Justices for their "horse-and-buggy" interpretation of the interstate commerce clause. He was rightly concerned, for the reasoning in the Schechter case threatened many other New Deal programs as well. But the Court's destruction of the NRA itself gave the New Deal a convenient excuse for ending a failed experiment.





THE NEW DEAL 667 ILLINOIS Paducah\* Pickwick Mill I  
 Landing Bowling\* Green KENTUCKY irland ft Nashville. ^ Columbia  
 o' ^Norris ^4^ A Oak ^ ^Cherokee ^VV - Ridge • -t N KnoxviMe , - \\  
 Douglas WW { “ 1 1 South Holston Johmon\* ^Watauga V^V V V  
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 \*\*Santeetlah Apalachia u. Nantahala Chattanooga^ Chickamauga I  
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 NORTH CAROLINA .Huntsville / ^Guntersville ALABAMA SOUTH  
 CAROLINA ■ Tennessee River watershed Power plant TVA dam  
 project Chemical plant THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY The  
 Tennessee Valley Authority was one of the largest experiments in  
 government-funded public works and regional planning in  
 American history to that point. The federal government had helped  
 fund many projects in its history— canals, turnpikes, railroads,  
 bridges, dams, and others. But never before had it undertaken a  
 project of such great scope, and never before had it maintained  
 such close control and ownership over the public works it helped  
 create. This map illustrates the broad reach of the TVA within the  
 Tennessee Valley region, which spanned seven states. TVA dams  
 throughout the region helped control floods and also provided a  
 source for hydroelectric power, which the government sold to  
 consumers. Note the dam near Muscle Shoals, Alabama, in the  
 bottom left of the map. It was begun during World War I, and  
 efforts to revive it in the 1920s helped create the momentum that  
 produced the TVA. • Why were progressives so eager to see the  
 government enter the business of hydroelectric power in the 1920s?  
 Regional Planning The AAA and the NRA largely reflected the  
 beliefs of New Dealers who favored economic planning but wanted  
 private interests (farmers or business leaders) to dominate the  
 planning process. Other reformers believed that the government  
 itself should be the chief planning agent in the economy. Their most  
 conspicuous success, and one of the most celebrated  
 accomplishments of the New Deal, was an unprecedented  
 experiment in regional planning: the Tennessee Valley Authority  
 (TVA). The TVA had its roots in a political controversy of the  
 1920s. Progressive reformers had agitated for years for public TVA  
 development of the nation's water resources . as a source of cheap  
 electric power. In particular, they had urged completion of a great  
 dam at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River in Alabama—a dam

begun during World War I and left unfinished when the war ended. But opposition from the utility companies had been too powerful to overcome. In 1932, however, one of the great utility empires—that of the electricity magnate Samuel Insull—collapsed spectacularly, amid widely publicized exposes of corruption. Hostility to the utilities soon grew so intense that the companies were no longer able to block the public power movement. The result in May 1933 was the Tennessee Valley Authority. The TVA was authorized to complete the dam at Muscle Shoals and build others in the region, and to generate and sell electricity from them to the public at reasonable rates. It was also intended to be an agent for a comprehensive redevelopment of the entire region: for stopping the disastrous flooding that had plagued the Tennessee Valley for centuries, for encouraging the development of local industries, for supervising a substantial program of reforestation, and for helping farmers improve productivity. The TVA revitalized the region in numerous ways. It improved water transportation, virtually eliminated flooding in the region, and provided electricity to thousands who had never before had it. Throughout much of the country, largely because of the "yardstick" provided by the TVA's cheap production of electricity, private power rates declined. Even so, the Tennessee Valley remained a generally impoverished region despite the TVA's efforts. And like many other New Deal programs, the TVA made no serious effort to challenge local customs and racial prejudices.

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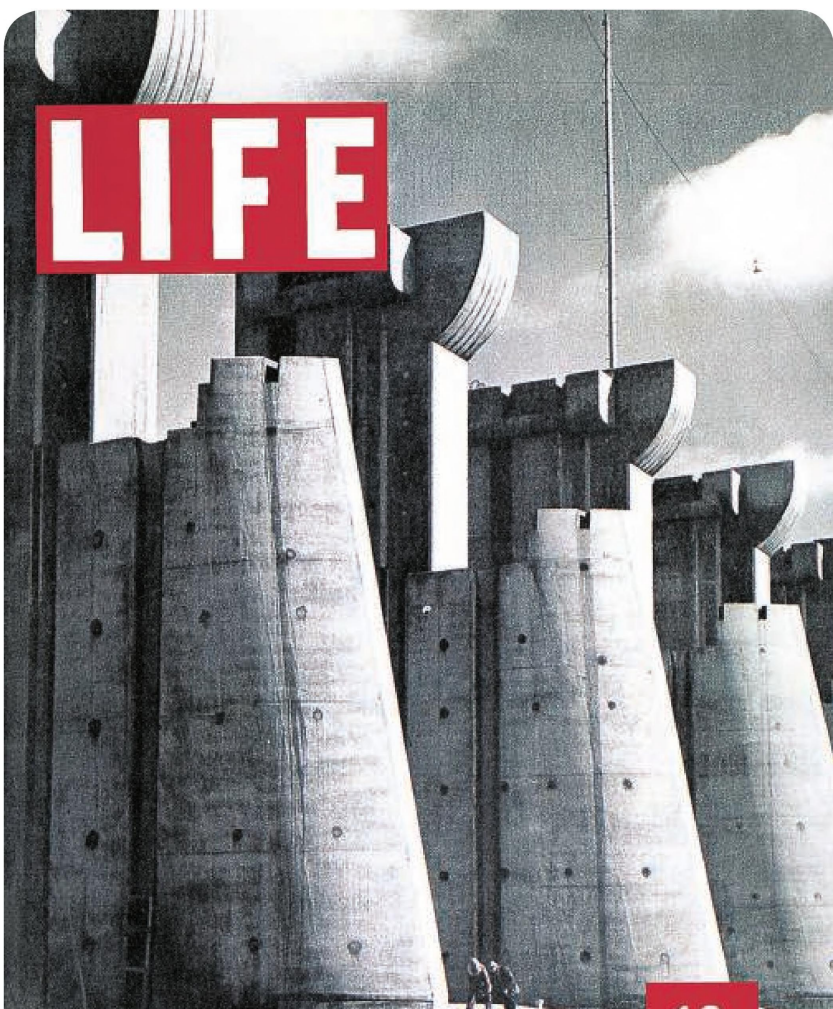
Currency, Banks, and the Stock Market Roosevelt soon came to consider the gold standard a major obstacle to the restoration of adequate prices. On April 18, 1933, he made the shift off the gold standard official with an executive order. By itself, the repudiation of the gold standard meant relatively little. But both before and after the April decision, the administration experimented in various ways with manipulating the value of the dollar-by making substantial purchases of gold and silver and later by establishing a new, fixed standard for the dollar (reducing its gold content substantially from the 1932 amount). The resort to government-managed currency-that is, to a dollar whose value could be raised or lowered by government policy according to economic circumstances-created an important precedent for future federal policies and permanently altered the relationship between the public and private sectors. It did not, however, have any immediate impact on the depressed American economy. PUBLIC WORKS

Among the most visible products of the New Deal was a vast network of public works in almost all areas of the country, but concentrated particularly in the South and the West. The great dams that the government built in the Tennessee Valley and elsewhere were particularly effective at capturing the public imagination. This dramatic photograph by Margaret Bourke-White appeared on the cover of the first issue of *Life* in 1936, which very quickly became the most popular and successful magazine in America. It shows the Fort Peck Dam on the Missouri River.

(Margaret Bourke White/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Through other legislation, the early New Deal increased federal authority over previously unregulated or weakly regulated \_ areas of the economy. The Glass-Steagall CjLASSSteagall Act Act °\* June \*933 gave the government . authority to curb irresponsible speculation by banks. It also established a wall between commercial banking and investment banking. Equally important, it established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which guaranteed all bank deposits up to \$2,500. Finally, in 1935, Congress passed a major banking act that transferred much of the authority once wielded by the regional Federal Reserve banks to the Federal Reserve Board in Washington. To protect investors in the stock

market. Congress passed the so-called Truth in Securities Act of 1933, requiring corporations issuing new securities to provide full and accurate information about them to the public. Another act of June 1934 established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to police the stock market. Among other things, the establishment of the SEC was an indication of how far the financial establishment had fallen in public estimation. The criminal trials of a number of once-respected Wall Street figures for grand larceny and fraud eroded the public stature of the financial community still further. The Growth of Federal Relief Among Roosevelt's first acts in office was the establishment of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which provided cash grants to states to prop up bankrupt relief agencies. To administer the program, he chose the director of the New York State relief agency, Harry Hopkins, who disbursed the FERA grants widely and rapidly. But both Hopkins and Roosevelt had misgivings about establishing a government Mole." They felt more comfortable with another form of government assistance: work relief. Thus, when it became clear that the FERA grants were not enough, the administration established a second program: the Civil Works Administration CWA (CWA). Between November 1933 and April 1934, it put more than 4 million people to work on temporary projects. Some of the projects were of lasting value, such as the construction of roads, schools, and parks; others were little more than make-work. To Hopkins, however, the important thing was pumping money into an economy badly in need of it and providing assistance to people with nowhere else to turn. Roosevelt's favorite relief project was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Established in the first weeks of the new administration, the CCC was designed to provide employment to the millions of young men who could find no jobs in the cities. The CCC created camps in national parks and forests and in other rural and wilderness settings. There young men (women were largely excluded from the program) worked in a semimilitary environment on such projects as planting trees, building reservoirs, developing parks, and improving agricultural irrigation. CCC camps were segregated by race. The vast majority of

A black and white photograph showing several large, conical concrete structures under construction. The structures are made of vertical panels held together by numerous bolts. They are arranged in a row, receding into the distance. In the background, there are more industrial structures and a cloudy sky. Two small figures of workers are visible at the base of one of the structures.

# LIFE

NOVEMBER 23, 1936

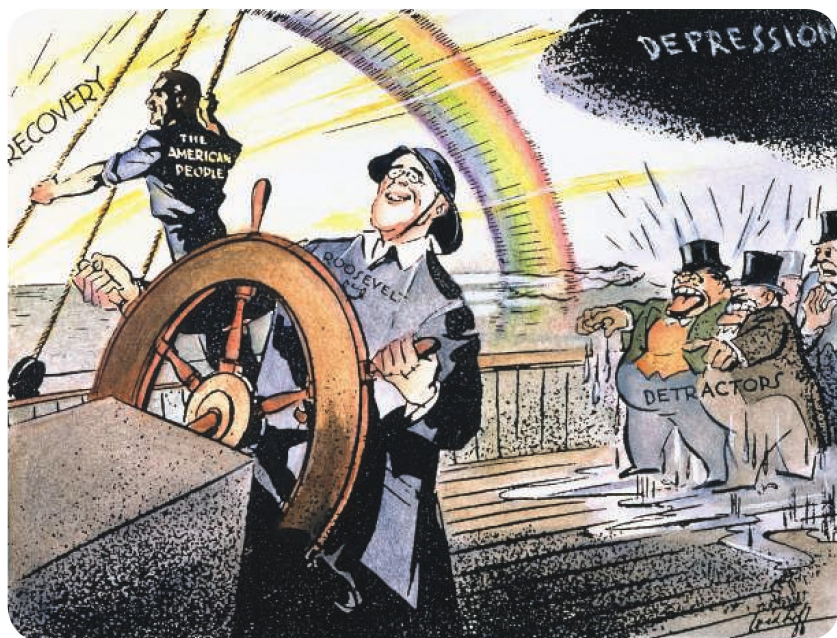
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THE NEW DEAL 669 them were restricted to white men, but a few were available to African Americans, Mexicans, and Indians. Mortgage relief was a pressing need for millions of farm owners and homeowners. The Farm Credit Administration, which within two years refinanced one-fifth of all farm mortgages in the United States, was one response to that problem. The Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act of 1933 was another. It enabled some farmers to regain their land even after foreclosure on their mortgages. Despite such efforts, however, 25 percent of all American farm owners had lost their land by 1934. Homeowners were similarly troubled, and in June 1933 the administration established the Home Owners Loan Corporation, which by 1936 had refinanced the mortgages of more than 1 million householders. A year later, Congress established the Federal Housing Administration to insure mortgages for new construction and home repairs.

THE NEW DEAL IN TRANSITION Seldom has an American president enjoyed such remarkable popularity as Franklin Roosevelt did during his first two years in office. But with no end to the Depression yet in sight, the New Deal gradually found itself the target of fierce public criticism. In the spring of 1935, partly in response to these growing attacks, Roosevelt launched an ambitious new program of legislation that has often been called the "Second New Deal." Critics of the New Deal More menacing to the New Deal than either the far right or the far left was a group of dissident political movements that defied easy ideological classification. Some gained substantial public support within particular states and regions. And three men succeeded in mobilizing genuinely national followings. Dr. Francis E. Townsend, an elderly California physician, rose from obscurity to lead a movement of more than 5 million members with his plan for federal pensions for the elderly. According to the Townsend Plan, all Americans over the age of sixty would receive monthly government pensions of \$200, provided they retired (thus freeing jobs for younger, unemployed Americans) and spent the money in full each month Townsend (which would pump needed funds into the Plan economy). By 1935, the Townsend Plan . had attracted the support of many older men and women. And while the plan itself was defeated in Congress in 1935, the public sentiment behind it helped build support for the Social Security system, which Congress did approve in 1935. Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Catholic priest

in the Detroit suburb of Royal Oak, Michigan, achieved even greater renown through his weekly sermons, launched in 1926 and broadcast nationally over the radio. In later years, Coughlin became notorious for his sympathy for fascism and his outspoken anti-Semitism. But until at least 1937, he was known primarily as an advocate for changing the banking and currency systems. He proposed a series of monetary reforms—remonetization of silver, issuing of greenbacks, and nationalization of the banking system—that he insisted would restore prosperity and ensure economic justice. At first a warm supporter of Franklin Roosevelt, by late 1934 Coughlin had become disheartened by some of the most strident attacks on the New Deal came from critics on the right. Roosevelt had tried for a time to conciliate conservatives and business leaders. By the end of 1934, however, it was clear that the American right in general, and American , r , , , . Liberty much of the corporate world in particular, had become irreconcilably . hostile to the New Deal. In August 1934, a group of the most fervent (and wealthiest) Roosevelt opponents, led by members of the Du Pont family, reshaped the American Liberty League (formed initially to oppose prohibition of liquor), to arouse public opposition to the New Deal's "dictatorial" policies and its supposed attacks on free enterprise. But the new organization was never able to expand its constituency much beyond the northern industrialists who had founded it. Roosevelt's critics on the far left also managed to produce alarm among some supporters of the administration, but like the conservatives, they proved to have only limited strength. The Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and other radical and semiradical organizations were at times harshly critical of the New Deal. But they, too, failed to attract genuine mass support. THE NEW DEAL Of the many resources at Roosevelt's disposal was the impression of his sunny personality during dark times. It conveyed to many a sense of hope and optimism. In this political cartoon from about 1934, Roosevelt is seen steering the ship of state towards economic recovery. His detractors are shown grumbling under the cloud of depression. (© The Granger Collection, New York)





what he claimed was the president's failure to deal harshly enough with the "money powers." In the spring of 1935, he established his own political organization, the National Union for Social Justice. He was widely believed to have one of the largest regular radio audiences of anyone in America. More alarming to the administration was the growing national popularity of Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana. Long had risen to power in his home state through his strident attacks on the banks, oil companies, and utilities and on the conservative political oligarchy allied with them. Elected governor in 1928, he launched an assault on his opponents so thorough and forceful that they were soon left with virtually no political power. Many critics in Louisiana claimed that Long had, in effect, become a dictator. But he also maintained the overwhelming support of the Louisiana electorate, in part because of his flamboyant personality and in part because of his solid record of conventional progressive accomplishments: building roads, schools, and hospitals; revising the tax codes; distributing free textbooks; lowering utility rates. Barred by law from succeeding himself as governor, he ran in 1930 for a seat in the U.S. Senate and won easily. Long, like Coughlin, supported Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. But within six months of Roosevelt's inauguration, he had broken with the president. As an alternative to the New Deal, he advocated a drastic program of wealth redistribution, a program he ultimately named the Share-Our-Wealth Plan. The government, he claimed, could end the Depression easily by using the tax system to confiscate the surplus riches of the wealthiest men and women in America and distribute these surpluses to the rest of the population. That would, he claimed, allow the government to guarantee every family a minimum "homestead" of \$5,000 and an annual wage of \$2,500. In 1934, Long established his own national organization: the Share-Our-Wealth Society, which soon Share attracted a large following through much of Our- Wealth nati^n- A poll by the Democratic National Society Committee in the spring of 1935 disclosed that Long might attract more than 10 percent of the vote if he ran as a third-party candidate, possibly enough to tip a close election to the Republicans. The "Second New Deal" Roosevelt launched the so-called Second New Deal in the spring of 1935 in response both to

the growing political pressures and to the continuing economic crisis. The new proposals represented, if not a new direction, at least a shift in the emphasis of New Deal policy. Perhaps the most conspicuous change was in the administration's attitude toward big business. Symbolically at least, the president was now willing to attack corporate interests openly. In March, for example, he proposed to Congress an act designed to break up the great utility holding companies, and he spoke harshly of monopolistic control of their industry. The Holding Company Act of 1935 was the result, although furious lobbying by the utilities led to amendments that sharply limited its effects.

HUEY LONG Few public speakers could arouse a crowd more effectively than Huey Long of Louisiana, known to many as "the Kingfish" (a nickname borrowed from the popular radio show Amos n Andy). It was Long's effective use of radio, however, that contributed most directly to his spreading national popularity in the early 1930s. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images)

Equally alarming to affluent Americans was a series of tax reforms proposed by the president in 1935, a program conservatives quickly labeled a "soak-the-rich" scheme. Apparently designed to undercut the appeal of Huey Long's Share-Our-Wealth Plan, the Roosevelt proposals called for establishing the highest and most progressive peacetime tax rates in history-although the actual impact of these rates was limited. The Supreme Court decision in 1935 to strike down the National Industrial Recovery Act also invalidated Section 7(a) of the act, which had guaranteed workers the right to organize and bargain collectively. A group of progressives in Congress led by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York introduced what became the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The new law, popularly known as the Wagner Act, provided workers with a crucial enforcement mechanism missing from the 1933 law: the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which would have power to compel employers to recognize and bargain with legitimate unions. The president was not entirely happy with the bill, but he signed it anyway. That was in large part because American workers themselves had by 1935 become so important and vigorous a force that Roosevelt realized his own political future would depend in part on responding to their demands. National Labor Relations Board



## THE NEW DEAL 671 Labor Militancy Organizing Battles

The emergence of a powerful trade union movement in the 1930s was one of the most important social and political developments of the decade. It occurred partly in response to government efforts to enhance the power of unions, but it was also a result of the increased pressure from American workers and their leaders. The growing labor militancy first became obvious in 1934, when recently organized workers (many of them inspired by the collective bargaining provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act) demonstrated a new assertiveness. It was soon clear, however, that without stronger legal protection, most organizing drives would end in frustration. Once the Wagner Act became law, the search for more-effective forms of organization rapidly gained strength in labor ranks. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) remained committed to the idea of the craft union: organizing workers on the basis of their skills. But that concept had little to offer unskilled laborers, who now constituted the bulk of the industrial work force. During the 1930s, therefore, a newer Industrial Unionism concept of labor organization challenged the craft union ideal: industrial unionism. Advocates of this approach argued that all workers in a particular industry should be organized in a single union, regardless of what functions the workers performed: all autoworkers should be in a single automobile union; all steelworkers should be in a single steel union. United in this way, workers would greatly increase their power. Leaders of the AFL craft unions for the most part opposed the new concept. But industrial unionism found a number of important advocates, most prominent among them John L. Lewis, the talented, flamboyant, and eloquent leader of the United Mine Workers. At first, Lewis and his allies attempted to work within the AFL, but friction between the new industrial organizations Lewis was promoting and the older craft unions grew rapidly. At the 1935 AFL convention, Lewis became embroiled in a series of angry confrontations (and one celebrated fistfight) with craft union leaders before finally walking out. A few weeks later, he created the Committee on Industrial Organization. When the AFL expelled the new committee and all the industrial unions it represented, Lewis left and renamed the committee the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), established it in 1936 as an organization directly rivaling the AFL,

and became its first president. The CIO expanded the constituency of the labor movement. It was more receptive to women and to blacks than the AFL had been, in part because women and blacks were more likely to be relegated to unskilled jobs and in part because CIO organizing drives targeted previously unorganized industries (textiles, laundries, tobacco factories, and others) where women and minorities constituted much of the workforce. The CIO was also a more militant organization than the AFL. By the time of the 1936 schism, it was already engaged in major organizing battles in the automobile and steel industries. Out of several competing auto unions, the United Auto Workers (UAW) was gradually emerging preeminent in the early and mid-1930s. But although it was gaining recruits, it was making little Sit Down progress in winning recognition from the Strike automobile corporations. In December 1936, however, autoworkers employed a controversial and effective new technique for challenging corporate opposition: the sit-down strike. Employees in several General Motors plants in Detroit simply sat down inside the plants, refusing either to work or to leave, thus preventing the company from using strikebreakers. The tactic spread to other locations, and by February 1937 strikers had occupied seventeen GM plants. While male workers remained in the factories, female supporters—relatives, friends, and coworkers of the strikers—demonstrated on behalf of the strikers, lobbied on their behalf with state and local officials, and provided food, clothing, and other necessities to the men inside. The strikers ignored court orders and local police efforts to force them to vacate the buildings. When Michigan's governor, Frank Murphy, a liberal Democrat, refused to call up the National Guard to clear out the strikers, and when the federal government also refused to intervene on behalf of employers, General Motors relented. In February 1937, GM became the first major manufacturer to recognize the UAW; other automobile companies soon did the same. The sit-down strike proved effective for rubber workers and others as well, but it survived only briefly as a labor technique. Its apparent illegality aroused so much public opposition that labor leaders soon abandoned it. In the steel industry, the battle for unionization was less easily won. In 1936, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (SWOC; later the United Steelworkers of America) began a major organizing drive involving thousands of workers and frequent, at times bitter, strikes. In March 1937, U.S. Steel, the giant of the

industry, recognized the union rather than risk a costly strike at a time when it sensed itself on the verge of recovery from the Depression. But the smaller companies (known collectively as "Little Steel") were less accommodating. On Memorial Day 1937, a group of striking workers from Republic Steel gathered with their families for a picnic and demonstration in South Chicago. When they attempted to march peacefully (and legally) toward the steel plant, police opened fire on them. Ten demonstrators were killed; another ninety were wounded. Despite a public outcry against the "Memorial Day Massacre," the harsh tactics of Little Steel companies succeeded. The 1937 strike failed. But the victory of Little Steel was one of the last gasps of the kind of brutal strikebreaking that had proved so effective in the past. In 1937 alone, there were 4,720 strikes-over 80 percent of them settled in favor of the unions. By the end of the year, more \_ than 8 million workers were members of Organized . . . Labor's Rapid unions recognized as official bargaining Growth units by employers (compared with 3 million in 1932). By 1941, that number had expanded to 10 million and included the workers of Little Steel, whose employers had finally recognized the SWOC.

672 CHAPTER 24 THE "MEMORIAL DAY MASSACRE" The bitterness of the labor struggles of the 1930s was nowhere more evident than in Chicago in 1937, when striking workers attempting to march on a Republic Steel plant were brutally attacked by Chicago police, who used clubs, tear gas, and guns to turn the marchers away. Ten strikers were killed and many others were injured. (© Carl Linde/AP Images) Social Security In 1935, Roosevelt gave public support to what became the Social Security Act, which Congress passed the same year. It established several distinct programs. For the elderly, there were two types of assistance. Those who were presently destitute could receive up to \$15 a month in federal assistance. More important for the future, many Americans presently working were incorporated into a pension system, to which they and their employers would contribute by paying a payroll tax; it would provide them with an income on retirement. Pension payments would not begin until 1942 and even then would provide only \$10 to \$85 a month to recipients. And broad categories of workers (including domestic servants and agricultural laborers, occupations with disproportionate numbers of blacks and women) were excluded from the program. But the act was a crucial first step in building the nation's most important social program for the elderly. In addition, the Social Security Act created a system of unemployment insurance, which employers alone would finance Unemployment and which made it possible for workers Insurance laid off from their Jobs to receive temporary government assistance. It also established a limited system (later expanded) of federal aid to people with disabilities and a program of aid to dependent children. The framers of the Social Security Act wanted to create a system of "insurance," not "welfare." And the largest programs (old-age pensions and unemployment insurance) were in many ways similar to private insurance programs, with contributions from participants and benefits available to all. But the act also provided considerable direct assistance based on need to the elderly poor, to those with disabilities, to dependent children and their mothers. These groups were widely



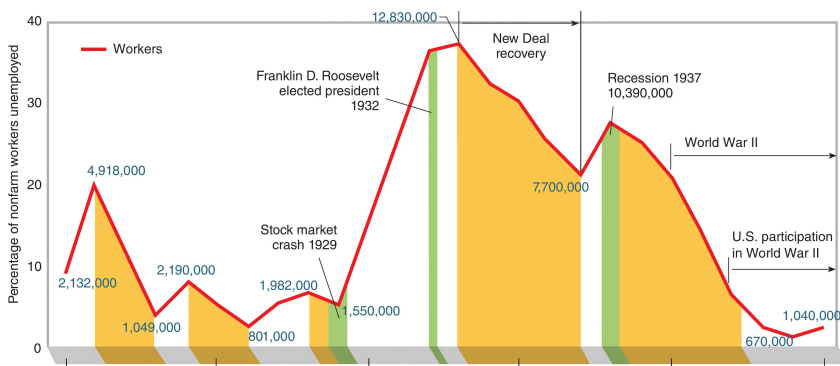


THE NEW DEAL 673 perceived to be small and genuinely unable to support themselves. But in later generations the programs for these groups would expand considerably. New Directions in Relief Social Security was designed primarily to fulfill long-range goals. But millions of unemployed Americans had immediate needs. To help them, the Roosevelt administration established the WPA Works Progress Administration (WPA) in . 1935. Like the Civil Works Administration and earlier efforts, the WPA established a system of work relief for the unemployed. But it was much bigger than the earlier agencies, both in the size of its budget (\$5 billion in its first two years) and in the energy and imagination of its operations. Under the direction of Harry Hopkins, the WPA was responsible for building or renovating 110,000 public buildings (schools, post offices, government office buildings) and for FOR THE REST OF YOUR LIFE •BEGINNING , WHEN YOU ARE GET YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY ACCOUNT NUMBER APPLICATIONS ARE BEING DISTRIBUTE AT ALL WORE PLACES WHO IS ELIGIBLE- ■ - EVERYBODY WORKING FOR SALARY QE WAGES {WITHi ONLY A fEW EXCEPTIONS, SUO-t AS AGXlCtjLlIJRE, DOMESTIC SERVICE, AND GOVERNMENT WORK). APPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL SECUImTY ACCOUNTS Afie AVAILABLE THROUGH EMPLOYERS EF YOU DO NOT GET ONE FROM YOUR EMPLOYE - R, ASK FOR ONE AT THE POST OFFICE HOW TO RETURN APPLICATION BffilVITYTSMmm 1. HAND ir BACK to VOufl IMHWiK. uf A. DELIVER n TO LOCAL FOJt fi fi Til Ufijk \*• HA-VSP - -.I j»nv i QBSAWZA 5, MA4. A '« A ;i\*.W ruvn.-m\* LIIJL`SCv 1 OF wit\*n vsu rtE A uEuttfl.w- \_ ttHWW lC`l J. ■: Tl? VCUR LiTFER CATflER, ur W It H&W- NO f-OSTAGJf NEfflEB. -JccleJ Jcculih/ INFORMATION AT1 ANY6 POSBTT OFFICE SOCIAL SECURITY POSTER, 1935 Within months of the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, the new Social Security Board began publicizing the benefits the new system offered to working Americans— the most dramatic of which was a monthly pension to retired Americans who had paid into the system. (The Library of Congress) constructing almost 600 airports, more than 500,000 miles of roads, and over 100,000 bridges. In the process, the WPA kept an average of 2.1 million workers employed and pumped needed money into the economy. The WPA displayed flexibility and imagination in offering assistance to those whose occupations did not fit into any

traditional category of relief. The Federal Writers' Project of the WPA, for example, gave unemployed writers a chance to do their work and receive a government salary. The Federal Arts Project, similarly, helped painters, sculptors, and others to continue their careers. The Federal Music Project and the Federal Theater Project oversaw the production of concerts and plays, creating work for unemployed musicians, actors, and directors. Other relief agencies emerged alongside the WPA. The National Youth Administration (NYA) provided work and scholarship assistance to high-school and college-age men and women. The Emergency Housing Division of the Public Works Administration began federal sponsorship of public housing. Men and women alike were in distress in the 1930s (as in all difficult times). But the new welfare system dealt with members of the two sexes in very different ways. For men, the government concentrated mainly on work relief-on such programs as the CCC, the CWA, and the WPA, all of which were overwhelmingly male, and-through the Social Security Act-pensions and unemployment insurance, both structured initially to assist mostly men. The principal government aid to women was not work relief but cash assistance-most notably through the Aid to Dependent Children program of Social Security, which was designed largely to assist single mothers. This disparity in treatment reflected a widespread assumption that men constituted the bulk of the paid workforce and that women needed to be treated within the context of the family. In fact, millions of women were already employed by the 1930s. The 1936 "Referendum" For a time in 1935 there had seemed reason to question the president's prospects for reelection. But by the middle of 1936-with the economy visibly reviving-there could be Alf Landon little doubt that he would win a second . term. The Republican Party nominated the moderate governor of Kansas, Alf M. Landon, who waged a weak campaign. Roosevelt's dissident challengers now appeared powerless. One reason was the violent death of their most effective leader, Huey Long, who was assassinated in Louisiana in September 1935. Another reason was the ill-fated alliance among Father Coughlin, Dr. Townsend, and Gerald L. K. Smith (an intemperate henchman of Huey Long), who joined forces that summer to establish a new political movement-the Union Party, which nominated an undistinguished North Dakota congressman, William Lemke, for president. The result was the greatest landslide in American history

to that point. Roosevelt polled just under 61 percent of the

Significant events Declining unemployment 1,000,000 Unemployed totals for entire labor force UNEMPLOYMENT, 1920-1945 This chart shows the shifting patterns of unemployment from 1920 to the end of World War II. As it reveals, nonfarm unemployment was very high in the early 1920s, in the last year of the postwar recession, but remained relatively low from 1923 to 1929. The beginning of the Great Depression sent unemployment soaring—to a peak of nearly 13 million people in early 1933—an unemployment rate of 25 percent. The New Deal helped create a partial recovery from the Depression over the next four years, but unemployment remained very high throughout the 1930s, and spiked sharply higher again during the recession of 1937-1938, before falling rapidly after war began in Europe. • Why was the war so much more successful than the New Deal in ending unemployment? WPA WORKERS ON THE JOB The Works Progress Administration funded an enormous variety of work projects to provide jobs for the unemployed. But most WPA employees worked on construction sites of one kind or another. (© Joseph Schwartz/Corbis)





THE NEW DEAL 675 WPA MURAL ART The Federal Arts Project of the Works Progress Administration commissioned an impressive series of public murals from the artists it employed. Many of these murals adorned post offices, libraries, and other public buildings constructed by the WPA. Shown here is a portion of a mural of shipbuilders at the Rincon Center, San Francisco. This mural is unusual in showing an African American worker. Most WPA iconography portrayed workers as white men only. (© Architect Tour/Alamy)

vote to Landon's 36 percent and carried every state except Maine and Vermont. The Democrats increased their already large majorities in both houses of Congress. The Union Party received fewer than 900,000 votes. The election results demonstrated the party realignment that the New Deal had produced. The Democrats now controlled a broad coalition of western and southern farmers, the urban working classes, the poor and unemployed, and the black communities of northern cities, as well as traditional progressives and committed new liberals—a coalition that constituted a substantial majority of the electorate. It would be decades before the Republican Party could again create a lasting majority coalition of its own.

Electoral Realignment THE NEW DEAL IN DISARRAY Roosevelt emerged from the 1936 election at the zenith of his popularity. Within months, however, the New Deal was mired in serious new difficulties—a result of continuing opposition, the president's own political errors, and major economic setbacks. The Court Fight The 1936 mandate, Franklin Roosevelt believed, made it possible for him to do something about the problem of the Supreme Court. No program of reform, he had become convinced, could long survive the conservative Justices, who had already struck down the NRA and the AAA and threatened to invalidate even more legislation. In February 1937, Roosevelt sent a surprise message to Capitol Hill proposing a general overhaul of the federal court system; included among the many provisions was one to add up to six new Justices to the Supreme Court, with a new Justice added for every sitting justice over the age of Court seventy. The courts were "overworked," Packing he claimed, and needed additional manpower and fresh ideas to enable them to cope with their increasing burdens. But Roosevelt's real purpose was to give himself the opportunity to appoint new, liberal Justices and change the

ideological balance of the Court. Conservatives were outraged at the "Court-packing plan," and even many Roosevelt supporters were disturbed by what they considered evidence of the president's hunger for power. Still, Roosevelt might well have persuaded Congress to approve at least a compromise measure had not the Supreme Court itself intervened. Of the nine Justices, three reliably supported the New Deal, and four reliably opposed it. Of the remaining two, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes often sided with the progressives and Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts usually voted with the conservatives. On March 29, 1937, Roberts, Hughes, and the three progressive Justices voted together to uphold a state minimum-wage law in the case of *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*—thus appearing to reverse a 5-to-4 decision of the previous year invalidating a similar law. Two weeks later, again by a 5-to-4 margin, the Court upheld the Wagner Act, and in May it validated the Social Security Act. Whether or not for that reason, the Court's newly moderate position made the Courtpacking bill seem unnecessary. Congress ultimately defeated it. On one level, the affair was a significant victory for Franklin Roosevelt. The Court was no longer an obstacle to New Deal reforms, particularly after the older Justices began to retire, to be replaced by Roosevelt appointees. But the Court-packing episode did lasting political damage to the administration. From 1937 on, southern Democrats and other conservatives voted against Roosevelt's measures much more often than they had in the past.





The Golden Age of Comic Books ¥ Til the doubled years of the Great Depression and World War II, many Americans sought 11N release from their anxieties in fantasy. Movies, plays, books, radio shows, and other diversions drew people out of their own lives and into a safer or more glamorous or more exciting world. Beginning in 1938, one of the most popular forms of escape for many young Americans became the comic book. In February 1935, Malcolm WheelerNicholson founded the first comics magazine— what we now know as the "comic book"— titled New Fun. New Fun was not successful, but Wheeler founded a new company, Detective Comics, and began in 1937 to design a new magazine called Action Comics. Wheeler ran out of money before he could publish anything, but the company continued without him. In 1938, the first issue of Action Comics appeared with a startling and controversial cover— a powerful man in a skintight suit lifting a car over his head. His name was Superman, and he became the most popular cartoon character of all time. Within a year, Superman had a comic book named after him, which was selling over 1.2 million copies each issue. By 1940, there was a popular Superman radio show introduced by a breathless announcer crying, "It's a bird! It's a plane! It's . . . Superman!" Soon other publishers began developing new "superheroes" (a term invented by the creators of Superman) to capitalize on this growing new popular appetite. In 1939, a second great comic book publisher appeared— Marvel Comics. By the early 1940s, Superman had been joined by other superheroes: the Human Torch, the Sub-Mariner, Batman, the Flash, and Wonder Woman, a character created in part to signal the importance of women to the war effort. It is not hard to imagine why superheroes would be so appealing to Americans— particularly to the teenage boys who were the largest single purchasers of comic books— in the 1930s and 1940s. Superman and other superheroes were idealized versions of the ideal boy— smart, good, "the perfect Boy Scout," as one fan put it. But they were also all-powerful, capable of righting wrong and preventing catastrophe. At a time when catastrophe was an ever-present possibility in the world, superheroes were a comforting escape from fear. IN FULL COLOR PAGES SUPERMAN The most popular action figure in the history of comic books was Superman, whose superhuman powers were particularly appealing fantasies to Americans suffering through the Depression and, later,

World War II. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images) Many of the early comic book writers were young Jewish men, conscious of their outsider status in an American culture not yet wholly open to them. Almost all the characters they created had alter egos, identities they used while living within the normal world. Superman was Clark Kent, a "mild-mannered reporter." Batman was Bruce Wayne, a wealthy heir. The superhero characters were outsiders themselves—but outsiders endowed with special powers and abilities unavailable to ordinary people. Even before America entered World War II, the comic superheroes were battling the Axis powers. Marvel's the Human Torch and the Sub-Mariner joined forces against the German navy. Superman fought spies and saboteurs at home. Captain America, a new character created in March 1941, was a frail young man rejected by the army who, after being given a secret serum by a military doctor, became extraordinarily powerful. The cover of the first issue of Captain America showed the title character punching Hitler in his headquarters in Germany. The end of the war was also the end of this first "golden age" of American comic books. Many superhero magazines ceased publication as peacetime reduced the popular appetite for fantasy. In their place emerged new comic books, which emphasized romance and even mild sexuality. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, comic books began to come under attack from educators, psychiatrists, journalists, and even the federal government. Congress took no legal action against comic book publishers or writers, but the comic book industry itself created a trade association, which produced a "Comics Code" to prevent indecency in the industry. Comic books experienced an unexpected revival in the late 1950s and 1960s. Old superheroes— Captain America, the Human Torch, and others—reappeared. New ones— Spiderman, Iron Man, the Silver Surferjoined them. Superman, who had never disappeared, enjoyed newfound popularity and became the hero for a time of a popular television show. But these new or Retrenchment and Recession By the summer of 1937, the gross national product, which had dropped from \$82 billion in 1929 to \$40 billion in 1932, had risen back to nearly \$72 billion. Other economic indices showed similar advances. Roosevelt seized on these improvements as an excuse to try to balance the federal budget, convinced by Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau and many economists that the real danger now was no longer depression but inflation. Between January and

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UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What could comic books offer readers suffering through the crisis of the Great Depression? 2. How and why have comic book superheroes changed over time? 3. What might account for the upsurge in comic books' popularity in the late 1950s and 1960s? SUPERMAN TODAY Superman continues to appeal to the fantasies of Americans, as shown by this poster of the movie Superman Returns from 2006. Another film, Man of Steel, was released in 2013. And yet another is in the works for 2015 or 2016. (© Warner Bros./Photofest) revised heroes were not entirely like those of the 1930s and 1940s. They reflected the realities of an increasingly complex and complicated world, which their characters— like their mostly young readers— were struggling to understand. • he cut the WPA in half, laying off 1.5 million relief workers. A few weeks later, the fragile boom collapsed. Other cuts in spending followed. The index of industrial production dropped from 117 in August 1937 to 76 in May 1938. Four million additional workers lost their jobs. Economic conditions were soon almost as bad as they had been in the bleak days of 1932-1933. The recession of 1937, known to the president's critics as the "Roosevelt recession," was a result of many factors. But to many observers at the time (including, apparently, the • 677



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678 CHAPTER 24 Federal Budget and Surplus/Deficit, 1920-1940 Gross National Product, 1920-1940 Budget and Surplus/Deficit as Percentage of GNP, 1920-1940 FEDERAL BUDGET SURPLUS/DEFICIT AND GNP, 1920-1940 Among its many other effects, the Great Depression produced dramatic changes in the fiscal condition of the federal government. In the first of these three charts, note the sharp decline in federal spending in the early 1920s (as the nation demobilized from World War I) and the appearance of significant budget surpluses. Note, too, the dramatic increase in government spending (and the appearance of significant deficits) once the Depression began and, particularly, once Franklin Roosevelt became president. The second chart illustrates the varying fortunes of the nation's economy by showing the rise and fall of gross national product—the total of goods and services produced by the economy. The GNP fell sharply in the first years of the Depression, but by the end of the 1930s was nearing its 1929 levels again. The final chart gives some perspective on these figures by illustrating the relationship between federal spending (and federal surpluses and deficits) and the total size of the economy. At its peak in these years, federal spending was never more than about 9 percent of the GNP and the deficit never more than about 5 percent. In recent decades, the federal budget has often exceeded 20 percent of the GNP. Deficits—much higher in absolute numbers than those of the 1930s—were rarely higher as a percentage of the GNP than those of the 1930s until the first decade of the twenty-first century.

• Why did government deficits increase so sharply during the Great Depression? president himself), it seemed to be a direct result of the Roosevelt administration's unwise decision to reduce Recession spending. And so in April 1938, the president asked Congress for an emergency appropriation of \$5 billion for public works and relief programs, and government funds soon began pouring into the economy once again. Within a few months, another tentative recovery seemed to be under way, and the advocates of spending pointed to it as proof of the validity of their approach. At about the same time, at the urging of a group of younger, antimonopolist liberals in the administration, Roosevelt sent a stinging message to Congress, vehemently denouncing what he called an "unjustifiable concentration of economic power" and

asking for the creation of a commission to consider major reforms in the antitrust laws. In response, Congress established the Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC), whose members included representatives of both houses of Congress and officials from several executive agencies. Also that spring, Roosevelt appointed a new head of the antitrust division of the Justice Department: Thurman Arnold, a Yale Law School professor who soon proved to be the most vigorous director ever to serve in that office. Later in 1938, the administration successfully supported one of its most ambitious pieces of labor legislation, the Fair Labor Standards Act, which for the first time established a national minimum wage and a forty-hour workweek, and which also placed strict limits on child labor. Like Social Security, the act at first excluded from its provisions the great majority of women and minority workers. Despite these achievements, however, by the end of 1938 the New Deal had essentially come to an end.

Congressional opposition now made it difficult for the president to enact any major new programs. But more important, perhaps, the threat of the worst crisis hung heavy in the political New Deal atmosphere, and Roosevelt was gradually growing more concerned with persuading a reluctant nation to prepare for war than with pursuing new avenues of reform.

#### LIMITS AND LEGACIES OF THE NEW DEAL

In the 1930s, Roosevelt's principal critics were conservatives, who accused him of abandoning the Constitution and establishing a menacing, even tyrannical, state. In later years, the New Deal's most visible critics attacked it from the left, pointing to the major problems it left unsolved and the important groups it failed to represent. And beginning in the early twenty-first century, conservative attacks on the New Deal would emerge again. A full understanding of the New Deal requires coming to terms with the sources of both critiques, by examining both its achievements and its limits.



THE NEW DEAL 679 The Idea of the "Broker State" In 1933, many New Dealers dreamed of using their new popularity and authority to remake American capitalism-to produce new forms of cooperation and control that would create a genuinely harmonious, ordered economic world. By 1939, it was clear that what they had created was in fact something quite different. But rather than bemoan the gap between their original intentions and their ultimate achievements. New Deal liberals, both in 1939 and in later years, chose to accept what they had produced and to celebrate it-to use it as a model for future reform efforts. What they had created was something that in later years would become known as the "broker state." Instead of forging all elements of society into a single, of the "Broker harmonious unit, as some reformers had State" once hoped to do, the real achievement . of the New Deal was to elevate and strengthen new interest groups so as to allow them to compete more effectively in the national marketplace. The New Deal made the federal government a mediator in that continuous competition-a force that could intervene when necessary to help some groups and limit the power of others. In 1933, there had been only one great interest group (albeit a varied and divided one) with genuine power in the national economy: the corporate world. By the end of the 1930s, American business found itself competing for influence with an increasingly powerful labor movement, an organized agricultural economy, and aroused consumers. In later years, the "broker state" idea would expand to embrace other groups as well: racial, ethnic, and religious minorities; women; and many others. Thus, one of the enduring legacies of the New Deal was to make the federal government a protector of interest groups and a supervisor of the competition among them, rather than an instrument attempting to create a universal harmony of interests. What determines which interest groups receive government assistance in a "broker state"? The experience of the New Deal suggests that such assistance goes largely to those groups able to exercise enough political or economic power to demand it. Thus in the 1930s, farmers-after decades of organization and agitation-and workers-as the result of militant action and mass mobilization-won from the government new and important protections. Other groups, less well organized, perhaps, but politically important because so numerous and visible,

won limited assistance as well: imperiled homeowners, the unemployed, the elderly. By the same token, the interest-group democracy that the New Deal came to represent offered much less to those groups either too weak to demand assistance or not visible enough to arouse widespread public support. And yet those same groups were often the ones most in need of help from their government. One of the important limits of the New Deal, therefore, was its very modest record on behalf of several important social groups. African Americans and the New Deal One group the New Deal did relatively little to assist was African Americans. The administration was not hostile to black aspirations. On the contrary, the New Deal was probably more sympathetic to them than any previous government of the ELEANOR ROOSEVELT First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was among the first women to play an important role in politics and government. She oversaw Franklin Roosevelt's political campaigns before he became president as well as developed an important career of her own working on social programs in New York. When she moved to the White House, she served her husband by traveling widely (something that Franklin Roosevelt, whose legs were paralyzed by polio, could not often do), and she took on issues that her husband chose not to embrace. An example is this photograph of Eleanor Roosevelt riding in a car to a Washington, D.C., jail to inspect the facility, which had a reputation for being overcrowded and obsolete. (© Underwood & Underwood/Corbis)



DEBATING THE PAST The New Deal ■p ^ many years, debate among historians over the nature of the New Deal mirrored the 17 LJ XI debate among Americans in the 1930s over the achievements of the Roosevelt administration. Historians struggled, just as contemporaries had done, to decide whether the New Deal was a good thing or a bad thing. By far the dominant view of the New Deal among scholars has been an approving, liberal interpretation, and the first important voice of that view was Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., who argued in the three volumes of *The Age of Roosevelt* (1957-1960) that the New Deal marked a continuation of the long struggle between public power and private interests. Roosevelt had moved that struggle to a new level, challenging the unrestrained power of the business community and offering far more protection for workers, farmers, consumers, and others than they had enjoyed in the past. The first systematic "revisionist" interpretation of the New Deal came in 1963, in William Leuchtenburg's *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*. Leuchtenburg was a sympathetic critic, arguing that most of the limitations of the New Deal were a result of the restrictions imposed on Roosevelt by the political and ideological realities of his time—that the New Deal probably could not have done much more than it did. Nevertheless, Leuchtenburg could not agree with others who called the New Deal a revolution in social policy. He was able to muster only enough enthusiasm to call it a "halfway revolution," one that enhanced the positions of some previously disadvantaged groups (notably farmers and factory workers) but did little or nothing for many others (including blacks, sharecroppers, and the urban poor). Ellis Hawley augmented these moderate criticisms of the Roosevelt record in *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (1966). In examining 1930s economic policies, Hawley argued that New Deal efforts were in many cases designed to enhance the position of private entrepreneurs— even, at times, at the expense of some of the liberal reform goals that administration officials espoused. Much harsher criticisms of the New Deal emerged in the 1960s and later. Barton Bernstein in a 1968 essay concluded that the Roosevelt administration may have saved capitalism, but it failed to help— and in many ways actually harmed— groups most in need of assistance. Ronald Radosh, Thomas Ferguson, and, more recently, Colin Gordon took such arguments further. They cited the

close ties between the New Deal and internationalist financiers and industrialists; the liberalism of the 1930s was a product of their shared interest in protecting capitalists and stabilizing capitalism. Most scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, however, seemed largely to have accepted the revised liberal view: that the New Deal was a significant (and, most agreed, valuable) chapter in the history of reform, but one that worked within rigid, occasionally crippling limits. Much of the recent work on the New Deal has focused on the constraints within which it was operating. The sociologist Theda Skocpol (along with other scholars) has emphasized the issue of "state capacity" as an important New Deal constraint; ambitious reform ideas often foundered, she argued, because no government bureaucracy had sufficient strength and expertise to shape or administer them. James T. Patterson, Barry Karl, Mark Leff, and others have emphasized the political constraints the New Deal encountered. Both in Congress and among the public, conservative inhibitions about government remained strong. Frank Freidel, Ellis Hawley, Herbert Stein, and many others point as well to the ideological constraints affecting Franklin Roosevelt and his supporters. Alan Brinkley, in *The End of Reform* (1995), described an ideological shift in New Deal liberalism that shifted from the initial regulatory view of government to one that envisioned relatively little direct governmental interference in the corporate world and centered instead on Keynesian welfare state programs. David Kennedy, in *Freedom from Fear* (1999), argued by contrast that the aggressive anticapitalism of early New Deal liberalism actually hampered the search for recovery. Only when Roosevelt twentieth century. Eleanor Roosevelt spoke throughout the 1930s on behalf of racial justice and put continuing pressure on her husband and others in the federal government to ease discrimination against blacks. She was also partially responsible for what was, symbolically at least, one of the most important events of the decade for African Americans. When the renowned African American concert singer Marian Anderson was refused permission in the spring of 1939 to give a concert in the auditorium of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Washington's only major concert hall), Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from the organization and then (along with Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, another champion of racial equality) helped secure government permission for her to sing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Anderson's Easter Sunday

concert attracted 75,000 people and became, in effect, one of the first modern civil rights demonstrations. The president himself appointed a number of black officials to significant second-level positions in his administration. Roosevelt appointees such as Robert Weaver, William Hastie, and Mary McLeod Bethune created an informal network of "Black officeholders who consulted frequently Cabinet" with one another and who became known as the "Black Cabinet." Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, and Harry Hopkins all made efforts to ensure that New Deal relief programs did not exclude blacks; and by 1935, perhaps a quarter of all African Americans were receiving some form of government assistance. One result was a historic change in black electoral behavior. As late as 1932, most African Americans were voting Republican, as they had since the Civil War. By 1936, more than 90 percent of them were voting Democratic-the beginnings of a political alliance that would endure for decades. 680

embraced measures that unleashed the power of the market did prosperity begin to return. The phrase "New Deal liberalism" has come in the postwar era to seem synonymous with modern ideas of aggressive federal management of the economy, elaborate welfare systems, a powerful bureaucracy, and large-scale government spending. Many historians of the New Deal, however, would argue that the modern idea of "New Deal liberalism" bears only a limited relationship to the ideas that New Dealers themselves embraced. The liberal accomplishments of the 1930s can be understood only in the context of their own time; later liberal efforts drew from that legacy but also altered it to fit the needs and assumptions of very different eras.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What is the conservative view of the New Deal?
2. How did the political atmosphere of the 1930s limit the New Deal?
3. Did the New Deal save capitalism? If so, how and why?

FDR IN ALBANY Before he became president, Franklin Roosevelt served as governor of New York, where he developed a reputation of being an activist working to confront the Great Depression. In this 1930 photograph, he is sitting at his desk in the state capitol. Two years later, he would be elected president. (© AFP/Getty Images)

African Americans supported Franklin Roosevelt because they knew he was not their enemy. But they had few illusions that the New Deal represented a major turning point in American race relations. For example, the president was never willing to risk losing the backing of southern Democrats by supporting legislation to make lynching a federal crime. Nor would he endorse efforts in Congress to ban the poll tax, one of the most potent tools by which white southerners kept blacks from voting. New Deal relief agencies did not challenge, and indeed reinforced, existing patterns of discrimination. The Civilian Conservation Corps established separate black camps. The NRA codes tolerated paying blacks less than whites doing the same jobs. African Americans were largely excluded from employment in the TVA. The Federal Housing Administration refused to provide mortgages to African Americans moving into white neighborhoods, and the first public housing projects financed by the federal government were racially segregated. The WPA routinely relegated black, Hispanic, and Asian workers to the least-skilled and lowest-paying jobs, or excluded them altogether;

when funding ebbed, nonwhites, like women, were among the first to be dismissed. The New Deal was not hostile to African Americans, and it did much to help them advance. But it refused to make the issue of race a significant part of its agenda. The New Deal and the "Indian Problem" In many respects, government policies toward the Indian tribes in the 1930s were simply a continuation of the longestablished effort to encourage Native Americans to assimilate into the larger society and culture. . 681  
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682 CHAPTER 24 But the principal elements of federal policy in the New Deal years worked to advance a very different John Collier & goal because of the efforts of the extraordinary commissioner of Indian affairs in those years, John Collier. Collier was a former social worker who had become committed to the cause of the Indians after exposure to tribal cultures in New Mexico in the 1920s. More important, he was greatly influenced by the work of twentieth-century anthropologists who promoted the idea of cultural relativism, which challenged the three-centuries-old assumption among white Americans that Indians were "savages" and that white society was inherently superior and more "civilized." Collier promoted legislation that would, he hoped, reverse the pressures on Native Americans to assimilate and would allow them the right to live in traditional Indian ways. Not all tribal leaders agreed with T Collier; indeed, his belief in the Indian Reorganization importance of preserving Indian Act culture would not find its broadest support among the tribes until the 1960s. Nevertheless, Collier effectively promoted legislation-which became the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934-that restored to the tribes the right to own land collectively. (It reversed the allotment policy adopted in 1887, which encouraged the breaking up of tribal lands into individually owned plots-a policy that had led to the loss of over 90 million acres of tribal land to white speculators and others.) In the thirteen years after passage of the 1934 bill, tribal land increased by nearly 4 million acres, and Indian agricultural income increased from under \$2 million in 1934 to over \$49 million in 1947. Even with the redistribution of lands under the 1934 act, however, Indians continued to possess, for the most part, only territory whites did not want-much of it arid, some of it desert. And as a group, they continued to constitute the poorest segment of the population. The efforts of the 1930s did not solve what some white people called the "Indian problem." They did, however, provide Indians with some tools for rebuilding the viability of the tribes. Women and the New Deal As with African Americans, the New Deal was not hostile to feminist aspirations, but neither did it do a great deal to advance them. That was largely because such aspirations did not have sufficiently widespread support (even among women) to make it politically advantageous for the administration to back them. There were, to be sure, important symbolic gestures on behalf

of women. Roosevelt appointed the first female cabinet member in the nation's history. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. He also named more than 100 other women to positions at lower levels of the federal bureaucracy. They created an active female network within the government and cooperated HARLEM, THE "NEGRO CAPITAL OF AMERICA" Photographer Jack Manning took this picture, Street Portrait 5 Young Boys, as part of Aaron Siskind's project called the "Harlem Document," which portrayed life in what Look magazine called "the Negro capital of America." This photo was taken in 1938 or 1939. (Jack Manning/© The New York Times/Redux) with one another in advancing causes of interest to women. Symbolic appointments were in part a response Gains for Women I III II INI I lllll II Mill II Mill III II Hill II III II Mill II III II III II II to pressure from Eleanor Roosevelt, who was a committed advocate of women's rights and a champion of humanitarian causes. Molly Dewson, head of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, was also influential in securing federal appointments for women as well as in increasing their role within the Democratic Party. Several women received appointments to the federal Judiciary. And one, Hattie Caraway of Arkansas, became in 1934 the first woman elected to a full term in the U.S. Senate. (She was running to succeed her husband, who had died in office.) But New Deal support for women operated within limits, partly because New Deal women themselves had limited views of what their aims should be. Frances Perkins and many others in the administration emerged out of the feminist tradition of the progressive era, which emphasized not so much gender equality as special protections for women. Perkins and other women reformers were instrumental in creating support for, and shaping the character of, the Social Security Act of 1935. But they built into that bill their own notion of women's special place in a male-dominated economy. The principal provision of the bill specifically designed for women-the Aid to Dependent Children program-was modeled on the statelevel mothers' pensions that generations of progressive women had worked to pass earlier in the century.



STREET RUFFIAN, 5 YEARS: FROM PHOTO-LEAGUE, HALLION DOCUMENT, 1937

Jack Monahan

THE NEW DEAL 683 The New Deal generally supported the prevailing belief that in hard times women should withdraw from the work,, place to open up more jobs for men. New Prevailing r rr . . . Gender Norms Deal relief aSencies offered relatively Buttressed little employment for women. The NRA  
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sanctioned wage practices that discriminated against women. The Social Security program at first excluded domestic servants, waitresses, and other predominantly female occupations. The New Deal in the West and the South Two regions of the United States that did receive special attention from the New Deal were the West and the South, both of which benefited disproportionately from New Deal relief and public works programs. The West received more federal funds per capita through New Deal relief programs than any other region, and parts of the South were not far behind. Most westerners were eager for the assistance New Deal agencies provided, but their political leaders were not always as supportive. In Colorado, for example, the state legislature refused to provide the required matching funds for FERA relief in 1933. When, in response, Harry Hopkins cut Colorado off from the program, unemployed people rioted in Denver and looted food stores. Only then did the legislature reverse course and provide funding. In the South, locally administered New Deal relief programs did not challenge prevailing racial norms. In the West, too. New Deal programs accepted existing racial and ethnic prejudices. In several states, relief agencies paid different groups at different rates: white Anglos received the most generous aid; blacks, Indians, and Mexican Americans received lower levels ,, of support. In the CCC camps in New Challenge Mexico, Hispanics and Anglos sometimes Jim Crow worked in the same camps, but there were frequent tensions and occasional conflicts between them. But the main reason for the New Deal's impact on the West was that conditions in the region made the government's programs especially important. Federal agricultural programs had an enormous impact on the West because farming remained so much more central to the economy of the region than it did in much of the East. The largest New Deal public works programs-the great dams and power stationswere mainly in the West, both because the best locations for such facilities were there and because the West had the most need for

new sources of water and power. The Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River was the largest public works project in American history to that point. It provided cheap electric power for much of the Northwest and, along with the construction of smaller dams and water projects nearby, created a basis for economic development in the region. Without this enormous public investment by the federal government, much of the economic development that transformed the West after World War II would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. But the region paid New Deal's a Price for government's beneficence: for Legacy in the generations after the Great Depression, the West federal government maintained a much greater and more visible bureaucratic presence in the West than in any other region. The New Deal located fewer great infrastructure projects in the South than it did in the West-although the largest of them, the TVA, was an entirely southern venture. But many of the economic development efforts the Roosevelt administration undertook were of disproportionate benefit to the South, largely because the South was the least economically developed region of the nation in the 1930s. One example was rural electrification, which had a large impact on many agrarian areas of the nation but a particular impact on the South, where vast parts of the countryside remained without access to power lines until the Rural Electrification Administration provided them. The New Deal also directed national attention toward the economic condition of the South in a way that no previous administration had done. Many Americans outside the South had long believed the South to be "backward," but they tended to attribute that backwardness to racism, segregation, and prejudice. In a 1938 economic report sponsored by the federal government, a group of social scientists and others called the South "the nation's number one economic problem." Although the report made some reference to the South's racial customs, it spoke mostly about its lack of sufficiently developed economic institutions and facilities. The New Deal and the National Economy The most frequent criticisms of the New Deal involve its failure genuinely to revive or reform the American economy. New Dealers never fully embraced government spending as a vehicle for recovery, and their efforts along other lines never succeeded in ending the Depression. The economic boom sparked by World War II, not the New Deal, finally ended the crisis. Nor did the Recovery New Deal substantially alter the

distribution of power within American capitalism; and it had only a small impact on the distribution of wealth among the American people. Nevertheless, the New Deal did have important and lasting effects on both the behavior and the structure of the American economy. It helped elevate new groups-workers, farmers, and others-to positions from which they could at times effectively challenge the power of the corporations. It contributed to the economic development of the West and, to a lesser degree, the South. It increased the regulatory functions of the federal government in ways that helped stabilize previously troubled areas of the economy: the stock market, the banking system, and others. (Many of these regulations were weakened or repealed beginning in the 1970s and beyond.) And the administration helped establish the basis for new forms of federal fiscal policy, which in the postwar years would give the government tools for promoting and regulating economic growth.

# DEAL

1933 Emergency Banking Act Economy Act Civilian Conservation Corps Agricultural Adjustment Act Tennessee Valley Authority National Industrial Recovery Act Banking Act Federal Emergency Relief Act Home Owners Refinancing Act Civil Works Administration Federal Securities Act 1934 National Housing Act Securities and Exchange Act Home Owners Loan Act 1935 Works Progress Administration National Youth Administration Social Security Act National Labor Relations Act Public Utilities Holding Company Act Resettlement Administration Rural Electrification Administration Revenue Act ("wealth tax") 1936 Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act 1937 Farm Security Administration National Housing Act 1938 Second Agricultural Adjustment Act Fair Labor Standards Act 1939 Executive Reorganization Act The New Deal also created the basis of the federal welfare state, through its many relief programs and above all through Federal Social Security system. The conservative inhibitions New Dealers brought to Established this task ensured that the welfare system would be limited in its impact (at least in comparison with those of other industrial nations), would reinforce some traditional patterns of gender and racial discrimination, and would be expensive and cumbersome to administer. But for all its limits, the new system marked a historic break with the federal government's traditional reluctance to offer public assistance to its neediest citizens. The New Deal and American Politics Perhaps the most dramatic effect of the New Deal was on the structure and behavior of American government and on the character of American politics. Franklin Roosevelt helped enhance the power of the federal government. By the end of the 1930s, state and local governments were clearly of secondary importance to the government in Washington. Roosevelt also established the presidency as the preeminent center of authority within the federal government. Finally, the New Deal had a profound impact on how the American people defined themselves politically. It took a weak, divided Democratic Party, which New Deal had been a minority force in American Government politics for many decades, and turned it into a mighty coalition that would dominate national

party competition for more than thirty years. It turned the attention of many voters away from some of the cultural issues that had preoccupied them in the 1920s and awakened in them an interest in economic matters of direct importance to their lives. And it created among the American people greatly increased expectations of government expectations that the New Deal did not always fulfill but that survived to become the basis of new liberal crusades in the postwar era. LOOKING BACK The New Deal was the most dramatic and important moment in the modern history of American government. From the time of Franklin Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933 to the beginning of World War II eight years later, the federal government engaged in a broad and diverse series of experiments designed to relieve the distress of unemployment and poverty, to reform the economy to prevent future crises, and to bring the Great Depression to an end. It had only partial success in all those efforts. Unemployment and poverty remained high throughout the New Deal, although many federal programs provided assistance to millions of people who would otherwise have had none. The structure of the American economy remained essentially the same as it had been in earlier years, although there were by the end of the New Deal some important new regulatory agencies in Washington-and an important new role for organized labor, enforced by a new federal law. Nothing the New Deal did ended the Great Depression, but some of its policies kept it from getting worse-and some of them pointed the way toward more effective economic policies in the future. Perhaps the most important legacy of the New Deal was the creation of a sense of possibilities among many Americans, to persuade them that the fortunes of individuals need not be left entirely to chance or to the workings of the market. Many



THE NEW DEAL 685 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS Americans emerged from the 1930s convinced that individuals deserved some protections from the unpredictability and instability of the modern economy, and that the New Deal-for all its limitations-had demonstrated the value of enlisting government in the effort to provide those protections. Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) 663 "Bank holiday" 662 Broker state 679 Charles E. Coughlin 669 Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) 671 Court-packing plan 675 Eleanor Roosevelt 680 Frances Perkins 682 Francis E. Townsend 669 Harry Hopkins 673 Huey Long 670 John Collier 682 John L. Lewis 671 Marian Anderson 680 National Recovery Administration (NRA) 666 Second New Deal 670 Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) 668 Sit-down strike 671 Social Security Act 672 Tennessee Valley Authority (TV A) 667 1933 "First New Deal" legislation enacted (see p. 662) Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated Twenty-First Amendment ends prohibition with repeal of Eighteenth Amendment Dr. Francis Townsend begins campaign for old-age pensions 1935 Father Charles Coughlin establishes National Union for Social Justice John L. Lewis and allies break with AFL Fluey Long assassinated Supreme Court invalidates NRA "Second New Deal" legislation passed 1937 Roosevelt proposes "Court-packing plan" Supreme Court validates Wagner Act Severe recession begins - 1934 • . Conservatives create American Liberty League Indian Reorganization Act passed Huey Long establishes Share-Our-Wealth Society \_ 1936 O CIO established Sit-down strikes begin Supreme Court invalidates Agricultural Adjustment Act - 1938 O Fair Labor Standards Act enacted, establishes national minimum wage RECALL AND REFLECT 1. What New Deal programs were aimed at agricultural and industrial recovery, and what was the effect of the programs in both areas? 2. What criticisms did critics on both the right and the left level at the New Deal? How did FDR and his administration respond to these criticisms? 3. What gains did organized labor make during the 1930s? How did labor achieve these gains? 4. How did New Deal programs treat minorities-African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans? 5. What was the impact of the New Deal on women? 6. How did the New Deal affect the western United States? 1939 Marian Anderson sings at Lincoln Memorial

## THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921-1941 “DEFENDING MADRID”

The Spanish Civil War, in which the forces led by Francisco Franco overturned the existing republican government, was an early signal to many Americans of the dangers of fascism and the threat to democracy. Although the United States government remained aloof from the conflict, several thousand Americans volunteered to fight on behalf of the republican forces. This 1938 Spanish war poster contains the words "Defending Madrid Is Defending Catalonia," an effort by the government in Madrid to enlist the support of the surrounding regions to defend the capital against Franco forces. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) defensarNAMmID ! ; CATALUNX  
LOOKING AHEAD

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1. What are some of the views that Americans expressed as the world crises of the 1930s expanded? 2. How did the economic crisis of the worldwide Great Depression help create new political orders in many nations? 3. What was the sequence of events between 1939 and 1941 that brought the United States into military involvement in World War II?



SETTING THE STAGE REPUBLICAN SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, led the fight against ratification of the Treaty of Versailles in 1918 and 1919. In part because of his efforts, the Senate defeated the treaty; the United States failed to join the League of Nations; and American foreign policy embarked on an independent course that for the next two decades would attempt, but ultimately fail, to expand American influence and maintain international stability without committing the United States to any lasting relationships with other nations. Lodge was not an isolationist. He believed the United States should exert its influence internationally. But he believed, too, that the United States should remain unfettered by obligations to anyone else. He said in 1919: We are a great moral asset of Christian civilization. . . . How did we get there? By our own efforts. Nobody led us, nobody guided us, nobody controlled us. ... I would keep America as she has been—not isolated, not prevent her from joining other nations for . . . great purposes— but I wish her to be master of her own fate. Lodge was not alone in voicing such sentiments. Throughout the 1920s, those controlling American foreign policy attempted to increase America's role in the world while keeping the nation free of commitments that might limit its own freedom of action. In the end, the cautious, limited American internationalism of the interwar years proved insufficient to protect the interests of the United States, to create global stability, or to keep the nation from becoming involved in the greatest war in human history.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE NEW ERA

Critics of American foreign policy in the 1920s often used a single word to describe the cause of their disenchantment: isolationism. Having rejected the Wilsonian vision of a new world order. Myth of they claimed, the nation had turned its back on the rest of the globe and repulsolationism diated its international responsibilities. In fact, the United States played a more active role in world affairs in the 1920s than it had at almost any previous time in its history-even if not the role the Wilsonians had prescribed. Replacing the League It was clear when the Harding administration took office in 1921 that American membership in the League of Nations was no longer a realistic possibility. As if finally to bury the issue. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes

secured legislation from Congress in 1921 declaring the war with Germany at an end, and then proceeded to negotiate separate peace treaties with the former Central Powers. Through these treaties, American policymakers believed, the United States would receive all the advantages of the Versailles Treaty with none of the burdensome responsibilities. But Hughes was also committed to finding something to replace the League as a guarantor of world peace and stability. He embarked, therefore, on a series of efforts to build safeguards against future wars-but safeguards that would not hamper American freedom of action in the world. The most important such effort was the Washington Conference of 1921-an attempt to prevent what was threatening to become a costly and destabilizing naval armaments race between the United States, Britain, and Japan. In his opening speech, Hughes startled the delegates by proposing . a plan for dramatic reductions in the fleets of all three nations and a ten-year Conference moratorium on the construction of large warships. He called for the scrap of 1921 of nearly 2 million tons of existing shipping. Far more surprising than . the proposal was the fact that the conference ultimately agreed to accept most of its terms, something that Hughes apparently had not anticipated. The Five-Power Pact of February 1922 established both limits for total naval tonnage and a ratio of armaments among the signatories. For every 5 tons of American and British warships, Japan would maintain 3 and France and Italy 1.75 each. (Although the treaty seemed to confirm the military inferiority of Japan, in fact 687

688 CHAPTER 25 it sanctioned Japanese dominance in East Asia. The United States and Britain had to spread their fleets across the globe; Japan was concerned only with the Pacific.) The Washington Conference also produced two other, related treaties: the Nine Power Pact, pledging a continuation of the Open Door policy in China, and the Four-Power Pact, by which the United States, Britain, France, and Japan promised to respect one another's Pacific territories and cooperate to prevent aggression. The Washington Conference began the New Era effort to protect the peace (and the international economic interests of Kellogg- United States) without accepting active Briand Pact international duties. The Kellogg-Briand . Pact of 1928 concluded it. When the French foreign minister, Aristide Briand, asked the United States in 1927 to join an alliance against Germany, Secretary of State Frank Kellogg (who had replaced Hughes in 1925) instead proposed a multilateral treaty outlawing war as an instrument of national policy. Fourteen nations signed the agreement in Paris on August 27, 1928, amid great solemnity and wide international acclaim. Forty-eight other nations later joined the pact. It contained no instruments of enforcement but rested, as Kellogg put it, on the "moral force" of world opinion. Debts and Diplomacy The first responsibility of diplomacy, Hughes, Kellogg, and others agreed, was to ensure that American overseas trade faced no obstacles to expansion and would remain free of interference. Preventing a dangerous armaments race and reducing the possibility of war were steps to that end. So were new financial arrangements that emerged at the same time. The United States was most concerned about Europe, on whose economic health American prosperity in large part depended. Not only were the major European industrial powers suffering from the devastation World War I had produced; they were also staggering under a heavy burden of debt. The Allied forces were struggling to repay \$ 11 billion in loans they had contracted with the United States during and shortly after the war, loans that the Republican administrations were unwilling to reduce or forgive. "They hired the money, didn't they?" Calvin Coolidge once replied when asked if he favored offering Europe relief from their debts. At the same time, an even more debilitated Germany was attempting to pay the reparations levied against it by the Allies. With the financial structure of Europe on the brink of collapse, the United States

stepped in with a solution. In 1924 Charles G. Dawes, an American banker and diplomat, negotiated an agreement under which American banks would provide enormous loans to the Germans, enabling them to meet their reparations payments; in return, Britain and France would agree to reduce the amount of those payments. Dawes won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts, but in fact the Dawes Plan did little to solve the problems it addressed. It led to a troubling circular pattern in international finance. America would lend money to Germany, which would use that money to pay reparations to France and England, which would in turn use those funds (as well as large loans they themselves were receiving from American banks) to repay war debts to the United States. The flow was able to continue only by virtue of the enormous debts Germany and the other European nations were accumulating to American banks and corporations. Those banks and corporations were doing more than providing loans. They were becoming a daily presence in the economic life of Europe. American automobile manufacturers were opening European factories, capturing a large share of the overseas market. Other American industries in the 1920s were establishing subsidiaries worth more than \$10 billion throughout the Continent, taking advantage of the devastation of European industry and the inability of domestic corporations to recover. Some groups within the U.S. government warned that the reckless expansion of overseas loans and investments, many in enterprises of dubious value, threatened disaster; that the United States was becoming too dependent on unstable European economies. The high tariff barriers that the Republican Congress had erected (through the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922) were creating additional problems, such skeptics warned. European nations, unable to export their goods to the United States, were finding it difficult to earn the money necessary to repay their loans. Such warnings fell for the most part

on deaf ears. The U.S. government felt even fewer reservations about assisting American economic expansion in Latin America. Economic During the 1920s, American military Expansion in forces maintained a presence in numerLatin America ous countries in the region. United States  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii \_ investments in Latin America more than doubled between 1924 and 1929; American corporations built roads and other facilities in many areas-partly, they argued, to weaken the appeal of revolutionary forces in the region, but at least equally to increase their own access to Latin America's rich



THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921-1941 689 natural resources. United States banks were offering large loans to Latin American governments, just as they were in Europe; and just as in Europe, the Latin Americans were having great difficulty earning the money to repay them in the face of the formidable U.S. tariff barrier. By the end of the 1920s, resentment of "Yankee imperialism" was growing rapidly. The economic troubles after 1929 would only accentuate such problems. Hoover and the World Crisis After the relatively placid international climate of the 1920s, the diplomatic challenges facing the Hoover administration must have seemed ominous and bewildering. The world financial crisis that began in 1929 and greatly intensified after 1931 was not only creating economic distress; it was also producing a dangerous nationalism that threatened the weak international agreements established during the previous decade. Above all, the Depression was toppling some existing political leaders and replacing them with powerful, belligerent governments bent on expansion as a solution to their economic problems. Hoover was confronted, therefore, with the beginning of a process that would ultimately lead to war. In Latin America, Hoover worked studiously to repair some of the damage created by earlier American policies. He made a ten-week goodwill tour through the region before his inauguration. Once in office, he tried to abstain from intervening in the internal affairs of neighboring nations and moved to withdraw American troops from Haiti. When economic distress led to the collapse of one Latin American regime after another. Hoover announced a new policy: the United States would grant diplomatic recognition to any sitting government in the region without questioning the means it had used to obtain power. He even repudiated the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine by refusing to permit U.S. intervention when several Latin American countries defaulted on debt obligations to the United States in October 1931. In Europe, the administration enjoyed few successes in its efforts to promote economic stability. When Hoover's proposed moratorium on debts in 1931 failed to attract broad support or produce financial stability (see pp. 641-643), many economists and political leaders appealed to the president to cancel all war debts to the United States. Like his predecessors. Hoover refused; and several European nations promptly went into default, severely damaging an already tense

international climate. The ineffectiveness of diplomacy in Europe was particularly troubling in view of some of the new governments coming to power on the Continent. Benito Mussolini's Fascist Party had been in control of Italy since the early 1920s; by the 1930s, the regime was growing increasingly nationalistic and militaristic, and Fascist leaders were loudly threatening an active campaign of imperial expansion. More ominous was the growing power of the National Socialist (or Nazi) Party in Germany. By the late 1920s, the Weimar Republic, the nation's government since the end of World War I, had lost virtually all popular support, discredited by, among other things, a ruinous inflation. Adolf Hitler, the stridently nationalistic leader of the Nazis, was rapidly growing in popular favor. Although he lost a 1932 election for chancellor, Hitler would sweep into power less than a year later. His belief in the racial superiority of the Aryan (German) people, his commitment to providing Lebensraum (living space) for his "master race," his pathological anti-Semitism, and his passionate militarism—all posed a great threat to European, and world, peace. More immediately alarming to the Hoover administration was a major crisis in Asia—another early step toward World War II.

**HITLER AND MUSSOLINI**

The German and Italian dictators (shown here reviewing Nazi troops in the mid-1930s) acted publicly as if they were equals. Privately, Hitler treated Mussolini with contempt, and Mussolini complained constantly of being a junior partner in the relationship. (§ Popperfoto/Getty Images)



690 CHAPTER 25 The Japanese, reeling from an economic depression of their own, were concerned about the increasing strength of the Soviet Manchuria Union and of Premier Chiang Kai-shek's national. ist China. In particular, they were alarmed at Chiang's insistence on expanding his government's power in Manchuria, which remained officially a part of China but over which the Japanese had maintained effective economic control since 1905. When the moderate government of Japan failed to take forceful steps to counter Chiang's ambitions, Japan's military leaders staged what was, in effect, a coup in the autumn of 1931 - seizing control of foreign policy from the weakened liberals. Weeks later, they launched a major invasion of northern Manchuria. (See "America in the World," pp. 692-693.) The American government had few options. For a while. Secretary of State Henry Stimson (who had served as secretary of war under Taft) continued to hope that Japanese moderates would regain control of the Tokyo government and halt the invasion. The militarists, however, remained in command; and by the beginning of 1932, the conquest of Manchuria was complete. Stimson issued stern (but ineffectual) warnings to Japan and tried to use moral suasion to end the crisis. But Hoover forbade him to cooperate with the League of Nations in imposing economic sanctions against the Japanese. Stimson's only real tool in dealing with the Manchurian invasion was a refusal to grant diplomatic recognition to the new Japanese territories. Japan was unconcerned and early in 1932 expanded its aggression farther into China, attacking the city of Shanghai and killing thousands of civilians. By the time Hoover left office early in 1933, it was clear that the international system the United States had attempted to create in the 1920s-a system based on voluntary cooperation among nations and on an American refusal to commit to the interests of other countries-had collapsed. The United States faced a choice. It could adopt a more energetic form of internationalism and enter into firmer and more meaningful associations with other nations. Or it could resort to nationalism and rely on its own devices for dealing with its own (and the world's) problems. For the next six years, it experimented with elements of both approaches. Failure of America's Interwar Diplomacy

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii ISOLATIONISM AND  
INTERNATIONALISM 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 III



THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921-1941 • 691 the effects of a decaying international structure. The two problems were not unrelated. It was the worldwide Depression itself that was producing much of the political chaos throughout the globe. Through most of the 1930s, however, the United States was unwilling to make more than faint gestures toward restoring stability to the world. Like many other peoples suffering economic hardship, most Americans were turning inward. Yet the realities of world affairs were not to allow the nation to remain isolated for very long—as Franklin Roosevelt soon realized. Depression Diplomacy Perhaps Roosevelt's sharpest break with the policies of his predecessor was on the question of American economic relations with Europe. Hoover had argued that only by resolving the question of war debts and reinforcing the gold standard could the American economy hope to recover. He had therefore agreed that the United States would participate in the World Economic Conference, to be held in London in June 1933, to try to resolve these issues. By the time "Bombshell" the conference assembled, however, Roosevelt was president. He had already decided to allow the gold value of the dollar to fall to enable American goods to compete in world markets. Shortly after the conference convened, Roosevelt released a famous "bombshell" message repudiating the orthodox views of most of the delegates and rejecting any agreement on currency stabilization. The conference quickly dissolved without reaching agreement, and not until 1936 did the administration finally agree to new negotiations to stabilize Western currencies. At the same time, Roosevelt abandoned the commitments of the Hoover administration to settle the issue of war debts through international agreement. In effect, he simply let the issue die. In April 1934, he signed a bill to forbid American banks to make loans to any nation in default on its debts. The result was to stop the old, circular system; within months, war-debt payments from every nation except Finland stopped for good. Although the new administration had no interest in international currency stabilization or settlement of war debts, it did have an active interest in improving America's position in world trade. Roosevelt approved the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of 1934, authorizing the administration to negotiate treaties lowering tariffs by as much as 50 percent in return for reciprocal reductions by other nations.

By 1939, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, a devoted free trader, had negotiated new treaties with twenty-one countries. The result was an increase in American exports of nearly 40 percent. But most of the agreements admitted only products not competitive with American industry and agriculture, so imports into the United States continued to lag. Thus other nations were not obtaining the American currency needed to buy American products or pay off debts to American banks. Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act America and the Soviet Union America's hopes of expanding its foreign trade helped produce efforts by the Roosevelt administration to improve relations with the Soviet Union. The United States and Russia had viewed each other with mistrust and even hostility since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and the American government still had not officially recognized the Soviet regime by 1933. But powerful voices within the United States were urging a change in policy because the Soviet Union appeared to be a possible source of trade. The Russians, too, were eager for a new relationship. They were hoping in particular for American cooperation in containing the power of Japan, which Soviet leaders feared as a threat to Russia from the southeast. In November 1933, therefore, Soviet foreign minister Maxim Litvinov reached an agreement with President Roosevelt in Washington: the Soviets would cease their propaganda efforts in the United States and protect American citizens in Russia; in return, the United States would recognize the Soviet regime. Despite this promising beginning, however, relations with the Soviet Union soon soured once again. American trade failed to establish much of a foothold in Russia; and the Soviets received no reassurance from the United States that it was interested in stopping Japanese expansion in Asia. By the end of 1934, as a result of these disappointed hopes on both sides, the Soviet Union and the United States were once again viewing each other with considerable mistrust. The Good Neighbor Policy Somewhat more successful were American efforts to enhance both diplomatic and economic relations with Latin America through what became known as the "Good Neighbor Policy." Latin America was one of the most important targets of the new policy of trade reciprocity. During the 1930s, the United States succeeded in increasing both exports to and imports from the other nations of the Western Hemisphere by over 100 percent. Closely tied to these new economic relationships was a new U.S. attitude toward intervention

in Latin America. The Hoover administration had unofficially abandoned the earlier U.S. practice of using military force to compel Latin American governments to repay debts, respect foreign investments, or otherwise behave "responsibly." The Roosevelt administration went further. At the Inter-American Conference in Montevideo in December 1933, Secretary of State Hull Inter-American signed a formal convention declaring: "Conference wN° state has the right to intervene in . the internal or external affairs of another." Roosevelt respected that pledge throughout his years in office. The Good Neighbor Policy did not mean, however, that the United States had abandoned its influence in Latin America. Instead of military force, Americans now tried to use economic influence. The new reliance on economic pressures eased tensions between the United States and its neighbors considerably. It did nothing to stem the growing U.S. domination of the Latin American economies.



AMERICA IN THE WORLD The Sino-Japanese War, 1931-1941 t |yj before Pearl Harbor, well before war broke out in Europe in 1939, the first shots Jj vJ IN U of what would become World War II had been fired in the Pacific in a conflict between Japan and China. Japan emerged from World War I as a great world power, with a proud and powerful military and growing global trade. But the Great Depression created severe economic problems for the Japanese (in part because of stiff new American tariffs on silk imports). As in other parts of the world, ENTERING MANCHURIA, 1931 Japanese troops pour into Mukden (now Shenyang), the capital of the Chinese province of Manchuria, in 1931— following a staged incident that allowed Japan to claim that its troops had been attacked. The so-called Mukden Incident marked the beginning of the long Sino-Japanese War. (© Hulton Archive/ Getty Images) the crisis strengthened the political influence of highly nationalistic and militaristic leaders. Japanese militarists dreamed of a new empire in the Pacific that would give Japan access to fuel, raw materials, and markets for its industries, as well as land for its agricultural needs and its rapidly increasing population. Such an empire, they argued, would free Asia from exploitation by Europe and America and would create a "new world order based on moral principles." During World War I, Japan had seized territory and economic concessions in China and had created a particularly strong presence in the northern Chinese region of Manchuria. There, in September 1931, a group of militant young army officers seized on a railway explosion to justify a military campaign through which they conquered the entire province. Both the United States government and the League of Nations demanded that Japan evacuate Manchuria. The Japanese ignored them and, for the next six years, consolidated their control over their new territory. On July 7, 1937, Japan began a wider war when it attacked Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge outside Beijing. Over the next few weeks, Japanese forces overran a large part of southern China, including most of the port cities, killing many Chinese soldiers and civilians in the process. Particularly notorious was the Japanese annihilation of many thousands of civilians in the city of Nanjing (the number has long been in dispute, but estimates range from 80,000 to more than 300,000) in an event that became known in China and the West as the Nanjing Massacre. The Chinese

government fled to the mountains. As in 1931, the United States and the League of Nations protested in vain. The China that the Japanese had invaded was a nation in turmoil. It was engaged in a civil war between the so-called Kuomintang, a nationalist party led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong; and this internal struggle weakened The Rise of Isolationism The first years of the Roosevelt administration marked not only the death of Hoover's hopes for international economic agreements, but the end of any hopes for world peace through treaties and disarmament as well. The arms control conference in Geneva had been meeting, without result, since 1932; and in May 1933, Roosevelt attempted to spur it to action by submitting a new American proposal for arms reductions. Negotiations stalled and then broke down; and only a few months later, first Hitler and then Mussolini withdrew from the talks. Two years later, Japan withdrew from the London Naval Conference, which was attempting to draw up an agreement to continue the limitations on naval armaments negotiated at the Washington Conference of 1921. Faced with a choice between more-active efforts to stabilize the world and more-energetic attempts to isolate the nation from it, most Americans unhesitatingly chose the latter. Support for isolationism emerged from many quarters. Old Wilsonian internationalists had grown disillusioned with Sources of Isolationism 692 . iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921-1941 693 China's capacity to resist invasion. But beginning in 1937, the two Chinese rivals agreed to an uneasy truce and began fighting the Japanese together, with some success— bogging the Japanese military down in a seemingly endless war and imposing hardships on the Japanese people at home. The Japanese government and the military, however, remained determined to continue the war against China, whatever the sacrifices. One result of the costs of the war for Japan was its growing dependence on the United States for steel and oil to meet civilian and military needs. In July 1941, in an effort to pressure the Japanese to stop their expansion, the Roosevelt administration made it impossible for the Japanese to continue buying American oil. Japan now faced a choice between ending its war in China and finding other sources of fuel to keep its war effort (and its civilian economy) going. It chose to extend the war beyond China in a search for oil. The best available sources were in the Dutch East Indies; but the only way to secure that European colony, the Japanese believed, would be to neutralize the United States in Asia. Visionary military planners in Japan began advocating a daring move to immobilize the Americans in the Pacific before expanding the war elsewhere— with an attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor. The first blow of World War II in America, therefore, was the culmination of more than a decade of Japanese efforts to conquer China. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. What were the goals of the Japanese militarists in the 1930s that led to the attacks on China? 2. Why was China unable to stop Japanese aggression in the 1930s? 3. What role did the United States play in the Sino-Japanese War? the League of Nations and its inability to stop Japanese aggression in Asia. Other Americans were listening to the argument (popular among populist-minded politicians in the Midwest and West) that powerful business interests-Wall Street, munitions makers, and others-had tricked the United States into participating in World War I. An investigation by a Senate committee chaired by Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota revealed exorbitant profiteering and blatant tax evasion by many corporations during the war, and it suggested (on the basis of little evidence) that bankers had pressured Wilson to intervene in the war so as to protect their loans abroad. Roosevelt himself shared some of the suspicions voiced by the isolationists and claimed to be

impressed by the findings of the Nye investigation. Nevertheless, he continued to hope for at least a modest American role in maintaining world peace. In 1935, he asked the Senate to ratify a treaty to make the United States a member of the World Court—a treaty that would have expanded America's symbolic commitment to internationalism without increasing its actual responsibilities in any important way. Nevertheless, isolationist opposition (spurred by unrelenting hostility from the Hearst newspapers and a passionate broadcast by Father Charles Coughlin on the eve of the Senate vote) resulted in the defeat of the treaty. It was a devastating political blow to the president, and he did not soon again attempt to challenge the isolationist tide. That tide seemed to grow stronger in the following months. Through the summer of 1935, it became clear that Mussolini's Italy was preparing to invade Ethiopia in an effort to expand its colonial holdings in Africa. Fearing that a general European war would result, American legislators began to design legal safeguards to prevent the United States from being dragged into the conflict. The result was the Neutrality Act of 1935. The 1935 act, and the Neutrality Acts of 1936 and 1937 that followed, was designed to prevent a recurrence of the events that many Americans now believed had pressured the United States into World War I. The 1935 law established a mandatory arms embargo against both victim and aggressor in any military conflict and empowered the president to warn American citizens that they might travel on the ships of warring nations only at their own risk. Thus, isolationists believed, the "protection of neutral rights" could not again become an excuse for American intervention in war. The 1936 Neutrality Act renewed these provisions. And in 1937, with world conditions growing even more precarious, Congress passed a new Neutrality Act that established the so-called cash-and-carry policy, by which belligerents could purchase only nonmilitary goods from the United States and had to pay cash and carry the goods away on their own vessels. The American stance of militant neutrality gained support in October 1935 when Mussolini finally launched his Ethiopia long-anticipated attack on Ethiopia. When the League of Nations protested, Italy simply resigned from the organization, completed its conquest of Ethiopia, and formed an alliance (the "Axis") with Nazi Germany. Most Americans responded to the news with renewed determination to isolate themselves from European instability. Two-thirds of those

responding to public opinion polls at the time opposed any American action to deter aggression. Isolationist sentiment showed its strength once again in 1936-1937 in response to the civil war in Spain. The Falangists, a group much like the Italian fascists, revolted in July 1936 against the existing republican government. Hitler and Mussolini supported General Francisco Franco, who became the leader of the Falangists in 1937,

Americans took up arms to help the republican forces fight against Franco and his army. The novelist Ernest Hemingway joined them in Spain as a reporter (and supporter of the republicans), and he spent much of his time talking with both American and Spanish troops. His novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was inspired by his experience in the civil war. (Robert Capa/© International Center of Photography/ Magnum Photos) both vocally and with weapons and supplies. Some individual Americans traveled to Spain to assist the republican cause; but the U.S. government joined with Britain and France in an agreement to offer no assistance to either side although all three governments were sympathetic to the republicans. Particularly disturbing was the deteriorating situation in Asia. Japan's aggressive designs against China had been clear since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. In the summer of 1937, Tokyo "Quarantine" Speech

launched an even broader assault, attacking China's five northern provinces. (See "America in the World," pp. 692-693.) The United States, Roosevelt believed, could not allow the Japanese aggression to go unremarked or unpunished. In a speech in Chicago in October 1937, therefore, the president warned forcefully of the dangers that Japanese aggression posed to world peace. Aggressors, he proclaimed, should be "quarantined" by the international community to prevent the contagion of war from spreading. The president was deliberately vague about what such a "quarantine" would mean. Nevertheless, public response to the speech was disturbingly hostile. As a result, Roosevelt drew back. Only months later, another episode provided renewed evidence of how formidable the obstacles to Roosevelt's efforts remained. On December 12, 1937, Japanese aviators bombed and sank the U.S. gunboat Panay as it sailed the Yangtze River in China. The attack was almost undoubtedly deliberate. It occurred in broad daylight, with clear visibility. A large American flag had been painted conspicuously on the Panay's deck. Even so, isolationists seized eagerly on Japanese protestations that the bombing had been an accident and pressured the administration to accept Japan's apologies. The Failure of Munich Hitler's determination to expand German power became fully visible in 1936, when he moved the

revived German army into the Rhineland, violating the Versailles treaty and rearming an area that France had, in effect, controlled since World War I. In March 1938, German forces marched into Austria, and Hitler proclaimed a union (or Anschluss) between Austria, his native land, and Germany, his adopted one—thus fulfilling his longtime dream of uniting the German-speaking peoples in one great nation. Neither in America nor in most of Europe was there much more than a murmur of opposition. The Austrian invasion, however, soon created another crisis, because Hitler had by now occupied territory surrounding three sides of western Czechoslovakia, a region he dreamed of annexing to provide Germany with the Lebensraum (living space) he believed it needed. In September 1938, he demanded that Czechoslovakia cede to him part of that region, the Sudetenland, an area on the Austro-German border in which many ethnic Germans lived. Czechoslovakia, which possessed substantial military power of its own, was prepared to fight rather than submit. But it realized it could not hope for success without help from other European nations. It received none. Most Western nations were appalled at the prospect of another war and were willing to pay almost any price to settle the crisis peacefully. Anxiety





## THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921-1941 695 FROM NEUTRALITY TO INTERVENTION

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"This nation will remain a neutral nation/" the president declared shortly after the hostilities began in Europe, "but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well." It was a statement that stood in stark and deliberate contrast to Woodrow Wilson's 1914 plea that the nation remain neutral in THE OCCUPATION OF POLAND, 1939 A German motorized detachment enters a Polish town that has already been battered by heavy bombing from the German air force (the Luftwaffe). The German invasion of Poland, which began on September 1, 1939, sparked the formal beginning of World War II. (© Bettmann/Corbis) ran almost as high in the United States as it did in Europe during and after the crisis, and helped produce such strange expressions of fear as the hysterical response to the famous "War of the Worlds" radio broadcast in October. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 696-697). On September 29, Hitler met with the leaders of France and Great Britain at Munich in an effort to resolve the crisis. The French and British agreed to accept the German demands for Czechoslovakia in Munich Conference return for Hitler's promise to expand no farther. "This is the last territorial claim I have to make in Europe," the fiihrer solemnly declared. And Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain returned to England to a hero's welcome, assuring his people that the agreement ensured "peace in our time." Among those who had cabled him with encouragement at Munich was Franklin Roosevelt. The Munich accords were the most prominent element of a policy that came to be known as "appeasement" and that Failure of came to be identified (not altogether fairly) "Appeasement" almost exclusively with Chamberlain. . Whoever was to blame, however, it became clear almost immediately that the policy was a failure. In March 1939, Hitler occupied the remaining areas of Czechoslovakia, violating the Munich agreement unashamedly. And in April, he began issuing threats against Poland. At that point, both Britain and France gave assurances to the Polish government that they would come to its assistance in case of an invasion; they even flirted, too late, with the Stalinist regime in Russia, attempting to draw it into a mutual defense agreement. Stalin, however, had already decided that he

could expect no protection from the West; after all, he had not even been invited to attend the Munich Conference. Accordingly, he signed a nonaggression pact with Hitler in August 1939, freeing the Germans for the moment from the danger of a two-front war. For a few months. Hitler had been trying to frighten the Poles into submitting to German demands. When that failed, he staged an incident on the Polish border to allow him to claim that Germany had been attacked; and on September 1, 1939, he launched a full-scale invasion of Poland. Britain and France, true to their pledges, declared war on Germany two days later. World War II in Europe had begun. both deed and thought; and it was clear from the start that among those whose opinions were decidedly unneutral in 1939 was the president himself. Neutrality Tested There was never any question that both the president and the majority of the American people favored Britain, France, and the other Allied nations in the conflict. The question was how much the United States was prepared to do to assist them. At the very least, Roosevelt believed, the United States should make armaments available to the Allied armies to help them counter the highly productive German munitions industry. In September 1939, he asked Congress for a revision of the Neutrality Acts. The original measures had forbidden the sale of American weapons to any nation engaged in war; Roosevelt wanted the arms embargo lifted. Powerful isolationist opposition forced him to accept a weaker revision than he would have liked; as passed by Congress, the 1939 measure maintained Cash-and-Carry



Orson Welles and the "War of the Worlds" f \ if the evening of October 30, 1938, about 6 million Americans were listening to the weekly vJ IN radio program The Mercury Theatre on the Air , produced by the actor/filmmaker Orson Welles and broadcast over the CBS network. A few minutes into the show, an announcer interrupted some dance music with a terrifying report: At least forty people, including six state troopers, lie dead in a field east of Grover's Mill [New Jersey], their bodies burned and distorted beyond recognition. . . . Good heavens, something's wriggling out of the shadow like a gray snake! Now it's another one and another. . . . It's large as a bear and it glistens like black leather. But that face . . . it's indescribable! I can hardly force myself to keep looking at it. The panicky announcer was describing the beginning of an alien invasion of earth and the appearance of Martians armed with "death rays," determined to destroy the planet. Later in the evening, an announcer claiming to be broadcasting from Times Square reported the destruction of New York City before falling dead at the microphone. WELLES ON THE AIR Welles is shown here during the broadcast of the "War of the Worlds" in 1938. Although announcers told listeners throughout the broadcast that it was fiction, Welles came under intense criticism in following days for the panic it caused among many listeners. (© Bettmann/Corbis) THE MERCURY THEATRE ON THE AIR Orson Welles, the founder and director of The Mercury Theatre on the Air, directs a corps of actors during a rehearsal for one of the show's radio plays. (© Popperfoto/Getty Images) The dramatic "news bulletins" were part of a radio play by Howard Koch, loosely adapted from H. G. Wells's 1898 novel, The War of the Worlds. Announcers reminded the audience repeatedly throughout the broadcast that they were listening to a play, but many people either did not hear or did not notice the disclaimers. By the end of the hour, according to some estimates, as many as a million Americans were flying into panics, convinced that the end of the world was imminent. Thousands of listeners in New York and New Jersey fled their homes and tried to drive along clogged highways into the hills or the countryside. In Newark, people ran from their buildings with wet towels wrapped around their faces or wearing gas masks— as if defending themselves against the chemical warfare that many remembered from the trenches in World War I. In cities across the country,

people flocked into churches to pray; called police and hospitals for help; the prohibition on American ships entering war zones. It did, however, permit belligerents to purchase arms on the same cash-and-carry basis that the earlier Neutrality Acts had established for the sale of nonmilitary materials. After the German armies had quickly subdued Poland, the war in Europe settled into a long, quiet lull that lasted through the winter and spring—a "phony war," many people called it. The only real fighting during this period occurred not between the Allies and the Axis, but between Russia and its neighbors. 696 • Taking advantage of the situation in the West, the Soviet Union overran and annexed the small Baltic republics of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania and then, in late November, invaded Finland. Most Americans were outraged, but neither Congress nor the president was willing to do more than impose an ineffective "moral embargo" on the shipment of armaments to Russia. By March 1940, the Soviet advance was complete. Whatever illusions anyone may have had about the reality of the war in western Europe were shattered in the spring of iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



flooded the switchboards of newspapers, magazines, and radio stations desperate for information. "I never hugged my radio so closely as I did last night," one woman later explained. "I held a crucifix in my hand and prayed while looking out of my open window for falling meteors." The New York Times described it the next day as "a wave of mass hysteria." For weeks thereafter, Orson Welles and other producers of the show were the focus of a barrage of criticism for what many Americans believed had been a deliberate effort to create public fear. For years, sociologists and other scholars studied the episode for clues about mass behavior. Welles and his colleagues claimed to be surprised by the reaction their show created. The broadcast proved more effective than they had expected because it touched on anxieties that ran deep in American life at the time. The show aired only a few weeks after the war fever that had preceded the Munich pact.

DAIUV m NEWS  
tST'V.'l-VrUPS1. NEW YORK Syr PICTURE NEWSPAPER iv— [R 1  
Voi. 20. No. 109 New York. Monday, October 31. 1938' FAKE  
RADIO 'WAR' STIRS TERROR THROUGH O.S. MASS HYSTERIA A  
New York Daily News headline the morning after the famous "War  
of the Worlds" broadcast of The Mercury Theatre on the Air reports  
on the panic the radio show caused the night before. Thousands of  
listeners throughout the nation panicked as they listened to a  
broadcast based on H. G. Wells's fantasy The War of the Worlds.  
Many believed that an interplanetary conflict had started with  
invading Martians spreading wide death and destruction in New  
Jersey and New York. (© New York Daily News/Getty Images)  
among Germany, Britain, and France; Americans already jittery  
about the possibility of war proved easy prey to fears of another  
kind of invasion. The show also tapped longstanding anxieties  
about the fragility of life that afflicted many Americans during the  
long depression of the 1930s, and it seemed to frighten working-  
class people— those most vulnerable to unexpected catastrophes—  
in particular. Most of all, however, the "War of the Worlds"  
unintentionally exploited the enormous power that radio had come  
to exercise in American life, and the great trust many people had  
developed in what they heard over the air. For many people, the  
broadcasts they received over the radio had become their principal,  
even their only, source of information about the outside world.  
When the actors from The Mercury Theatre began to use the

familiar phrases and cadences of radio news announcers, it was easy for members of their audience to assume that they were hearing the truth. Welles concluded the broadcast by describing the play as "the Mercury Theater's own radio version of dressing up in a sheet and jumping out of a bush and saying Boo! ... So good-bye everybody, and remember, please, for the next day or so, the terrible lesson you learned tonight. The grinning, glowing, globular invader of your living room is an inhabitant of the pumpkin patch, and if your doorbell rings and there's no one there, that was no Martian . . . it's Flalloween." But the real lesson of the "War of the Worlds" was the lesson of the enormous, and at times frightening, power of the medium of broadcasting. • From War of the Worlds by Floward Koch. Copyright © 1938 Floward Koch. UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. Why did Welles's "War of the Worlds" broadcast create so much panic and hysteria? 2. What responsibility did Welles and his producers bear for the hysteria that followed the program? Could they have done more to prevent that hysteria and reassure their audience? If so, should they have done more? 3. Do the media today hold as much power and influence as radio did in the 1930s? Would an audience today be as likely to react with panic and hysteria to a broadcast similar to that of the "War of the Worlds"? Fall of France

698 CHAPTER 25 THE BLITZ, LONDON The German Luftwaffe terrorized London and other British cities in 1940-1941 and again late in the war by bombing civilian areas indiscriminately in an effort to break the spirit of the English people. The effort failed, and the fortitude of the British in the face of the attack did much to arouse support for their cause in the United States. St. Paul's Cathedral, largely undamaged throughout the raids, looms in the background of this photograph, as other buildings crumble under the force of German bombs. (© Daily Mail/Rex/ Alamy)

construction of an enormous new fleet of warplanes) and received it quickly. With France weakening a few weeks later, he proclaimed that the United States would "extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation." And on May 15, Winston Churchill, the new British prime minister, sent Roosevelt the first of many long lists of requests for ships, armaments, and other assistance without which, he insisted, England could not long survive. Many Americans (including the U.S. ambassador to London, Joseph P. Kennedy) argued that the British plight was already hopeless, that any aid to the English was a wasted effort. The president, however, made the politically dangerous decision to make war materials available to Churchill. He even circumvented the cash-and-carry provisions of the Neutrality Act by trading fifty American destroyers (most of them left over from World War I) to England in return for the right to build American bases on British territory in the Western Hemisphere; and he returned to the factories a number of new airplanes purchased by the American government so that the British could buy them instead. Roosevelt was able to take such steps in part because of a major shift in American public opinion. Before the invasion of France, most Americans had believed that a German victory in Shifting ^ war wou^ not a rhreat to the United Public States. By July, with France defeated and Opinion Britain threatened, more than 66 percent of . the American Public (according to opinion polls) believed that Germany posed a direct threat to the United States. Congress was aware of the change and was becoming more willing to permit expanded American assistance to the Allies. It was also becoming more concerned about the need for internal preparations for war, and in September it approved the Burke-Wadsworth Act, inaugurating the first peacetime military draft in American history.



But while the forces of isolation may have weakened, they were far from dead. A spirited and at times vicious debate began in the spring of 1940 between those activists who advocated expanded American involvement in the war (who were termed, often inaccurately, "interventionists") and those who continued to insist on neutrality. The celebrated journalist William Allen White served as chairman of a new Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies whose members lobbied actively for increased American assistance to the Allies but opposed actual intervention. Other activists went so far as to urge an immediate declaration of war (a position that as yet had little public support) and in April 1941 created an organization of their own, the Fight for Freedom Committee. Opposing them was a powerful new lobby called the America First Committee, which attracted some of America's most prominent leaders. Its chairman was General Robert E. Wood, until recently the president of Sears Roebuck; and its membership included Charles Lindbergh, General Hugh Johnson, Senator Gerald Nye, and Senator Burton Wheeler. It won the editorial support of the Hearst chain and other influential newspapers, and it had at least the indirect support of a large proportion of the Republican Party. (It also, inevitably, attracted a fringe of Nazi sympathizers and anti-Semites.) The debate between the two sides was loud and bitter. Through the summer and fall of 1940, moreover, it was complicated by a presidential campaign. The Third-Term Campaign For many months, the politics of 1940 revolved around the question of Franklin Roosevelt's intentions. Would he break with tradition and run for an unprecedented third term? The president never publicly revealed his own wishes. But by refusing to withdraw from the contest, he made it impossible for any rival Democrat to establish a foothold within the party. Just before the Democratic National Convention in July, he let it be known that he would accept a "draft" from his party. The Democrats quickly renominated him and even reluctantly swallowed his choice for vice president: Agriculture Secretary Henry A. Wallace, a man too liberal for the taste of many party leaders. With Roosevelt effectively straddling the center of the defense debate, favoring neither the extreme isolationists nor the extreme interventionists, the Republicans had few America First Committee



THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921-1941 699 Wendell obvious alternatives. Succumbing to a Willkie remarkable popular movement (carefully orchestrated by, among others. Time and Life magazines), they nominated a dynamic and attractive but politically inexperienced businessman, Wendell Willkie. Willkie took positions little different from Roosevelt's: he would keep the country out of war but would extend generous assistance to the Allies. An appealing figure and a vigorous campaigner, he managed to evoke more public enthusiasm than any Republican candidate in decades. In the end, however, he was no match for Franklin Roosevelt. The election was closer than it had been in either 1932 or 1936, but Roosevelt nevertheless won decisively. He received 55 percent of the popular vote to Willkie's 45 percent, and won 449 electoral votes to Willkie's 82. Neutrality Abandoned In the last weeks of 1940, with the election behind him, Roosevelt began to make subtle but profound changes in the American role in the war. More than aiding Britain, he was moving the United States closer to entering the war. In December 1940, Great Britain was virtually bankrupt. No longer could the British meet the cash-and-carry requirements imposed by the Neutrality Acts; yet England's needs, Churchill insisted, were greater than ever. The president, therefore, suggested a method that would "eliminate the dollar sign" from all arms transactions. The Lend-Lease Bill IJ! I! ( 1 1 1 1 1111 ( 111 1 1 ITI1W1 1 11 I ! I til 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 I I 1 1 1 I 1 1 1 1 I I 1 1 new system was labeled lend-lease. It would allow the government not only to sell but also to lend or lease armaments to any nation deemed "vital to the defense of the United States." In other words, America could funnel weapons to England on the basis of no more than Britain's promise to return or pay for them when the war was over. Isolationists attacked the measure bitterly, arguing (correctly) that it was simply a device to tie the United States more closely to the Allies; but Congress enacted the bill by wide margins. With lend-lease established, Roosevelt soon faced another serious problem: ensuring that the American supplies would actually reach Great Britain. Shipping lanes in the Atlantic had become extremely dangerous; German submarines destroyed as much as a half-million tons of shipping each month. The British navy was losing ships more rapidly than it could replace them and was finding it difficult to transport materials across the Atlantic from America. Secretary of

War Henry Stimson (who had been Hoover's secretary of state and who returned to the cabinet at Roosevelt's request in 1940) argued that the United States should itself convoy vessels to England; but Roosevelt decided to rely instead on the concept of "hemispheric defense," by which the United States navy would defend transport ships only in the western Atlantic-which he argued was a neutral zone and the responsibility of the American nations. By July 1941, American ships were patrolling the ocean as far east as Iceland, escorting convoys of merchant ships, and radioing information to British vessels about the location of Nazi submarines. At first, Germany did little to challenge these obviously hostile American actions. By the fall of 1941, however, events Germany Europe changed its position. German Invades the forces had invaded the Soviet Union in USSR June of that year, shattering the 1939 NaziSoviet pact. The Germans drove quickly and forcefully deep into Russian territory. When the Soviets did not surrender, as many military observers had predicted they would, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to extend lendlease privileges to them-the first step toward creating a new relationship with Stalin that would ultimately lead to a formal Soviet-American alliance. Now American industry was providing crucial assistance to Hitler's foes on two fronts, and the navy was playing a more active role than ever in protecting the flow of goods to Europe. In September, Nazi submarines began a concerted campaign against American vessels. Early that month, a German U-boat fired on the American destroyer Greer (which was radioing the U-boat's position to the British at the time). Roosevelt responded by ordering American ships to fire on German submarines "on sight." In October, Nazi submarines hit two American destroyers and sank one of them, the Reuben James, killing many American sailors. Enraged members of Congress now voted approval of a measure allowing the United States to arm its merchant vessels and to sail all the way into belligerent ports. The United States had, in effect, launched a naval war against Germany. At the same time, a series of meetings, some private and one public, were tying the United States and Great Britain more closely together. In April 1941, senior military officers of the two nations met in secret and agreed on the Joint strategy they would follow if the United States entered the war. In August, Roosevelt met with Churchill aboard a British vessel anchored off the coast of Newfoundland. The president made no military commitments, but

he did join the prime minister in releasing a document that became known as the Atlantic Charter, in which the two nations set out "certain common principles" on which to base "a better future for the world." It was, in only vaguely disguised form, a statement of war aims that called openly for, among other things, "the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny." By the fall of 1941, it seemed only a matter of time before the United States became an official belligerent. Roosevelt remained convinced that public opinion would support a declaration of war only in the event of an actual enemy attack. But an attack seemed certain to come, if not in the Atlantic, then in the Pacific. Atlantic Charter I III 1 1 III 1 1 II III II Mill II III II HIM Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II II The Road to Pearl Harbor Japan took advantage of the crisis that had preoccupied the Soviet Union and the two most powerful colonial powers in

DEBATING THE PAST The Question of Pearl Harbor

^ phrase "Remember Pearl Harbor!" became a rallying cry during World War II— reminding 1 n u Americans of the surprise Japanese attack on the American naval base in Hawaii and arousing the nation to exact revenge. But within a few years of the end of hostilities, some Americans began to challenge the official version of the attack on December 7, 1941, and their charges sparked a debate that has never fully subsided. Was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor unprovoked, and did it come without warning? Or was it part of a deliberate plan by the Roosevelt administration to make the Japanese attack to force a reluctant United States into the war? Most controversial of all, did the administration know of the attack in advance? Did Roosevelt deliberately refrain from warning the commanders in Hawaii so that the air raid's effect on the American public would be more profound? Among the first to challenge the official version of Pearl Harbor was the historian Charles A. Beard, who maintained in *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War* (1948) that the United States had deliberately forced the Japanese into a position whereby they had no choice but to attack. By cutting off Japan's access to the raw materials it needed for its military adventure in China, by stubbornly refusing to compromise, the United States ensured that the Japanese would strike out into the southwest Pacific to take the needed supplies by force— even at the risk of war with the United States. The administration, which had some time before cracked the Japanese code, must have known weeks in advance of Japan's plan to attack— although Beard did not claim that officials knew the attack would come at Pearl Harbor. Beard supported his argument by citing Secretary of War Henry Stimson's comment in his diary: "The question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot." This view has reappeared more recently in Thomas Fleming, *The New Dealers' War* (2001), which also argues that Roosevelt deliberately (and duplicitously) maneuvered the United States into war with Japan. Basil Rauch, in *Roosevelt from Munich to Pearl Harbor* (1950), challenged Beard's thesis. Rauch argued that the administration did not know in advance of the planned attack on Pearl Harbor. It did, however, expect an attack somewhere; and it made subtle efforts to "maneuver" Japan into firing the first shot in the conflict. Richard N. Current, in *Secretary Stimson: A Study in*

Statecraft (1954), offered an even stronger challenge to Beard. Stimson did indeed anticipate an attack, Current argued, but not an attack on American territory; rather, he anticipated an assault on British or Dutch possessions in the Pacific. The problem confronting the administration was how to find a way to make a Japanese attack on British or Dutch territory appear to be an attack on America. Only thus, Stimson believed, could Congress be persuaded to approve a declaration of war. Roberta Wohlstetter, in *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* (1962), the most thorough scholarly study to appear to that point, undertook to answer the question of whether the Roosevelt administration knew of the attack in advance. She concluded that the United States had ample warning of Japanese intentions and should have realized that the Pearl Harbor raid was imminent. But government officials failed to interpret the evidence correctly, largely because their preconceptions about Japanese intentions were at odds with the evidence they confronted. Admiral Edwin T. Layton, who had been a staff officer at Pearl Harbor in 1941, also blamed political and bureaucratic failures for the absence of advance warning of the attack. In a 1985 memoir, *And I Was There*, he argued that the Japanese attack was a result not only of "audacious planning and skillful execution" by Tripartite Asia, Britain and France, to extend its Pact empire in the Pacific. In September 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact, a loose defensive alliance with Germany and Italy that seemed to extend the Axis into Asia. (In reality, the European Axis powers never developed a strong relationship with Japan, and the wars in Europe and the Pacific were largely separate conflicts.) Roosevelt had already displayed his animosity toward Japanese policies by harshly denouncing their assault on China and by terminating a long-standing American commercial treaty with the Tokyo government. Still the Japanese drive continued. In July 1941, imperial troops moved into Indochina and seized the capital of Vietnam, a colony of France. The United States, having broken the Japanese codes, knew that Japan's next target would be the Dutch East Indies; and when Tokyo failed to respond to Roosevelt's stern warnings, the president froze all Japanese assets in the United States and established a complete trade embargo, severely limiting Japan's ability to purchase essential supplies (including oil). American public opinion, shaped by strong anti-Japanese prejudices developed over several decades, generally supported these hostile

actions. Tokyo now faced a choice. Either it would have to repair relations with the United States to restore the flow of supplies, or it would have to find those supplies elsewhere, most notably by seizing British and Dutch possessions in the Pacific. At first the Japanese prime minister, Prince Konoye, seemed willing to compromise. In October, however, militants in Tokyo forced Konoye out of office and replaced him with the leader of the war party. General Hideki Tojo. With Japan's need for new sources of fuel becoming desperate, there now seemed little alternative to war. For several weeks, the Tojo government kept up a pretense of wanting to continue negotiations. On November 20, 1941, 700 •  
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PEARL HARBOR, DECEMBER 7, 1941 At least seven 18-inch aerial torpedoes and two bombs struck the battleship USS West Virginia on that fateful morning. Repair workers discovered 66 bodies of West Virginia crewmembers. After it was restored to fighting condition, the ship reentered the war and participated in the Battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. (© GL Archive/Alamy) the Japanese, but also of "a dramatic breakdown in our intelligence process . . . related directly to feuding among high-level naval officers in Washington." The most thorough study of Pearl Harbor to date is Gordon W. Prange's *At Dawn We Slept* (1981). Like Wohlstetter, Prange concluded that the Roosevelt administration was guilty of a series of disastrous blunders in interpreting Japanese strategy; the American government had possession of enough information to predict the attack, but failed to do so. But Prange dismissed the arguments of the "revisionists" (Beard and his successors) that the president had deliberately maneuvered the nation into the war by permitting the Japanese to attack. Instead, he emphasized the enormous daring and great skill with which the Japanese orchestrated an ambitious operation that few Americans believed possible. The revisionist claims have not been laid to rest. John Toland revived the charges of a Roosevelt betrayal in 1982, in *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, claiming to have discovered new evidence (the testimony of an unidentified seaman) that proves the navy knew at least five days in advance that Japanese aircraft carriers were heading toward Hawaii. From that, Toland concluded that Roosevelt must have known that an attack was forthcoming and that he allowed it to occur in the belief that a surprise attack would arouse popular support for entering the war. But like the many other writers who have made the same argument, Toland was unable to produce any direct evidence of Roosevelt's knowledge of the planned attack.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Some historians have argued that the United States provoked Japan into attacking Pearl Harbor. What is the basis for this argument?
2. Why has this argument regarding the attack on Pearl Harbor persisted?
3. Layton argued that the attack on Pearl Harbor resulted partially from a breakdown in the intelligence process. Other attacks on the United States have been attributed to a breakdown in intelligence. What evidence has been cited to support those claims? What arguments have been used to refute





702 CHAPTER 25 HIDEKI TOJO Tojo was a general of the Imperial Japanese Army and, for most of World War II, the prime minister of Japan. He was directly responsible for the attack on Pearl Harbor, although planning for it had begun before he took office. After the war, Tojo was arrested, convicted of war crimes, and hanged. (© LAPI/Roger-Viollet/The Image Works) no precautions against such an attack and had allowed ships to remain bunched up defenselessly in the harbor and airplanes to remain parked in rows on airstrips. The consequences of the raid were disastrous for America. Within two hours, the United States lost 8 battleships, 3 cruisers, 4 other vessels, 188 airplanes, and several vital shore installations. More than 2,000 soldiers and sailors died, and another 1,000 were injured. The Japanese suffered only light losses. American forces were now greatly diminished in the Pacific (although by a fortunate accident, none of the American aircraft carriers-the heart of the Pacific fleet-had been at Pearl Harbor on December 7). Nevertheless, the raid on Pearl Harbor did virtually overnight what more than two years of effort by Roosevelt and others had been unable to do: it unified the American people in a fervent commitment to war. On December 8, the president traveled to Capitol Hill, where he grimly addressed a joint session of Congress: "Yesterday, December 7, 1941 -a date which will live in infamy-the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by the naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan." Within four hours, the Senate unanimously and the House 388 to 1 (the lone dissenter being Jeannette Rankin of Montana, who had voted against war in 1917 as well) approved a declaration of war against Japan. Three days later, Germany and Italy, Japan's European allies, declared war on the United States; and on the same day, December 11, Congress reciprocated without a dissenting vote. For the second time in twenty-five years, the United States was engaged in a world war. LOOKING BACK American foreign policy in the years after World War I attempted something that ultimately proved impossible. The United States was determined to be a major power in the world, to extend its trade broadly around the globe, and to influence other nations in ways Americans believed would be beneficial to their own, and the world's, interests. But the United States was also determined to do nothing that would limit its own freedom of action. It would not join the League of Nations. It could

not join the World Court. It would not form alliances with other nations. It would operate powerfully-and alone. But ominous forces were at work in the world that would gradually push the United States into greater engagement with other nations. The economic disarray that the Great Depression created all around the world; the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe and Asia; the expansionist ambitions of powerful new leaders-all worked to destroy the uneasy stability of the post-World War I international system. America's own interests, economic and otherwise, were now imperiled. And America's go-it-alone foreign policy seemed powerless to change the course of events. Franklin Roosevelt tried throughout the later years of the 1930s to push the American people slowly into a greater involvement in international affairs. In particular, he tried to nudge the United States toward taking a more forceful stand against dictatorship and aggression. A powerful isolationist movement stymied him for a time, even after war broke out in Europe. Gradually, however, public opinion shifted toward support of the Allies (Britain, France, and eventually Russia) and against the Axis (Germany, Italy, and Japan). The nation began to mobilize for war, to supply ships and munitions to Britain, even to engage in naval combat with German forces in the Atlantic. Finally, on December 7, 1941, a surprise Japanese attack on the American base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii ended the last elements of uncertainty and drove the United States-now united behind the war effort-into the greatest conflict in human history.



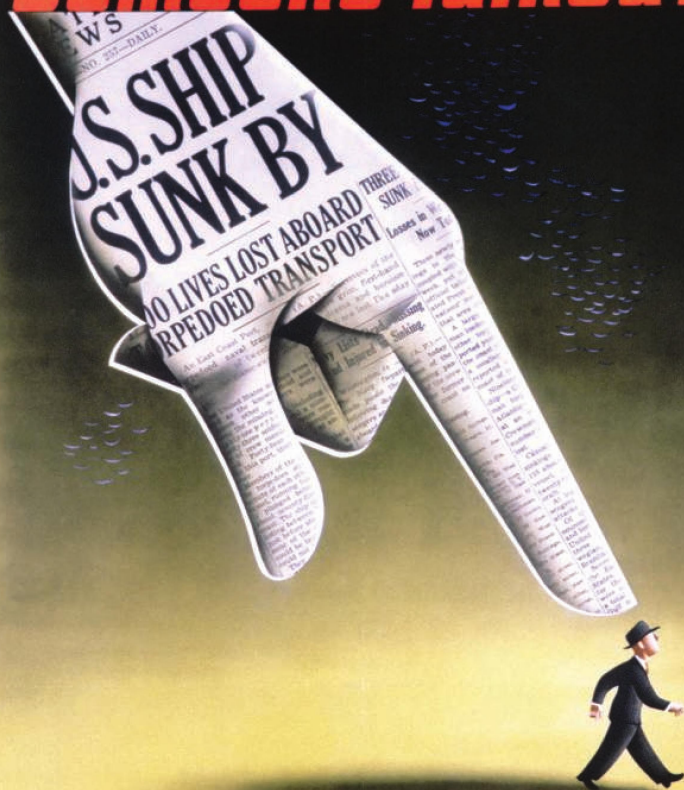
THE GLOBAL CRISIS, 1921-1941 703 Key Terms/People/  
Places/Events Adolf Hitler 689 Appeasement 695 Atlantic Charter  
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SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1921 A © Washington Conference leads to  
reductions in naval armaments - 1924 O Dawes Plan renegotiates  
European debts, reparations 1928 O Kellogg-Briand Pact signed 1.  
What diplomatic efforts and agreements of the 1920s and 1930s  
attempted to deal with the increasing global political crises of the  
era? Why were these efforts unsuccessful? 2. How and why did U.S.  
foreign policy change during the 1920s and 1930s? 3. How did the  
goals of the Neutrality Acts change over the course of the 1930s?  
What was the reason for the change? 4. Why did Japan attack Pearl  
Harbor? ^ 1931 O Japan invades Manchuria 1933 Roosevelt  
proclaims Good Neighbor Policy Adolf Hitler becomes chancellor of  
Germany 1935 Italy invades Ethiopia 1936 ^ O Spanish Civil War  
begins 1938 ^ O Munich Conference w Germany, Italy, Japan sign  
Tripartite Pact America First Committee ^ founded Roosevelt  
reelected president 1937 Roosevelt gives "quarantine" speech 1939  
Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact signed World War II begins 1941  
Japan attacks Pearl Harbor United States declares war on Japan  
Lend-lease plan provides aid to Britain Germany invades Soviet  
Union Atlantic Charter signed Germany declares war on United  
States United States declares war on Germany

This World War II poster, created by the graphic artist Henry Koerner, was one of many stern reminders to Americans from the government of the dangers of disclosing military secrets. In particular, wartime leaders were worried about soldiers and their families talking loosely about troop and ship locations (hence the title of another such poster: "Loose Lips Sink Ships"). (© K. J. Historical/Corbis) LOOKING AHEAD

1. What was the impact of the war on the U.S. economy? 2. How was the military experience of the United States in World War II different for Europe and the Pacific? 3. How did the war affect life on the home front, especially for women, organized labor, and minorities?



# Someone Talked!



WINNER R. HOE & CO., INC. AWARD - NATIONAL WAR POSTER COMPETITION  
HELD UNDER AUSPICES OF ARTISTS FOR VICTORY, INC. - COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY - MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

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SETTING THE STAGE THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR THRUST THE UNITED STATES into the greatest and most terrible war in the history of humanity, a war that transformed America's relationship to the rest of the world and changed the world as profoundly as any event of the twentieth century, perhaps of any century. The war also changed America at home in profound, if not always readily visible, ways. As the poet Archibald MacLeish said in 1943: "The great majority of the American people understand very well that this war is not a war only, but an end and a beginning—an end to things known and a beginning of things unknown. We have smelled the wind in the streets that changes weather. We know that whatever the world will be when the war ends, the world will be different." The story of American involvement in the war is not just the story of how the military forces and the industrial might of the United States helped defeat Germany, Italy, and Japan. It is also the story of the creation of a new world, both abroad and at home.

WAR ON TWO FRONTS Whatever political disagreements and social tensions may have existed among the American people during World War II, there was striking unity of opinion about the conflict itself—"a unity" as one member of Congress proclaimed shortly after Pearl Harbor, "never before witnessed in this country." America's unity and confidence were severely tested in the first, America's most troubled months of 1942. Despite the impressive display of patriotism and the dramatic flurry of activity, the war was going very badly. Britain appeared ready to collapse. The Soviet Union was staggering. One after another. Allied strongholds in the Pacific were falling to the forces of Japan. The first task facing the United States, therefore, was less to achieve victory than to stave off defeat. Containing the Japanese Ten hours after the strike at Pearl Harbor, Japanese airplanes attacked the American airfields at Manila in the Philippines, destroying much of America's remaining air power in the Pacific. Three days later Guam, an American possession, fell to Japan; then Wake Island and the British colony Hong Kong. The great British fortress of Singapore surrendered in February 1942, the Dutch East Indies in March, Burma in April. In the Philippines, exhausted Filipino and American troops gave up their defense of the islands on May 6. American strategists planned two broad offensives to turn the tide against the Japanese. One, under the command of General Douglas

MacArthur, would move north from Australia, through New Guinea, and eventually back to the Philippines. The other, under Admiral Chester Nimitz, would move west from Hawaii toward major Japanese island outposts in the central Pacific. Ultimately, the two offensives would come together to invade Japan itself. The Allies achieved their first important victory in the Battle of Coral Sea, just northwest of Australia, on May 7-8, 1942, when American forces turned back the previously unstoppable Midway Japanese fleet. A month later, there was an even more important turning point . northwest of Hawaii. An enormous battle raged for four days, June 3-6, 1942, near the small American outpost at Midway Island, at the end of which the United States, despite great losses, was clearly victorious. The American navy destroyed four Japanese aircraft carriers while losing only one, and regained control of the central Pacific for the United States. The Americans took the offensive for the first time several months later in the southern Solomon Islands, to the east of New Guinea. In August 1942, American forces assaulted three of Guadalcanal the islands: Gavutu, Tulagi, and Guadalcanal. A ferocious struggle (with, before . it was over, terrible savagery) developed at Guadalcanal and continued for six months, inflicting heavy losses on both sides. In the end, however, the Japanese were forced to abandon the island-and with it their last chance of launching an effective offensive to the south. 705

706 CHAPTER 26 Thus, in both the southern and central Pacific, the initiative had shifted to the United States by mid- 1943. The Japanese advance had come to a stop. With aid from Australians and New Zealanders, the Americans now began the slow, arduous process of moving toward the Philippines and toward Japan itself. Holding Off the Germans In the European war, the United States had less control over military operations. It was fighting in cooperation with Britain and with the exiled "Free French" forces in the west; and it was trying also to conciliate its new ally, the Soviet Union, which was fighting Hitler in the east. The army chief of staff. General George C. Marshall, supported a plan for a major Allied invasion of France across the English Channel in the spring of 1943. But the American plan faced challenges from the Allies. The Soviet Union, which was absorbing (as it would throughout the war) the brunt of the German effort, wanted the Allied invasion to proceed at the earliest possible moment. The British, on the other hand, wanted first to launch a series of Allied offensives around the edges of the Nazi empire-in Sakhalin Island Kiskai MONGOLIA MANCHURIA] Harbin\* { Vladivost< TIBET Chungking Bangk< MALAYA J V \ Singapore \* / ^Borneo ^ Borneo May4@y^945j£ , % X: D U I T C H EAST INDIES ^■r VI, \* wi . Java Se B < February-March 1942 t # SOVIET UNION INDIAN (Br.) \*Tokyo .Nanking ^ \*1 Hiroshima August 6, 1945 [U/Shanghai^ Na9asaki Au9ust 9- 1945 i/l Okinawa Formosa April-June 1945 Iwo Jima p .^February-March 1945 Hong X \ \ Mariana Wake Island Konc^ \ Islands December 23, 1941. T w \ Tinian PHILIPPINES N. Vjuly24,1944 Eniwetok Midway \ A June 3-6,1942 1 t Pearl Harbor December 7, — ^1941 Mn FRENCH ( PHILIPPINES X INDOCHINA •ManLeyte Gulf - cmweioK i \ October 23-26, 1944^^ Guam February 17, 1944 \ \*Saiaon / ^sj| ' ^ July 21, 1944 > Kwajalein\ . \ Y Caroline Islands Marsh^



AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR 707 northern Africa and southern Europe-before undertaking the major invasion of France. Roosevelt realized that to support the British plan would antagonize the Soviets and might delay the important crosschannel invasion. But he also knew that the invasion of Europe would take a long time to prepare, and he was reluctant to wait so long before getting American forces into combat. And so, over the objections of some of his most important advisers, he decided to support the British plan. At the end of October 1942, the British opened a counteroffensive against Nazi forces in North Africa under General Erwin Rommel, who was threatening the Suez Canal at El Alamein, and forced the Germans to retreat from Egypt. On November 8, Anglo-American forces landed at Oran and Algiers in Algeria and at Casablanca in Morocco-areas under the Nazi-controlled French government at Vichy-and began moving east toward Rommel. The Germans threw the full weight of their forces in Africa against the inexperienced Americans and inflicted a serious defeat on them at the Kasserine Pass in Tunisia. General George S. Patton, however, regrouped the American troops and began an effective counteroffensive. With the help of Allied air and naval power and of British forces attacking from the east under General Bernard Montgomery (the hero of El Alamein), the American offensive finally drove the last Germans from Africa in May 1943. The North Africa campaign had tied up a large proportion of the Allied resources and contributed to the postponement of the planned May 1943 cross-channel invasion of France. That produced angry complaints from the Soviet Union. By now, however, the threat of a Soviet collapse seemed much diminished, for during the winter of 1942-1943 Stalingrad the Red Army had successfully held off a major German assault at Stalingrad in southern Russia. Hitler had committed such enormous forces to the battle, and had suffered such appalling losses, that he could not continue his eastern offensive. The Soviet victory had come at a horrible cost. The German siege of Stalingrad had decimated the civilian population of the city and devastated the surrounding countryside. Indeed, throughout the war, the Soviet Union absorbed losses far greater than any other warring nation (up to 20 million casualties)-a fact that continued to haunt the Russian memory and affect Soviet policy generations later. But the Soviet success in beating back the German offensive persuaded Roosevelt

to agree, in a January 1943 meeting with Churchill in Casablanca, to an Allied invasion of Sicily. General Marshall opposed the plan, arguing that it would further delay the vital invasion of France. But Churchill prevailed with the argument that the operation in Sicily might knock Italy out of the war and tie up German divisions that might otherwise be stationed in France. On the night of July 9, 1943, American and British armies landed in southeast Sicily; thirty-eight days later they had conquered the island and were moving onto the Italian mainland. In the face of these setbacks, Mussolini's government collapsed and the deposed dictator fled north to Germany. Mussolini's successor, Pietro Badoglio, quickly committed Italy to the Allies, but Germany moved eight divisions into the country and established a powerful defensive line south of Rome. The Allied offensive on the Italian peninsula, which began on September 3, 1943, soon bogged down, especially after a serious setback at Monte Cassino that winter. Not until May 1944 did the Allies resume their northward advance. On June 4, 1944, they captured Rome.

AUSCHWITZ, DECEMBER 1944 This photograph, taken near the end of World War II, shows a group of imprisoned children behind a barbed wire fence in one of the most notorious Nazi concentration camps. By the time this picture was taken, the Nazis had been driven out of Auschwitz and were under the control of Allied soldiers. (© Keystone/Getty Images)





708 CHAPTER 26 The invasion of Italy contributed to the Allied war effort in several important ways. But it postponed the invasion of France by as much as a year, deeply embittering the Soviet Union, many of whose leaders believed that the Dispute over the Second the United States and Britain were deliberately delaying the cross-channel invasion in order to allow the Russians to absorb the brunt of the fighting. The postponement also gave the Soviets time to begin moving toward the countries of eastern Europe. America and the Holocaust In dealing with the global crisis, the leaders of the American government were confronted with one of history's great horrors: the Nazi campaign to exterminate the Jews of Europe-the Holocaust. As early as 1942, high officials in Washington had incontrovertible evidence that Hitler's forces were rounding up Jews and others (including non-Jewish Poles, gypsies, homosexuals, and communists) from all over Europe, transporting them to concentration camps in eastern Germany and Poland, and systematically murdering them, often in factory-like gas chambers. (The death toll would ultimately reach 6 million Jews and approximately 4 million others.) News of the atrocities was reaching the public as well, and public pressure began to build for an Allied effort to end the killing or at least to rescue some of the surviving Jews. The American government consistently resisted almost all such entreaties. Although Allied bombers were flying missions within a few miles of the most notorious death camp at Auschwitz in Poland, pleas that the planes try to destroy the crematoria at the camp were rejected as militarily unfeasible. So were similar requests that the Allies try to destroy railroad lines leading to the camps. The United States also resisted entreaties that it admit large numbers of the Jewish refugees attempting to escape Europe-a pattern established well before Pearl Harbor. One ship, the German passenger liner St. Louis, had arrived off Miami in 1939 (after having already been turned away from Havana, Cuba) carrying nearly 1,000 escaped German Jews, only to be refused entry and forced to return to Europe. Both before and during WORLD WAR II IN NORTH AFRICA AND ITALY: THE ALLIED COUNTEROFFENSIVE, 1942-1943 The United States and Great Britain understood from the beginning that an invasion of France across the English Channel would eventually be necessary for a victory in the European war. In the meantime, however, they began

a campaign against Axis forces in North Africa, and in the spring of 1943 they began an invasion across the Mediterranean into Italy. This map shows the points along the coast of North Africa where Allied forces landed in 1942— with American forces moving east from Morocco and Algeria, and British forces moving west from Egypt. The two armies met in Tunisia and moved into Italy from there. Why were America and Britain reluctant to launch the cross-channel invasion in 1942 or 1943?



AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR 709 the war, the State Department did not even use up the number Official of visas permitted by law; almost 90 per cent of the quota remained untouched. This disgraceful record was not a result of inadvertence. There was a deliberate effort by officials in the State Department-spearheaded by Assistant Secretary Breckinridge Long, a genteel anti-Semite-to prevent Jews from entering the United States in large numbers. One opportunity after another to assist imperiled Jews was either ignored or rejected. After 1941, there was probably little American leaders could have done, other than defeat Germany, to save most of Hitler's victims. But more forceful action by the United States (and Britain, which was even less amenable than America to Jewish requests for assistance) might well have saved some lives. Policymakers at the time justified their inaction by arguing that most of the proposed actions-bombing the railroads and the death camps, for example-would have had little effect. They insisted that the most effective thing they could do for the victims of the Holocaust was to concentrate their attention solely on the larger goal of winning the war.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN WARTIME "War is no longer simply a battle between armed forces in the field," an American government report of 1939 concluded. It is a struggle in which each side strives to bring to bear against the enemy the coordinated power of every individual and of every material resource at its command. The conflict extends from the soldier in the front line to the citizen in the remotest hamlet in the rear." The United States had experienced wars before. But not since the Civil War had the nation undergone so consuming a military experience as World War II. American armed forces engaged in combat around the globe for nearly four years. American society, in the meantime, underwent changes that reached into virtually every corner of the nation. Prosperity World War II had its most profound impact on American domestic life by at last ending the Great Depression. By the middle of 1941, the economic problems of the 1930s-unemployment, deflation. Recovery industrial sluggishness-had virtually vanished before the great wave of wartime industrial expansion. The most important agent of the new prosperity was federal spending, which after 1939 was pumping more money into the economy each year than all the New Deal relief agencies combined had done. In 1939,

the federal budget had been \$9 billion, the highest level it had ever reached in peacetime; by 1945, it had risen to \$100 billion. Largely as a result, the gross national product soared: from \$91 billion in 1939 to \$166 billion in 1945. Personal incomes in some areas grew by as much as 100 percent or more. The demands of wartime production created a shortage of consumer goods, so many wage earners diverted much of their new affluence into savings, which would help keep the economic boom alive in the postwar years.

**THE ST. LOUIS** The fate of the German liner *St. Louis* has become a powerful symbol of the indifference of the United States and other nations to the fate of European Jews during the Holocaust, even though its forlorn journey preceded both the beginning of World War II and the beginning of systematic extermination of Jews by the Nazi regime. The *St. Louis* carried a group of over 900 Jews fleeing from Germany in 1939, carrying exit visas of dubious legality cynically sold to them by members of Hitler's Gestapo. It became a ship without a port as it sailed from country to country—Mexico, Paraguay, Argentina, Costa Rica, and Cuba— where its passengers were refused entry time and again. Most of the passengers were hoping for a haven in the United States, but the U.S. State Department refused to allow the ship even to dock as it sailed up the American eastern seaboard. Eventually, the *St. Louis* returned to Europe and distributed its passengers among Britain, France, Holland, and Belgium (where this photograph was taken showing refugees smiling and waving as they prepare to disembark in Antwerp in June 1939). Less than a year later, all those nations except Britain fell under Nazi control. (© Bettmann/Corbis)





MAKE CONNECTIONS 1. What cartooning techniques are used in the Szyk cartoon to depict the enemy? How effective are they? 2. What is the message in the cartoon below about Osama Bin Laden and September 11? How do the images in the cartoon support or enhance that message? 3. What differences do you detect between the World War II cartoons and the Osama Bin Laden cartoon? What similarities are apparent? ARTHUR SZYK, COLLIER'S COVER, DECEMBER 12, 1942 (Private Collection/ Peter Newark Military Pictures/Bridgeman Art Library International/© Estate of Arthur Szyk) WAR ON TERROR— 2005 OSAMA GRINCH LADEN The Grinch hated the Whos! And the more the Grinch thought of the Whos' growing influence The more the Grinch thought, "I must stop this whole nuisance!" Then he got an idea! An awful idea! I'll murder a bunch of Whos on September Eleven, Wait a few years then slaughter more on July Seven! "Pooh-pooh to the Whos!" he was grinch-ish-ly humming. They're finding out now that no security is coming! They're just waking up! I know just what they'll do! Their mouths will hang open a minute or two Then all the Whos will cry BOO-HOO!" So he paused. And the Grinch put a hand to his ear. And he did hear a sound rising over the snow. It started in low. Then it started to grow... But the sound wasn't entirely sad! Why, this sound sounded hopeful (albeit a bit mad)! It couldn't be so! The Whos were determined to carry on as they had! OSAMA GRINCH LADEN (Karl Wimer Financial Cartoon used with the permission of Karl Wimer and the Cartoonist Group. All rights reserved.) 711  
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# Collier's

DECEMBER 12, 1942

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IF THE EDITIONS OF THIS PUBLICATION ARE NOT AVAILABLE AT THE TIME OF THE SALE, THE EDITIONS OF THE PUBLICATION WILL BE AVAILABLE AT THE TIME OF THE SALE.



DECEMBER 7, 1941



712 CHAPTER 26 The War and the West The impact of government spending was perhaps most dramatic in the West, which had long relied on federal largesse more than other regions. The West Coast, naturally, became the launching point for most of the naval war against Japan; and the government created large manufacturing facilities in California and elsewhere to serve the needs of its military. Altogether, the government made almost \$40 billion worth of capital investments (factories, military and transportation facilities, highways, power plants) in the West during the war, more than in any other region. Ten percent of all the money the federal government spent between 1940 and 1945 went to California. Other western states also shared disproportionately in war contracts and government-funded capital investments. By the end of the war, the economy of the Pacific Coast and, to a lesser extent, other areas of the West had been transformed. The Pacific Coast had become the center of the growing American aircraft industry. New yards in southern California, Washington State, and elsewhere made the West a center of the shipbuilding industry. Los Angeles, formerly a medium-sized city notable chiefly for its film industry, now became a major industrial center as well. Once a lightly industrialized region, parts of the West were now among the most important manufacturing areas in the country. Once a region without adequate facilities to support substantial economic growth, the West now stood poised to become the fastest-growing region in the nation after the war. Labor and the War Instead of the prolonged and debilitating unemployment that had been the most troubling feature of the Depression economy, the war created a serious labor shortage. The armed forces took more than 15 million men and women out of the civilian workforce at the same time that the demand for labor was rising rapidly. Nevertheless, the civilian workforce increased by almost 20 percent during the war. The 7 million people who had previously been unemployed accounted for some of the increase; the employment of many people previously considered inappropriate for the workforce—the very young, the elderly, and, most important, several million women—accounted for the rest. The war gave an enormous boost to union membership, which rose from about 10.5 million members in 1941 to more than 15 million in 1945. But it also created important new restrictions on the ability of unions to fight for their members'

demands. The government was principally interested in preventing inflation and in keeping production moving without disruption. It managed to win important concessions from union leaders on both scores. One was the so-called Little Steel formula, which set a 15 percent limit on wartime wage increases. Another was the "no-strike" pledge, by which unions agreed not to stop production in wartime. In return, the government provided labor with a "maintenance-of-membership" agreement, which insisted that the thousands of new workers pouring into unionized defense plants would be automatically enrolled in the unions. The agreement ensured the continued health of the union organizations, but in return workers had to give up the right to demand major economic gains during the war. Many rank-and-file union members, and some local union leaders, resented the restrictions imposed on them by the government and the labor movement hierarchy. Despite the no-strike pledge, there were nearly 15,000 work stoppages during the war, mostly wildcat strikes (strikes unauthorized by the union leadership). When the United Mine Workers defied the government by striking in May 1943, Congress reacted by passing, over Roosevelt's veto, the Smith-Connally Act (or the War Labor Disputes Act), which required unions to wait thirty days before striking and empowered the president to seize a struck war plant. In the meantime, public animosity toward labor rose rapidly, and many states passed laws to limit union power. Stabilizing the Boom Office of Price Administration

The fear of deflation, the central concern of the 1930s, gave way during the war to a fear of inflation, particularly after prices rose 25 percent in the two years before the attack on Pearl Harbor. In October 1942, Congress grudgingly responded to the president's request and passed the AntiInflation Act, which gave the administration authority to freeze agricultural prices, wages, salaries, and rents throughout the country. Enforcement of these provisions was the task of the Office of Price Administration (OPA), led first by Leon Henderson and then by Chester Bowles. In part because of its success, inflation was a much less serious problem during World War II than it had been during World War I. Even so, the OPA was never popular. There was widespread resentment of its controls over wages and prices. And there was only grudging acquiescence in its complicated system of rationing scarce consumer goods:

coffee, sugar, meat, butter, canned goods, shoes, tires, gasoline, and fuel oil. Blackmarketing and overcharging grew to proportions far beyond OPA policing capacity. From 1941 to 1945, the federal government spent a total of \$321 billion-twice as much as it had spent in the entire 150 years of its existence to that point, and ten times as much as the cost of World War I. The national debt rose from \$49 billion in 1941 to \$259 billion in 1945. The government borrowed about half the revenues it needed by selling \$100 billion worth of bonds-some sold to ordinary citizens, but most to financial institutions. Much of the rest it raised by radically increasing income taxes through the Revenue Act of 1942, which established a 94 percent rate for the highest brackets and, for the first time, imposed taxes on the lowest-income families as well. To simplify collection. Congress enacted a withholding system of payroll deductions in 1943.

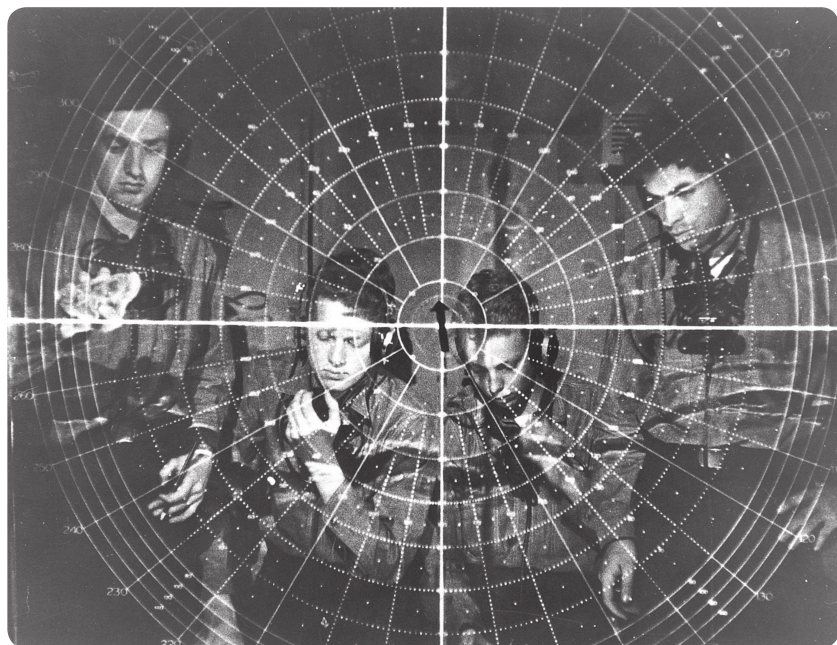
## AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR 713 Mobilizing

Production The search for an effective mechanism to mobilize the economy for war began as early as 1939 and continued for nearly four years. One failed agency after another attempted to bring order to the mobilization effort. Finally, in War Production January 1942, the president responded to Board widespread criticism by creating the War . Production Board (WPB), under the direction of former Sears Roebuck executive Donald Nelson. In theory, the WPB was to be a "superagency," with broad powers over the economy. In fact, it never had as much authority as its World War I equivalent, the War Industries Board. And the genial Donald Nelson never displayed the administrative or political strength of his 1918 counterpart, Bernard Baruch. The WPB was never able to win control over military purchases; the army and navy often circumvented the board entirely in negotiating contracts with producers. It was never able to satisfy the complaints of small business, which charged (correctly) that most contracts were going to large corporations. Gradually, the president transferred much of the WPB's authority to a new office located within the White House: the Office of War Mobilization, directed by former Supreme Court justice and South Carolina senator James F. Byrnes. But the OWM was only slightly more successful than the WPB. Despite the administrative problems, the war economy managed to meet almost all the nation's critical war needs. Enormous new factory complexes sprang up in the space of a few months, many of them funded by the federal government's Defense Plants Corporation. An entire new industry producing synthetic rubber emerged, to make up for the loss of access to natural rubber in the Pacific. By the beginning of 1944, American factories were, in fact, producing more of most goods than the government needed. Their output was twice that of all the Axis countries combined. There were even complaints late in the war from some officials that military production was becoming excessive, that a limited resumption of civilian production should begin before the fighting ended. The military staunchly and successfully opposed almost all such demands. Wartime Science and Technology National Defense Research Committee  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii More than any previous American war. World War II was a watershed for technological and scientific innovation. That was partly because the

American government poured substantial funds into research and development beginning in 1940. In that year the government created the National Defense Research Committee, headed by the MIT scientist Vannevar Bush, who had been a pioneer in the early development of the computer. By the end of the war, the new agency had spent more than \$100 million on research, more than four times the amount spent by the government on military research and development in the previous forty years. In the first years of the war, all the technological advantages seemed to lie with the Germans and Japanese. Germany had made great advances in tanks and other mechanized armor in the 1930s, particularly during the Spanish Civil War, when it had helped arm Franco's fascist forces. It used its armor effectively during its blitzkrieg in Europe in 1940 and again in North Africa in 1942. German submarine technology was significantly advanced compared to British and American capabilities in 1940, and German U-boats were, for a time, devastatingly effective in disrupting Allied shipping. Japan had developed extraordinary capacity in its naval-air technology. Its highly sophisticated fighter planes, launched from distant aircraft carriers, conducted the successful raid on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. But Britain and America had advantages of their own, which quickly helped redress these imbalances. American techniques of mass production-the great automotive assembly lines in particular-were converted efficiently to military production in 1941 and 1942 and soon began producing airplanes, ships, tanks, and other armaments in much greater numbers than the Germans and Japanese could produce. Allied scientists and engineers moved quickly as well to improve Anglo-American aviation and naval technology, particularly to improve the performance of submarines and tanks. By late 1942, Allied weaponry was at least as advanced as that of the enemy. In addition, each technological innovation by the enemy produced a corresponding innovation to limit the damage of the new techniques. American and British physicists made rapid advances in improving radar and sonar technology taking advantage of advances in radio technology in the 1920s Radar and beyond-which helped Allied naval Sonar forces decimate German U-boats in 1943 . and effectively end their effectiveness in the naval war. Particularly important was the creation in 1940 of "centimetric radar," which used narrow beams of short wavelength that made

radar more efficient and effective than ever before-as the British navy discovered in April 1941 when the instruments on one of its ships detected a surfaced submarine ten miles away at night and, on another occasion, spotted a periscope at three-quarters of a mile range. With earlier technologies, the sub and periscope would have been undetectable. This new radar could also be effectively miniaturized, which was critical to its use on airplanes and submarines in particular. It required only a small rotating aerial, and it used newly advanced cavity magnetron valves of great power. These innovations put the Allies far in advance of Germany and Japan in radar and sonar technology. The Allies also learned early how to detect and disable German naval mines; and when the Germans tried to counter this progress by introducing an "acoustic" mine, which detonated when a ship came near it, not necessarily just on contact, the Allies developed acoustical countermeasures of their own, which transmitted sounds through the water to detonate mines before ships came near them. Anglo-American anti-aircraft technology-both on land and on sea-also improved, although never to the point where it

714 CHAPTER 26 RADAR SCOPE, 1944 Navy technicians are shown here demonstrating the new radar scopes that revolutionized the tracking of ships and planes during World War II. (National Archives and Records Administration) could stop bombing raids. Germany made substantial advances in the development of rocket technology in the early years of the war, and it managed to launch some rocket-propelled bombs (the V1s and V2s) across the English Channel, aimed at London. The psychological effects of the rockets on the British people were considerable. But the Germans were never able to create a production technology capable of building enough such rockets to make a real difference in the balance of military power. Beginning in 1942, British and American forces seized the advantage in the air war by producing new and powerful four-engine bombers in great numbers—among them the British Lancaster B1 and the American Boeing B17F, capable of flying a bomb load of 6,000 pounds for 1,300 miles, and capable of reaching 37,500 feet. Because they were able to fly higher and longer than the German equivalents, they were able to conduct extensive bombing missions over Germany (and later Japan) with much less danger of being shot down. But the success of the bombers rested heavily as well on new electronic devices capable of guiding their bombs to their targets. The Gee navigation system, which was also valuable to the navy, used electronic pulses to help pilots plot their exact location—something that in the past only a highly skilled navigator could do, and then only in good weather. In March 1942, eighty Allied bombers fitted with Gee systems staged a devastatingly effective bombing raid on German industrial and military installations in the Ruhr Valley. Studies showed that the Gee system doubled the accuracy rate of night bombing raids. Also effective was the Oboe system, a radio device that sent a sonic message to airplanes to tell them when they were within twenty yards of their targets, first introduced in December 1942. The area in which the Allies had perhaps the greatest advantages in technology and knowledge was the gathering of intelligence, much of it through Britain's top-secret Ultra project. Some of





AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR • 715 the advantages the Allies enjoyed came from successful efforts to capture or steal German and Japanese intelligence devices. More important, however, were the efforts of cryptologists to puzzle out the enemy's systems, and advances in computer technology that helped the Allies decipher coded messages sent by the Japanese and the Germans. Much of Germany's coded communication made use of the so-called Enigma machine, which was effective because it constantly changed the coding systems it used. In the first months of the war, Polish intelligence had developed an electro-mechanical computer, which it called the "Bombe," that could decipher some Enigma messages. After the fall of Poland, British scientists, led by the brilliant computer pioneer Alan Turing, took the Bombe, which was too slow to keep up with the increasingly frequent changes of coding the Germans were using, and greatly improved it. On April 15, 1940, the new, improved, high-speed Bombe broke the coding of a series of German messages within hours (not days, as had previously been the case). A few weeks later, it began decrypting German messages at the rate of 1,000 a day, providing the British (and later the Americans) with a constant flow of information about enemy operations that continued unknown to the Germans-until the end of the war. Later in the war, British scientists working for the intelligence services built the first real programmable, digital computer-the Colossus II, which became operational less than a week before the beginning of the Normandy invasion. It was able to decipher an enormous number of intercepted German messages almost instantly. The United States also had some important intelligence breakthroughs, including, in 1941, a dramatic success by the Magic American Magic operation (the counterpart . to the British Ultra) in breaking a Japanese coding system not unlike the German Enigma, a mechanical device known to the Allies as Purple. The result was that Americans had access to intercepted information that, if properly interpreted, could have alerted them to the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. But because such a raid had seemed entirely inconceivable to most American officials prior to its occurrence, those who received the information failed to understand or disseminate it in time. African Americans and the War During World War I, many African Americans had eagerly seized the chance to serve in the armed forces, believing

that their patriotic efforts would win them an enhanced position in postwar society. They had been cruelly disappointed. As World War II approached, blacks were again determined to use the conflict to improve their position in society-this time, however, not by currying favor but by making demands. In the summer of 1941, A. Philip Randolph, president of the predominantly black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, began to insist that the government require companies receiving defense contracts to integrate their workforces. To mobilize support for the demand, Randolph planned a massive march on Washington, which would, he promised, bring more than 100,000 demonstrators to the capital. Roosevelt was afraid of both the possibility of violence and the certainty of political embarrassment. He finally persuaded Randolph to cancel the march in return for a promise to FEPC establish a Fair Employment Practices . Commission (FEPC) to investigate discrimination in war industries. The FEPC's enforcement powers, and thus its effectiveness, were limited, but its creation was a rare symbolic victory for African Americans making demands of the government. The demand for labor in war plants greatly increased the migration of blacks from the rural areas of the South into industrial cities-a migration that continued for more than a decade after the war and brought many more African Americans into northern cities than the Great Migration of 1914-1919 had done. The migration bettered the economic condition of many African Americans, but it also created urban tensions. On a hot June day in Detroit in 1943, a series of altercations between blacks and whites at a city park led to two days of racial violence in which thirty-four people died, twenty-five of them African Americans. Despite such tensions, the leading black organizations redoubled their efforts during the war to challenge the system CORE of seRe&ati°n- ^e Congress of Racial I Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Hill II III II Mill II Equality (CORE), organized in 1942, mobilized mass popular resistance to discrimination in a way that the older, more conservative organizations had never done. Randolph, Bayard Rustin, James Farmer, and other, younger black leaders helped organize sit-ins and demonstrations in segregated theaters and restaurants. In 1944, CORE won a much-publicized victory by forcing a Washington, D.C., restaurant to agree to serve African Americans. CORE'S defiant spirit would survive into the 1950s and help produce the civil rights movement. Pressure for change was also growing within

the military. At first, the armed forces maintained their traditional practice of limiting blacks to the most menial assignments, keeping them in segregated training camps and units, and barring them entirely from the Marine Corps and the Army Air Forces. Gradually, however, military leaders were forced to make adjustments-in part because of public and political pressures, but also because they recognized that these forms of segregation were wasting manpower. By the end of the war, the number of black servicemen had increased sevenfold, to 700,000; some training camps were being at least partially integrated; African Americans were beginning to serve on ships with white sailors; and more black units were being sent into combat than at the beginning of the war. But tensions remained. In some of the partially integrated army bases-Fort Dix, New Jersey, for example-riots occasionally broke out when African Americans protested having to serve in segregated divisions. Substantial discrimination survived in all the services until well after the war. But within the military, as within the society at large, the traditional pattern of race relations was slowly eroding.

## 716 CHAPTER 26 Native Americans and the War

Approximately 25,000 Native Americans performed military service during World War II. Many of them served in combat (among them Ira Hayes, one of the men who memorably raised "Code- the American Aag at Iwo Jima)- Others Talkers" worked as "code-talkers," working in military communications and speaking their own languages (which enemy forces would be unlikely to understand) over the radio and the telephones. The war had important effects, too, on those Native Americans who remained civilians. Little war work reached the tribes, and government subsidies dwindled. Many talented young people left the reservations, some to serve in the military, others (more than 70,000) to work in war plants. This brought many Indians into close contact with white society for the first time and awakened in some of them a taste for the material benefits of life in capitalist America that they would retain after the war. Some never returned to the reservations, but chose to remain in the non-Indian world and assimilate to its ways. Others found that after the war, employment opportunities that had been available to them during the fighting became unavailable once again, drawing them back to the reservations. The wartime emphasis on national unity undermined support for the revitalization of tribal autonomy that the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 had launched. New pressures emerged to eliminate the reservation system and require the tribes to assimilate into white society-pressures so severe that John Collier, the director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs who had done so much to promote the reinvigoration of the reservations, resigned in 1945. Mexican American War Workers Large numbers of Mexican workers entered the United States during the war in response to labor shortages on the Pacific Coast, in the Southwest, and eventually in almost all areas of the nation. The American and Mexican governments agreed in 1942 to a program by which braceros (contract laborers) would be admitted to the United States for a limited time to work at specific jobs, and American employers in some parts of the Southwest began actively recruiting Mexican American workers. During the Depression, many Mexican American farmworkers had been deported to make room for unemployed \_ white workers. The wartime labor shortage Employment . . . . . Gains for age cause(a ^arm owners to begin hiring Mexican Mexican

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AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR • 717 likely to be married and older than most women who had entered the workforce in the past. Many women entered the industrial workforce to replace male workers serving in the military. But while economic and military necessity eroded some of the popular objections to women in the workplace, obstacles remained. Many factory owners continued to categorize jobs by gender. (Female work, like male work, was also categorized by race: black women were usually assigned more menial tasks, and paid at a lower rate, than their white counterparts.) Employers also made substantial investments in automated assembly lines to reduce the need for heavy labor. Special recruiting materials for women made domestic analogies. Cutting airplane wings was compared to making a dress pattern, mixing chemicals to making a cake. Still, women did make important inroads in industrial employment during the war. Women had been working in industry for over a century, but some began now to take on heavy industrial jobs that had long been considered "men's work." The famous wartime image of Riveter "Rosie the Riveter" symbolized the new importance of the female industrial workforce. Women workers joined unions in substantial numbers, and they helped erode at least some of the prejudice, including the prejudice against working mothers, that had previously kept many of them from paid employment. Most women workers during the war were employed not in factories but in service-sector jobs. Above all, they worked for the government, whose bureaucratic needs expanded dramatically alongside its military and industrial needs. Washington, D.C., in particular, was flooded with young female clerks, secretaries, and typists-known as "government girls"-most of whom lived in cramped quarters in boardinghouses, private homes, and government dormitories and worked long hours in the war agencies. Public and private clerical employment for women expanded in other urban areas as well, creating high concentrations of young women in places largely depleted of young men. Even within the military, which enlisted substantial numbers of women as WACs (army) and WAVEs (navy), most female work was clerical. The new opportunities produced new problems. Many mothers whose husbands were in the military had to combine working with caring for their children. The scarcity of child-care facilities or other community services meant that

some women had no choice but to leave young children—often known as "latchkey children" or "eight-hour orphans"—at home alone (or sometimes locked in cars in factory parking lots) while they worked. Perhaps in part because of the family dislocations the war produced, juvenile crime rose markedly in the war years. Young boys were arrested at rapidly increasing rates for car theft and burglary, vandalism, and vagrancy. The arrest rate for prostitutes, many of whom were teenage girls, rose too, as did the incidence of sexually transmitted disease. For many children, however, the distinctive experience of the war years was not crime but work. More than a third of all teenagers between the ages of fourteen and eighteen were employed late in the war, causing some reduction in high-school enrollments. The return of prosperity during the war helped increase the rate and lower the age of marriage after the Depression decline, „ but many of these young marriages were Beginning of . . . r the "Baby unable to survive the pressures of wartime Boom" separation. The divorce rate rose rapidly. The rise in the birth rate that accompanied the increase in marriages was the first sign of what would become the great postwar "baby boom." «.

t. aimt omciM rotfii SOLDIERS WOMEN AT WAR Many American women enlisted in the army and navy women's corps during World War II, but an equally important contribution of women to the war effort was their work in factories and offices— often in jobs that would have been considered inappropriate for them in peacetime but that they were now encouraged to assume because of the absence of so many men. (The Library of Congress)



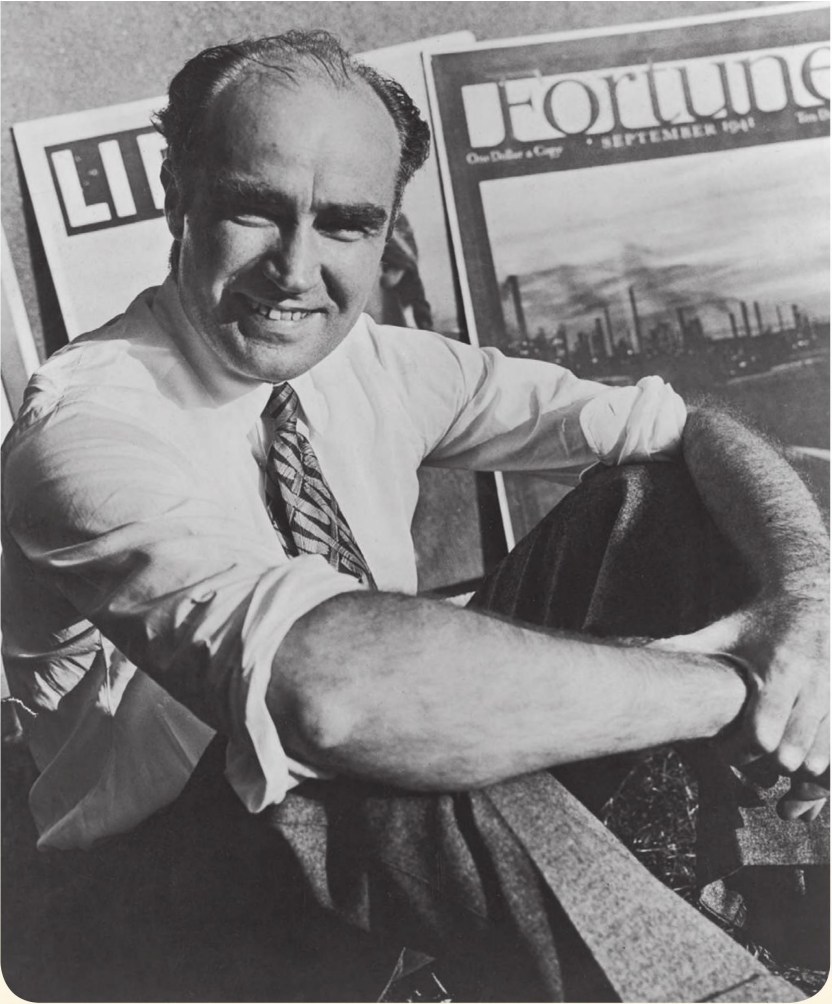


U. S. ARMY  
OFFICIAL POSTER



Life: The Great Magazine the: i birth of a great era of photographs in the twentieth century created many new i magazines. One of the finest was Life, first published in 1936 by Henry Luce. It soon became the most popular magazine in America. Luce himself wrote a minor classic of journalism for his new magazine: To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things— machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man's work. . . . Thus to see, and to be shown, is now the will and new expectancy of half of mankind. HENRY LUCE (© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) Luce and his partner, Briton Hadden, began a remarkable empire when they started Time magazine in 1923. But Hadden died suddenly in 1929, and Luce took charge. He began a successful business magazine— Fortune. But it was Life that made Luce famous and wealthy. The Cowles family of Iowa followed Luce with Look, which was also successful. But for most Americans, Life was the most important magazine. Life, which began just three years before World War II presented many stories on the coming conflict. Building for the war was growing fast by 1942. Detroit and other cities turned their automobile production into the manufacture of planes, armored vehicles, jeeps, and other war materiel. Life reporters warned that "the morale situation is perhaps worst in the U.S. . . . For Detroit can either blow up Hitler or it can blow up the U.S." Life sent a large pool of photographers and graphic artists across the Atlantic to cover the war. The magazine turned the conflict into a great visual story and became renowned for its striking imagery. Life's remarkable popularity continued throughout the war. Its first issue after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor featured the word "WAR" set in large black type on its first page. Photographers were not allowed to use many of the pictures they took of the tremendous damage until 1943, because editors feared that people at home would be shocked if they saw Wartime Life and Culture The war created considerable anxiety in American life. Families worried about loved ones at the front and struggled to adjust to the absence of husbands, fathers, brothers, sons and to the new mobility of women, which also drew family members away from home. Businesses and communities struggled to compensate for shortages of goods and the absence of men. But the abundance of the war

Audiences equal to about half the population attended movies each week, often to watch heroic war films. Magazines, particularly pictorial ones such as *Life*, reached the peak of their popularity, satisfying the seemingly insatiable hunger of readers for pictures of and stories about the war. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 718-719.) Radio ownership and listening also increased, for the same reason. Resort hotels, casinos, and race tracks were jammed with customers. Dance halls were packed with young people drawn to the seductive music of swing bands; soldiers and sailors 718 •



THE STORY OF WAR Life reporters and photographers told the story of the war to everyone, including these soldiers, shown reading the magazine that they will in turn appear in. (Photo by US Army/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. In what ways did Life magazine influence the way news stories are reported and presented today?
2. Analyze the cover of Life magazine shown above. What were the messages the magazine wanted to convey about the war to its readers?
3. How does the motive of making a profit influence how the news is reported?

military personnel who were injured or killed. But, eventually, Americans saw what the war really was through images that included flag-draped coffins. At the end of the war, on VJ Day, the great photographer Alfred Eisenstadt captured a moment of peace and joy when he took the famous picture of a sailor embracing a young woman in Times Square. After the war, although there were still serious essays on politics and foreign affairs, Life began another effort—to show America as a prosperous and happy nation. The magazine began to show "Modern Living," along with "football games, automobile trips, family trips, and all the pleasant trivia of the American way of life." Life was eager to show the great bounty of American life. "How can one feel thankful for too much," one reporter wrote. Through most of the 1950s, Life remained an enormously prosperous venture. But toward the end of that decade, Life started to decline, as many magazines began to lose their impact with the growing popularity of television. Advertisers who would have bought ad space in magazines began buying television advertisements. Magazines, including Life, lost a vital source of their revenue. In December 1972, Life published its last issue. But the great Life photographs remain a remarkable archive of events around the world during a large part of the twentieth century.

- home on leave, or awaiting shipment overseas, were especially attracted to the dances and the big band.

Advertisers, and at times even the government, exhorted Americans to support the war effort to ensure a future of material comfort and consumer choice for themselves and their children. "Your people are giving their lives in useless sacrifice/" The Saturday Evening Post wrote in a mock letter to the leaders of wartime Japan. "Ours are fighting for a glorious future of mass employment, mass production and mass distribution and ownership." Even troops at the front

seemed at times to justify their efforts with reference to the comforts of home more than to the character of the enemy or the ideals Fighting for America claimed to be defending. "They Future are fighting for home," the writer John . . Hersey once wrote from Guadalcanal (with at least a trace of dismay), because "Home is where the good things are-the generosity, the good pay, the comforts, the democracy, the pie." For men at the front, the image of home was a powerful antidote to the rigors of wartime. They dreamed of music, food, movies, material comforts. Many also dreamed of womenwives and girlfriends, but also movie stars and others who became the source of one of the most popular icons of the front: the pinup. . 719 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



720 CHAPTER 26 For the servicemen who remained in America during the war, and for soldiers and sailors in cities far from home in particular, the company of friendly, "wholesome" women was, the young military believed, critical to maintaining morale. USOs recruited thousands of young women to serve as hostesses in their clubs—women who were expected to dress nicely, dance well, and chat happily with lonely men. Other women joined "dance brigades" and traveled by bus to military bases for social evenings with servicemen. They, too, were expected to be pretty, to dress attractively (and conservatively), and to interact comfortably with men they had never met before and would likely never see again. The USO forbade women to have dates with soldiers after parties in the clubs, and the members of the "dance brigades" were expected to have no contact with servicemen except during the dances. Clearly, such regulations were sometimes violated. But while the military took elaborate measures to root out homosexual men and women from their ranks (unceremoniously dismissing many of them with undesirable discharges), it quietly tolerated "healthy heterosexuality." The Internment of Japanese Americans World War I had produced widespread hatred, vindictiveness, and hysteria in America, as well as widespread and flagrant violations of civil liberties. World War II did not produce a comparable era of repression. The government barred from the mails a few papers it considered seditious, among them Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic and pro-fascist Social Justice, but there was no general censorship of dissident publications. The most ambitious effort to punish domestic fascists, a sedition trial of twenty-eight people, ended in a mistrial, and the defendants went free. Unlike during World War I, the government generally left socialists and communists (most of whom strongly supported the war effort) alone—although the Roosevelt administration summarily and secretly executed a number of German spies who had entered the country. Nor was there much of the ethnic or cultural animosity that had shaped the social climate of the United States during World War I. The "zoot-suit" riots in Los Angeles and occasional racial conflicts in American cities and on military bases made clear that traditional racial and ethnic hostilities had not „ disappeared. So did wartime restrictions. Distinctions imposed on some Italians—including provisions forbidding many of them to travel and imprisoning several hundred.

The great opera singer Ezio Pinza was classified as an "enemy alien." But on the whole, the war worked more to blur ethnic distinctions than to heighten them. Americans continued to eat sauerkraut without calling it by the World War I name "liberty cabbage." They displayed relatively little hostility toward German or Italian Americans. Instead, they seemed to share the view of their government's propaganda: that the enemy was less the German and Italian people than the vicious political systems to which they had succumbed. In popular culture, and in everyday interactions, ethnicity seemed less a source of menacing difference-as it often had in the past-and more evidence of healthy diversity. The participation and frequent heroism of American soldiers of many ethnic backgrounds encouraged this change. But there was a glaring exception to the general rule of tolerance: the treatment of the small, politically powerless group of Japanese Americans. From the beginning, Americans adopted a different attitude toward their Asian enemy than they did toward their European foes. The Japanese, both government and private propaganda encouraged Americans to believe, were a devious, malign, and cruel people. The infamous attack on Pearl Harbor seemed to many Americans to confirm that assessment. This racial animosity soon extended to Americans of Japanese descent. There were not many Japanese Americans in the continental United States-only about 127,000, most of them concentrated in a few areas in California. About a third of them were unnaturalized, first-generation immigrants (Issei); two-thirds were naturalized or native-born citizens of the United States (Nisei). The Japanese in America, like the Chinese, had long been the target of ethnic and racial animosity; and unlike members of European ethnic groups, who had encountered similar resentment, Asians seemed unable to dispel prejudice against them no matter how assimilated they became. Many white Americans Anti-Japanese continued to consider Asians (even native-born citizens) so "foreign" that they could never become "real" Americans. Partly as a result, much of the Japanese American population in the West continued to live in close-knit, to some degree even insular, communities, which reinforced the belief that they were alien and potentially menacing. The attack on Pearl Harbor inflamed these long-standing suspicions and turned them into active animosity. Wild stories circulated about how the Japanese in Hawaii had helped sabotage Pearl Harbor and how



Japanese Americans in California were conspiring to aid an enemy landing on the Pacific coast. There was no evidence to support any of these charges; but according to Earl Warren, then attorney general of California, the apparent passivity of the Japanese Americans was itself evidence of the danger they posed. Because they did nothing to allow officials to gauge their intentions, Warren claimed, it was all the more important to take precautions against conspiracies. Although there was some public pressure in California to remove the Japanese "threat," popular sentiment was generally more tolerant of the Nisei and Issei (and more willing to make distinctions between them and the Japanese in Japan) than was official sentiment. The real impetus for taking action came from the government. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, for example, said shortly after Pearl Harbor that "the most effective fifth column [a term for internal sabotage] work of the entire war was done in Hawaii." That statement—clearly referring to the large Japanese population there—later proved to be entirely false. General John L. DeWitt, the senior military commander on the West Coast, claimed to have "no confidence in [Japanese American] loyalty whatsoever." When asked about the distinction between unnaturalized Japanese immigrants

citizens, he said, "A Jap is a Jap. It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not." In February 1942, in response to such pressure (and over the objections of the attorney general and J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI), President Roosevelt authorized the army to "intern" the Japanese Americans. He created the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to oversee the project. More than 100,000 people (Issei and Nisei alike) were rounded up, told to dispose of their property however they could (which often meant simply abandoning it), and taken to what the government euphemistically termed "relocation Centers" centers in the "interior." In fact, they were facilities little different from prisons, many of them located in the western mountains and the desert. Conditions in the internment camps were not brutal, but they were harsh and uncomfortable. Government officials talked of them as places where the Japanese could be socialized and "Americanized." But the internment camps were more a target of white economic aspirations than of missionary work. The governor of Utah, where many of the internees were located, wanted the federal government to turn over thousands of Japanese Americans to serve as forced laborers. Washington did not comply, but the WRA did hire out many inmates as agricultural laborers. The internment never produced significant popular opposition. For the most part, once the Japanese were in the camps, other Americans (including their former neighbors on the West Coast) largely forgot about them—except to make strenuous efforts to acquire the property they had abandoned. Even so, beginning in 1943 conditions slowly improved. Some young Japanese Americans left the camps to attend colleges and universities (mostly in the East—the WRA continued to be wary of letting Japanese return to the Pacific Coast). Others were permitted to move to cities to take factory and service jobs (although, again, not on the West Coast). Some young men joined and others were drafted into the American military; a Nisei army unit fought with distinction in Europe. In 1944, the Supreme Court ruled in *Korematsu v. US.* that the relocation was constitutionally permissible. In another case the same year, it barred the internment of "loyal" citizens, but left the internees in the camps.

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii MANZANAR  
RELOCATION CENTER During World War II, more than 100,000

Japanese Americans were interned by the government in "relocation centers" such as the one shown here. Many these U.S. citizens were forced to give up their property and to work for little or no money. Here, citizens wait for lunch. (The Library of Congress (LC-A35-6-M-22)) pretation of "loyal" to the discretion of the government. Nevertheless, by the end of 1944, most of the internees had been released; and in early 1945, they were finally permitted to return to the West Coast-where they faced continuing harassment and persecution, and where many found their property and businesses irretrievably lost. In 1988, they won some compensation for their losses, when, after years of agitation by survivors of the camps and their descendants. Congress voted to award them reparations. But by then, many of the former internees had died. Chinese Americans and the War Just as America's conflict with Japan undermined the position of Japanese Americans, the American alliance with China during World War II significantly enhanced both the legal and social status of Chinese Americans. In 1943, partly to improve relations with the government of China, Congress finally repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which had barred almost all Chinese immigration since 1882. The new quota for Chinese immigrants was minuscule (105 a year), but a substantial number of Chinese women managed to gain entry into the country Chinese through other provisions covering war Exclusion brides and fiancées. Over 4,000 Chinese Acts Repealed women entered the United States in the I Mill Mill llllllllllll II III II Mill Mill II Mill Mill Mill II Mill II r- 1 C 1 i-t first three years after the war. Permanent residents of the United States who were of Chinese descent were finally permitted to become citizens. Racial animosity toward the Chinese did not disappear, but it did decline-in part because government propaIganda and popular culture began presenting positive images of the Chinese (partly to contrast them with the Japanese); in part because Chinese Americans (like African Americans and other previously marginal groups) began taking Jobs in war plants and other booming areas suffering from labor shortages and hence moving out of the isolated world of the Chinatowns. A higher proportion of Chinese Americans (22 percent of all adult males) were drafted than of any other national group, and the entire Chinese community in most cities worked hard and conspicuously for the war effort. The Retreat from Reform Late in 1943, Franklin Roosevelt publicly suggested that "Dr. New Deal," as he called it,

had served its purpose and should now give way to "Dr. Win-the-War." The statement reflected the president's own genuine shift in concern: that victory was now more important



722 CHAPTER 26 than reform. But it also reflected the political reality that had emerged during the first two years of war. Liberals in government were finding themselves unable to enact new programs. They were even finding it difficult to protect existing ones from conservative assault. Within the administration itself, many liberals found themselves displaced by the new managers of the wartime agencies, who came overwhelmingly from large corporations and conservative Wall Street law firms. But the greatest assault on Dismantling New Deal reforms came from conservathe New Deal tives in Congress, who seized on the war as an excuse to do what many of them had wanted to do in peacetime: dismantle many of the achievements of the New Deal. They were assisted by the end of mass unemployment, which decreased the need for such relief programs as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration (both of which were abolished by Congress). They were assisted, too, by their own increasing numbers. In the congressional elections of 1942, Republicans gained 47 seats in the House and 10 in the Senate. Roosevelt continued to talk at times about his commitment to social progress and liberal reform, in part to bolster the flagging spirits of his traditional supporters. But increasingly, the president quietly accepted the defeat or erosion of New Deal measures in order to win support for his war policies and peace plans. He also accepted the changes because he realized that his chances for reelection in 1944 depended on his ability to identify himself less with domestic issues than with world peace. Republicans approached the 1944 election determined to exploit what they believed was resentment of wartime regimentation and privation and unhappiness with Democratic reform. They nominated as their candidate the young and vigorous governor of New York, Thomas E. Dewey. Roosevelt was unopposed within his party, but Democratic leaders pressured him to abandon the controversial Vice President Henry Wallace, an outspoken liberal and hero of the CIO. Roosevelt, tired and frail, seemed to take little interest in the matter and passively acquiesced in the selection of Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, a man he barely knew. Truman was not a prominent figure in the party, but he had won acclaim as chairman of the Senate War Investigating Committee (known as the Truman Committee), which had compiled an impressive record of uncovering waste and corruption in

wartime production. The conduct of the war was not an issue in the campaign. Instead, the election revolved around domestic economic 1944 Election issues and, indirectly, the president's . health. The president was in fact gravely ill, suffering from, among other things, arteriosclerosis. But the campaign seemed momentarily to revive him. He made several strenuous public appearances late in October, which dispelled popular doubts about his health and ensured his reelection. Roosevelt captured 53.5 percent of the popular vote to Dewey's 46 percent, and won 432 electoral votes to Dewey's 99. Democrats lost 1 seat in the Senate, gained 20 in the House, and maintained control of both.

### THE DEFEAT OF THE AXIS

By the middle of 1943, America and its allies had succeeded in stopping the Axis advance in both Europe and the Pacific. In the next two years, the Allies themselves seized the offensive and launched a series of powerful drives that rapidly led the way to victory. The Liberation of France By early 1944, American and British bombers were attacking German industrial installations and other targets almost around the clock, drastically cutting production and impeding transportation. Especially devastating was the massive bombing of such German cities as Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin—attacks that often made few distinctions between industrial sites and residential ones. A February 1945 incendiary raid on Dresden created a great firestorm that destroyed three-fourths of the previously undamaged city and killed approximately 135,000 people, almost all civilians. Military leaders claimed that the bombing destroyed industrial facilities, demoralized the population, and cleared the way for the great Allied invasion of France planned for the late spring. The air battles over Germany considerably weakened the Luftwaffe (the German air force) and made it a less formidable obstacle to the Allied invasion. Preparations for the invasion were also assisted by the breaking of the Enigma code. An enormous invasion force had been gathering in England for two years: almost 3 million troops, and perhaps the greatest array of naval vessels and armaments ever assembled in one place. On the morning of June 6, 1944, D-Day, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, sent this vast armada into action. The landing came not at the narrowest part of the English Channel, where the Germans had expected and

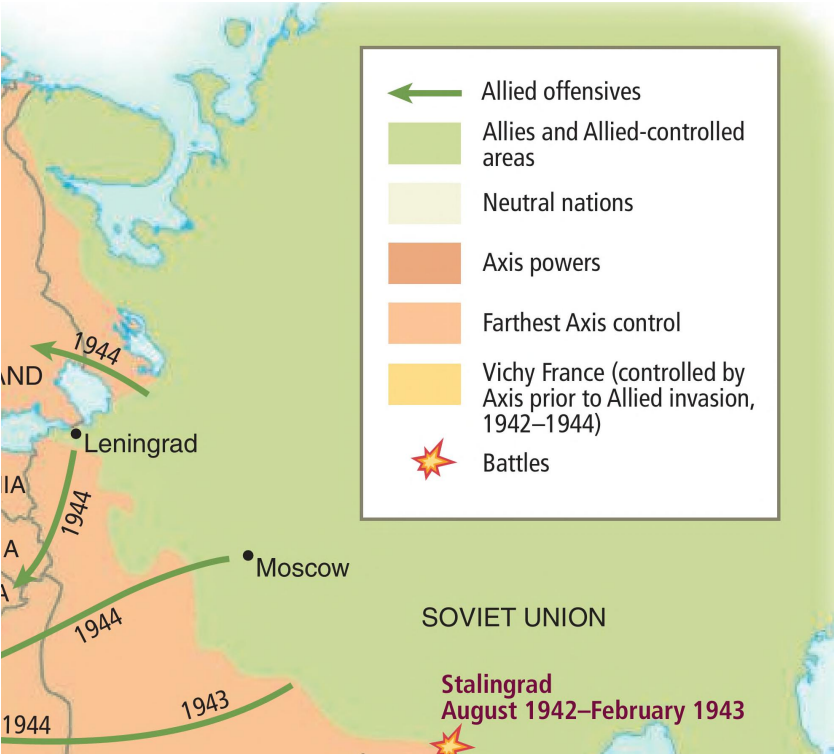
prepared for it, but along sixty miles of the Cotentin Peninsula on the coast of Normandy. While airplanes and battleships offshore bombarded the Nazi defenses, 4,000 vessels landed troops and supplies on the beaches. (Three divisions of paratroopers had been dropped behind the German lines the night before, amid scenes of great confusion, to seize critical roads and bridges for the push inland.) Fighting was intense along the beach, but the superior manpower and equipment of the Allied forces gradually prevailed. Within a week, the German forces had been dislodged from virtually the entire Normandy coast. For the next month, further progress remained slow. But in late July in the Battle of Saint-Lo, General Omar Bradley's First Army smashed through the German lines. General George S. Patton's Third Army, spearheaded by heavy tank attacks, then moved through the hole Bradley had created and began a drive into the heart of France. On August 25, Free French forces arrived in Paris and liberated the city from four years of German occupation. And by mid-September, the Allied armies had driven the Germans almost entirely out of France and Belgium.

AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR 723 ICELAND Norwegian  
 Sea ffl Faeroe Is. (Den.) SWEDEN ATLANTIC OCEAN Shetland Is.  
 (Br.) NORWAY ) ■ IRELAND GREAT BRITAIN North Sea  
 DENMARK FINLAND ESTONIA LATVIA LITHUANIA June EAST  
 PRUSSIA nn 1944Ss^TH.^«E™ ANY 19\* D-Day CPI r Berlin Warsaw\*  
 1944 b 1944^ BEL5v •Casablanca. "1942 MOROCCO (Fr.) (It.)  
 GREECE -Yalta Black Sea TURKEY x „ vP J Tehran# IRAN ALGERIA  
 (Fr.) Kasserine Pass February 1943 TUNISIA (Fr.) if Dodecanese  
 Cyprus (It.) (Br.) IRAQ (Br.) ' e ff . a l f err r Crete LEBANON-^ (Fr.)  
 an Sea PALESTINE TDC;

JORC 7%> (Br.) El Alamein LIBYA (It.) L EGYPT WORLD WAR II  
 IN EUROPE: THE ALLIED COUNTEROFFENSIVE, 1943-1945 This  
 map illustrates the climactic movements in the war in Europe—the  
 two great offensives against Germany that began in 1943 and  
 culminated in 1945. From the east, the armies of the Soviet Union,  
 having halted the Germans at Stalingrad and Moscow, swept across  
 eastern Europe toward Germany. From the west and the south,  
 American, British, and other Allied forces moved toward Germany  
 through Italy and— after the Normandy invasion in June 1944—  
 through France. The two offensives met in Berlin in May 1945. •  
 What problems did the position of the Allied forces at the end of the  
 war help to produce? The great Allied drive came to a halt,  
 however, at the Rhine River in the face of a firm line of German  
 defenses and a period of cold weather, rain, and floods. In mid-  
 December, German forces struck in desperation along fifty miles of  
 front in the n x. ™ Ardennes Forest. In the Battle of the Bulge Battle  
 of the 5 Bulge (named for a large bulge that appeared in . the  
 American lines as the Germans pressed forward), they drove fifty-  
 five miles toward Antwerp before they were finally stopped at  
 Bastogne. The battle ended serious German resistance in the west.  
 While the Allies were fighting their way through France, Soviet  
 forces were sweeping westward into central Europe and the  
 Balkans. In late January 1945, the Russians launched a great  
 offensive toward the Oder River inside Germany. In early spring,  
 they were ready to launch a final assault against Berlin. By then,  
 Omar Bradley's First Army was pushing into Germany from the  
 west. Early in March, his forces captured the city of Cologne, on the  
 west bank of the Rhine. The next day, in a remarkable stroke of  
 good fortune, he discovered and seized an undamaged bridge over



the river at Remagen;



## 724 CHAPTER 26 THE NORMANDY INVASION

This photograph, taken from a landing craft, shows American troops wading ashore and onto the Normandy beaches, where one of the decisive battles of World War II was taking shape. The invasion was launched despite threatening weather and rough seas. (© Popperfoto/Getty Images)

Allied troops were soon pouring across the Rhine. In the following weeks the British field marshal Bernard Montgomery, commander of Allied ground operations on D-Day and after, pushed into northern Germany with a million troops, while Bradley's army, sweeping through central Germany, completed the encirclement of 300,000 German soldiers in the Ruhr. The German resistance was now broken on both fronts. American forces were moving eastward faster than they had anticipated and could have beaten the Russians to Berlin and Prague. Instead, the American and British high commands decided to halt the advance along the Elbe River in central Germany to await the Russians. That decision enabled the Soviets to occupy eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia. On April 30, with Soviet forces on the outskirts of Berlin, Adolf Hitler killed himself in his bunker in the capital. And Germany on ^ 1945, the remaining German Defeated forces surrendered unconditionally. V-E (Victory in Europe) Day prompted great celebrations in western Europe and in the United States, tempered by the knowledge of the continuing war against Japan. The Pacific Offensive In February 1944, American naval forces under Admiral Chester Nimitz won a series of victories in the Marshall Islands and cracked the outer perimeter of the Japanese Empire. Within a month, the navy had destroyed other vital Japanese bastions. American submarines, in the meantime, were decimating Japanese shipping and crippling the nation's domestic economy. By the summer of 1944, the already skimpy food rations for the Japanese people had been reduced by nearly a quarter; there was also a critical gasoline shortage. America's principal ally in Asia was China, and the United States hoped that the Chinese forces would help defeat the Japanese. To assist them, the army sent General Joseph W. Stilwell to help provide critical supplies to China by a land route through India and across the Himalayas. It was a brutal task. The Japanese blocked them at several points, and Stilwell had to rely for a time on airlifts of supplies over the mountains. But finally in the fall of 1944, Stilwell's forces succeeded in constructing

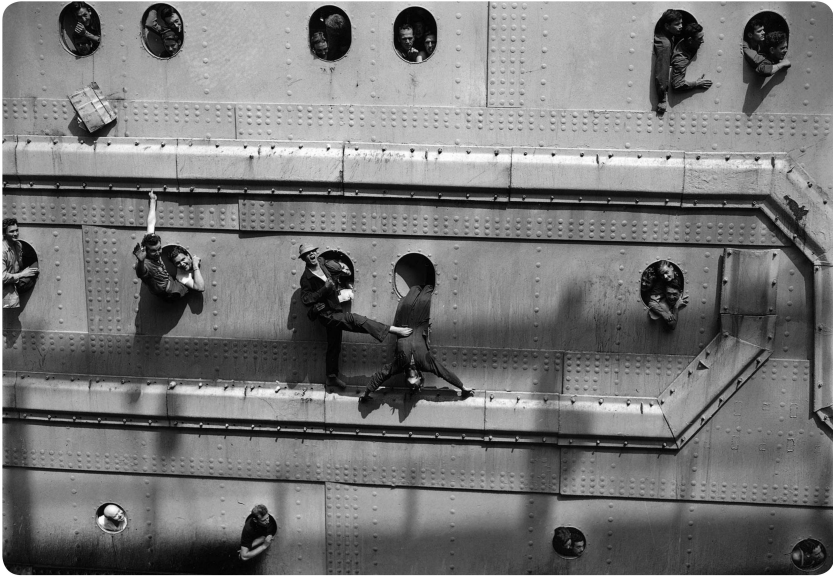
a road and pipelines across the mountains into China-a route that came to be known by several names: the Burma Road, the Ledo Road, and at times the Stilwell Road.



## AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR • 725 COMING HOME

Euphoric American soldiers arrive in New York Harbor back aboard the Queen Elizabeth after the end of the war in Europe in 1945. (© AP Images) Japanese forces consistently threatened the Burma Road. More dangerously, the Japanese were also threatening the wartime capital of China in Chungking. Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese premier, was reluctant to use his troops against the Japanese and seemed more concerned with attacking Chinese communists, who were also fighting the Japanese. This helped create a famous feud between Stilwell and Chiang. Stilwell began to call Chiang-not entirely privately-the "peanut." The dispute continued for many months until Stilwell finally left China. Stilwell's successors had little more success in prodding Chiang to confront the Japanese. The decisive battles of the Pacific war occurred not in China but at sea. In mid-June 1944, an enormous American armada struck the heavily fortified Mariana Islands and, after some of the bloodiest operations of the war, captured Tinian, Guam, and Saipan, 1,350 miles from Tokyo. In September, American forces landed on the western Carolines. And on October 20, General MacArthur's troops landed on Leyte Island in the Philippines. As the American forces pushed closer to Japan itself, the Japanese used their entire fleet against the Allied invaders in three major encounters which together constituted the decisive Battle of Leyte Gulf, the largest naval Battle of Leyte Gulf engagement in history. American forces held off the Japanese onslaught and sank four Japanese carriers, all but destroying Japan's capacity to continue a serious naval war. Nevertheless, the Japanese forces seemed only to increase their resistance. In February 1945, American marines seized the tiny volcanic island of Iwo Jima, only 750 miles from Tokyo, but only after the costliest single battle in the history of the Marine Corps. The marines suffered over 25,000 casualties, and the Japanese forces suffered even greater losses. The battle for Okinawa, an island only 370 miles south of Japan, was further evidence of the strength of the Japanese Okinawa resistance in those last desperate months. . Week after week, the Japanese sent kamikaze (suicide) planes against American and British ships, sacrificing 3,500 of them while inflicting great damage. Japanese troops on shore launched desperate nighttime attacks on the

American lines. The United States and its allies suffered nearly 50,000 casualties before finally capturing Okinawa in late June 1945. More than 100,000 Japanese died in the siege. The same kind of bitter fighting seemed to await the Americans in Japan itself. But there were also signs early in 1945 that such an invasion might not be necessary. The



726 CHAPTER 26 OKINAWA The invasion of Okinawa, an island near Japan, was one of the last major battles of World War II. In this photograph, taken June 18, 1945, a bullet-scarred monument provides shelter to members of the 7th Infantry of the U.S. Tenth Army as they look ahead at Japanese action. Over 11,000 Americans (and more than 80,000 Japanese) died in the rugged battle for the island, which consumed nearly three months. It ended three days after this photograph was taken. Two months later— after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki— Japan surrendered. (© Bettmann/Corbis) Japanese had almost no ships or planes left with which to fight. In July 1945, for example, American warships stood off the shore of Japan and shelled industrial targets (many already in ruins from aerial bombings) with impunity. A brutal firebombing of Tokyo in March, in which American bombers dropped napalm on the city, created a massive firestorm in which at least 83,000 and perhaps as many as 100,000, mostly civilians, died. It further weakened the Japanese will to resist. Moderate Japanese leaders, who had long since decided that the war was lost, were struggling for power within the government and were looking for ways to bring the war to an end. After the invasion of Okinawa, Emperor Hirohito appointed a new premier and gave him instructions to sue for peace; but the new leader could not persuade military leaders to give up the fight. The premier did try, along with the emperor, to obtain mediation through the Soviet Union. The Russians, however, showed little interest in playing the role of arbitrator. Whether the moderates could ultimately have prevailed is a question about which historians and others continue to disagree. In any case, the question eventually became moot. In mid-July, American scientists conducted a successful test of a new atomic bomb, which led to a major event in world history, significant only in part because it ended World War II. The Manhattan Project Reports had reached the United States in 1939 that Nazi scientists had taken the first step toward the creation of an atomic bomb. The United States and Britain immediately began a race to develop the weapon before the Germans did. The search for the new weapon emerged from theories developed by atomic physicists, beginning early in the century, and particularly from some of the founding ideas of modern science developed by Albert Einstein. Einstein's famous theory of relativity had revealed the

relationships between mass and energy. More precisely, he had argued that, in theory at least, matter could be converted into a tremendous force of energy. It was Einstein, by then living in the United States, who warned Franklin Roosevelt that the Germans were developing atomic weapons and that the United States must begin trying to do the same. The effort to build atomic weapons centered on the use of uranium, whose atomic structure made possible the creation of a nuclear chain reaction. A nuclear chain reaction occurs when the atomic nuclei in radioactive matter are split (a process known as nuclear fission) by neutrons. Each fission creates new neutrons that produce fissions in additional atoms at an ever-increasing and self-sustaining pace. The construction of atomic weapons had become feasible by the 1940s because of the discovery of the radioactivity of uranium in the 1930s by Enrico Fermi in Italy. In 1939, the Enrico Fermi & great Danish physicist Niels Bohr sent news of German experiments in radioactivity to the United States. In 1940, scientists at Columbia University began chain-reaction experiments with uranium and produced persuasive evidence of the feasibility of using uranium as fuel for a weapon. The Columbia experiments stalled in 1941, and



AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR • 727 the work moved to UC Berkeley and the University of Chicago, where Enrico Fermi (who had emigrated to the United States in 1938) achieved the first controlled fission chain reaction in December 1942. By then, the army had taken control of the research and appointed General Leslie Groves to reorganize the project which soon became known as the Manhattan Project (because it was devised in the Manhattan Engineer District Office of the Army Corps of Engineers). Over the next three years, the U.S. government secretly poured nearly \$2 billion into the Manhattan Project—a massive scientific and technological effort conducted at hidden laboratories in Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Los Alamos, New Mexico; Hanford, Washington; and other sites. Scientists in Oak Ridge, who were charged with finding a way to create a nuclear chain reaction that could be feasibly replicated within the confined space of a bomb, began experimenting with plutonium—a derivative of uranium first discovered by scientists at UC Berkeley. Plutonium proved capable of providing a practical fuel for the weapon. Scientists in Los Alamos, under the direction of J. Robert Oppenheimer, were charged with the construction of the actual atomic bomb. Despite many unforeseen problems, the scientists pushed ahead much faster than anyone had predicted. Even so, the war in Europe ended before they were ready to test the first weapon. Just before dawn on July 16, 1945, in the desert near Alamogordo, New Mexico, the scientists gathered to witness the first atomic explosion in history: the detonation of a plutonium-fueled bomb that its creators had named Trinity. The Trinity Bomb The explosion—a blinding flash of light, probably brighter than any ever seen on earth, followed by a huge, billowing mushroom cloud—created a vast crater in the barren desert. Atomic Warfare News of the explosion reached President Harry S. Truman (who had taken office in April on the death of Roosevelt) in Potsdam, Germany, where he was attending a conference of Allied leaders. He issued an ultimatum to the Japanese (signed jointly by the British) demanding that they surrender by August 3 or face complete devastation. The Japanese premier wanted to accept the Allied demand, but he still could not persuade the military leaders to agree. There was a hint from Tokyo that the government might agree to surrender, in return for a promise that the Japanese could retain their emperor. The



American government, firmly committed to the idea of "unconditional surrender," dismissed those proposals. They were convinced (perhaps correctly) that the moderates who were making the peace overtures did not have the power to deliver them. When the deadline passed with no surrender, Truman ordered the air force to use the new atomic weapons against Japan. Controversy has raged for decades over whether Truman's decision to use the bomb was justified and what his motives were. (See "Debating the Past," pp. 728-729.) Some people have argued that the atomic attack was unnecessary, that had the United States agreed to the retention of the emperor (which it ultimately did agree to, in any Debating the case), or waited only a few more weeks, the I Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill Mill II III lllllll lllllll'IIII II Japanese would have surrendered. Others THE EMPEROR SURVEYS THE RUINS In the aftermath of the American firebombing of Tokyo, which caused as much damage and death as the atomic bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and just before the formal Japanese surrender in September 1945, Emperor Hirohito— previously visible to most Japanese only in formal portraits— walked through the ruins of the city and allowed himself to be photographed. This photograph is widely considered the first picture of the emperor to reveal any expression on his face. It was taken by Carl Mydans, a photographer for Life magazine. (Photo by Carl Mydans/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)



I,, I . The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb mthe fall of 1994, the Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., installed in its main hall the fuselage of the Enola Gay, the airplane that dropped the first atomic bomb ever used in warfare. It was used in 1945 on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Originally, the airplane was to have been accompanied by an exhibit that would include discussions of the many popular and academic controversies over whether the United States should have used the bomb. But a powerful group of critics demanded that the exhibit should reflect only the "official" explanation of the decision. In the end, the museum decided to mount no exhibit at all. The Enola Gay hangs in the Smithsonian today without any explanation for the millions of tourists who see it each year. The furor that surrounded the Enola Gay exhibit reflects the passions that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki continue to arouse among people around the world. It also reflects the continuing debate since 1945 among historians about how to explain and evaluate President Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb in the war against Japan. Truman himself, both at the time and in his 1955 memoir, insisted that the decision was a simple and straightforward one. The alternative to using atomic weapons, he claimed, was an invasion of mainland Japan that might have cost as many as a million American lives. Given that choice, he said, the decision was easy. "I regarded the bomb as a military weapon and never had any doubt that it should be used." Truman's explanation of his decision has been supported by the accounts of many of his contemporaries: Secretary of War Henry Stimson, Winston Churchill, and several of Truman's senior military advisers. It has also received considerable support from historians. Herbert Feis argued in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* (1966) that Truman had made his decision on purely military grounds—to ensure a speedy American victory. David McCullough, author of the popular biography *Truman*, published in 1992, also accepted Truman's own account of his actions largely uncritically, as did Alonzo L. Hamby in *Man of the People* (1995), an important scholarly study of Truman. "One consideration weighed most heavily on Truman," Hamby concluded. "The longer the war lasted, the more Americans killed." Robert J. Donovan, author of an extensive history of the Truman presidency, *Conflict and Crisis* (1977), reached the same conclusion: "The

simple reason Truman made the decision to drop the bomb was to end the war quickly and save lives." Other scholars have strongly disagreed. As early as 1948, a British physicist, P. M. S. Blackett, wrote in *Fear, War, and the Bomb* that the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was "not so much the last military act of the second World War as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia." An important critic of Truman's decision is the historian Gar Alperovitz, the author of two influential books on the subject: *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (1965) and *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (1995). Alperovitz dismissed the argument that the bomb was used to shorten the war and save lives. Japan was likely to have surrendered soon even if the bomb had not been used, he claimed. Instead, he argued, the United States used the bomb less to influence Japan than to intimidate the Soviet Union. Truman made his decision to bomb Hiroshima following a discouraging meeting with Stalin at Potsdam. He was heavily influenced, therefore, by his belief that America needed a new way to force Stalin to change his behavior, "to make Russia more manageable in Europe." Martin J. Sherwin, in *A World Destroyed* (1975), argued similarly that the danger Stalin posed to the peace made American policymakers aware that the effective use of atomic weapons could help strengthen the American hand in the nation's critical relationship with the Soviet Union. John W. Dower's *War Without Mercy* (1986) contributed, by implication at least, to another controversial explanation of the American decision: racism. Throughout World War II, many Americans looked upon the Japanese as members of an almost bestial race, almost a subhuman species. And while Dower himself stops short of saying so, other historians have suggested that this racialized image of the Japanese contributed to American willingness to drop atomic bombs on Japanese cities. Even many of Truman's harshest critics, however, note that it is, as Alperovitz argue that nothing less than the atomic bombs could have persuaded the hard-line military leaders of Japan to surrender without a costly American invasion. Some critics of the decision, including some of the scientists involved in the Manhattan Project, have argued that whatever the Japanese intentions, the United States, as a matter of morality, should not have used the terrible new weapon. One horrified physicist wrote the president shortly before the attack: "This thing must not be permitted to exist on this

earth. We must not be the most hated and feared people in the world.” The nation’s military and political leaders, however, showed little concern about such matters. Truman, who had not even known of the existence of the Manhattan Project 728 • until he became president, was apparently making what he believed to be a simple military decision. A weapon was available that would end the war quickly; he could see no reason not to use it. Still more controversy has existed over whether there were other motives at work behind Truman’s decision. With the Soviet Union poised to enter the war in the Pacific, did the United States want to end the conflict quickly to forestall an expanded communist presence in Asia? Did Truman use the bomb to intimidate Stalin, with whom he was engaged in difficult negotiations, so that the Soviet leader would accept American demands? Little direct evidence is available to support (or definitively refute) either of these accusations.

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has written, "all but impossible to find specific evidence that racism was an important factor in the decision to attack Hiroshima and Nagasaki." The debate over the decision to drop the atomic bomb is an unusually emotional one, and it has inspired bitter professional and personal attacks on advocates of almost every position. It illustrates clearly how history has often been, and remains, a powerful force in the way societies define their politics, their values, and their character. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Why did the Smithsonian abandon the Enola Gay exhibit as it was originally intended? Does displaying the plane without explanation make a statement?
2. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, one on Hiroshima and the second on Nagasaki. Was dropping the bomb on Hiroshima necessary? Was it justifiable? Do the reasons for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima apply equally to the bombing of Nagasaki?
3. How might the war in the Pacific have been different if the United States had decided not to drop the bombs?

**NAGASAKI SURVIVORS** A Japanese woman and child look grimly at a photographer as they hold pieces of bread in the aftermath of the dropping of the second American atomic bomb— this one on Nagasaki. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

On August 6, 1945, an American B-29, the Enola Gay , dropped an atomic weapon on the Japanese industrial center Hiroshima at Hiroshima. With a single bomb, the . United States completely incinerated a four-square-mile area at the center of the previously undamaged city. More than 80,000 civilians died, according to later American estimates. Many more survived to suffer the crippling effects of radioactive fallout or to pass those effects on to their children in the form of birth defects. The Japanese government, stunned by the attack, was at first unable to agree on a response. Two days later, on August 8, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. And the following day, the United States sent Nagasaki another American plane to drop another atomic weapon-this time on the city of Nagasaki-causing more than 100,000 deaths in another unfortunate community. Finally, the emperor intervened to break the stalemate in the cabinet, and on August 14 the government announced that it was ready to give up. On September 2, 1945, on board the American battleship Missouri , anchored in Tokyo Bay, Japanese officials signed the articles of surrender. The most catastrophic war in the history of mankind had

come to an end, and the United States had emerged not only victorious but in a position of unprecedented power, influence, and prestige as well. It was a victory, however, that few could greet with unambiguous Joy. Fourteen • 729 iimiiiiiiiiiiiiimimii



730 CHAPTER 26 million combatants had died in the struggle. As many as 40 million civilians may have died-mostly from bombings, from disease and starvation, from genocidal campaigns of extermination. The United States had suffered only light casualties in comparison with many other nations, but the cost had still been high: 322,000 dead, another 800,000 injured. And despite the sacrifices, the world continued to face an uncertain future, menaced by the threat of nuclear warfare and by the emerging antagonism between the world's two strongest nations-the United States and the Soviet Union-that would darken the peace for many decades to come.

LOOKING BACK The United States played a critical, indeed decisive, role in the war against Germany and Italy; and it defeated Japan in the Pacific largely alone. But America's sacrifices in the war paled next to those of the nation's most important allies. Britain, France, and, above all, the Soviet Union paid a staggering price-in lives, infrastructure, and social unity-that had no counterpart in the United States, most of whose citizens experienced a booming prosperity and only modest privations during the four years of American involvement in the conflict. There were, of course, jarring social changes during the war that even prosperity could not entirely offset: shortages, restrictions, regulations, family dislocations, and perhaps most of all the absence of millions of men, and considerable numbers of women, who went overseas to work and fight. American fighting men and women, of course, had very different experiences than those Americans who remained at home. They endured tremendous hardships, substantial casualties, and great loneliness. They fought effectively and bravely. They helped liberate North Africa and Italy from German occupation. And in June 1944, finally, they joined British, French, and other forces in a great and successful invasion of France, which led less than a year later to the destruction of the Nazi regime and the end of the European war. In the Pacific, they turned back the Japanese offensive through a series of difficult naval and land battles. But in the end, it was not the American army and navy that brought the war against Japan to a close. It was the unleashing of the most destructive weapon mankind had ever created-the atomic bomb-on the people of Japan that finally persuaded the leaders of that nation to surrender.

Key Terms/People/Places/Events Office of Price Administration (OPA) 712 A. Philip Randolph 715 Battle of



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1. List some of the measures that the federal government took to mobilize the nation's economy for the war effort. 2. How did advances in technology affect the course of the military conflict? 3. How did the United States contribute to the Allied victory in Europe? How important were America's allies? Which allies were most important? 4. How did the war affect U.S. society? for women? for workers? for African Americans? for Japanese Americans? for immigrants? 5. Why did the United States bomb civilians in Japan and Europe in the last years of the war?

AMERICA IN A WORLD AT WAR 731 SIGNIFICANT  
EVENTS 1941 Roosevelt establishes Fair Employment Practices  
Commission Manhattan Project begins A. Philip Randolph proposes  
march on Washington 1943 Americans capture Guadalcanal Soviets  
defeat Germans at Stalingrad Allies launch invasion of Italy 1942  
Japanese capture Philippines Battle of Midway War Production  
Board created Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) founded  
Japanese Americans interned 1945 Atomic bomb tested in New  
Mexico 1944 Roosevelt reelected president Americans recapture  
Philippines Allies invade Normandy Roosevelt dies; Truman  
becomes president Hitler kills himself Allies capture Berlin Germany  
surrenders Americans capture Okinawa United States drops atomic  
bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki Japan surrenders

THE COLD WAR | \*^J|2\*r \* countp\* or «kiai\*i u a \* ft THE RED MENACE This 1949 movie poster suggests how much attention was directed to the threat of communism. The film, produced by Republic Pictures and directed by R. G. Springsteen, told the story of a man and a woman who joined the Communist Party, only to become disillusioned when they watched the murder of a party member who begins to doubt the party's principles. This movie—and most others like it—got poor reviews and did not attract large audiences. (© Republic Pictures/Photofest) 2. What was the theory of containment, and how did it drive U.S. foreign policy and foreign interventions in the postwar era? 3. Why did the U.S. government and the American people believe that there was a threat of internal communist subversion? LOOKING AHEAD

1. What made the growing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union evolve into the Cold War?





"Debating the Past," pp. 736-737.) Sources of Soviet-American Tension At the heart of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1940s was a fundamental difference in the ways the great powers envisioned the postwar world. One vision, first openly outlined in the Atlantic Charter in 1941, was of a world in which nations abandoned their traditional beliefs in military alliances and spheres of influence and PostwarS governed their relations with one another through democratic processes, with Vision an international organization serving as the arbiter of disputes and the protec. tor of every nation's right of self-determination. That vision-inspired in part by Woodrow Wilson-appealed to many Americans, including Franklin Roosevelt. The other vision was that of the Soviet Union and to some extent, it gradually became clear, of Great Britain. Both Stalin and Churchill had signed the Atlantic Charter. But Britain had always 0 been uneasy about the implications of the self-determination ideal for its own Spheres of j r „ Influence enormous empire. And the Soviet Union was determined to create a secure . sphere for itself in Central and Eastern Europe as protection against possible future aggression from the West. Both Churchill and Stalin, therefore, tended to envision a postwar structure in which the great powers would control areas of strategic interest to them, in which something vaguely similar to the traditional European balance of power would reemerge. Gradually, the differences between these two positions would turn the peacemaking process into a form of warfare. 733

734 CHAPTER 27 Wartime Diplomacy Serious strains had already begun to develop in the alliance with the Soviet Union in January 1943, when Roosevelt and Churchill met in Casablanca, Morocco, to discuss Allied strategy. (Stalin had declined Roosevelt's invitation to attend.) The two leaders could not accept Stalin's most important demand-the immediate opening of a second front in western Europe. But they tried to reassure Stalin by announcing that they would accept nothing less than the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers, thus indicating that they would not negotiate a separate peace with Hitler and leave the Soviets to fight on alone. In November 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill traveled to Teheran, Iran, for their first meeting with Stalin. By now, however, Roosevelt's most effective bargaining tool- Stalin's need for American assistance in his struggle against Germany-had been largely removed. The German advance against Russia had been halted; Soviet forces were now launching their own westward offensive. Nevertheless, the Teheran Conference seemed in most respects a success. Roosevelt and Stalin established a cordial personal relationship. Stalin agreed to an American request that the Soviet Union enter the war in the Pacific soon after the end of hostilities in Europe. Roosevelt, in turn, promised that an Anglo-American second front would be established within six months. On other matters, however, the origins of future disagreements were already visible. Most important was the question of the future of Poland. Roosevelt and Churchill were willing to agree to a movement of the Soviet border westward, allowing Stalin to annex some historically Polish territory. But on the nature of the postwar government in the rest of Poland, there were sharp differences. Roosevelt and Churchill supported the claims of the Polish . government-in-exile that had been functioning in London since 1940; Stalin wished to install another pro-communist exiled government that had spent the war in Lublin, in the Soviet Union. The three leaders avoided a bitter conclusion to the Teheran Conference only by leaving the issue unresolved. Yalta More than a year later, in February 1945, Roosevelt joined Churchill and Stalin for a peace conference in the Soviet city of Yalta-a resort on the Black Sea that was once a summer palace for the tsars. On a number of issues, the "Big Three," as Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin were known, reached agreements. In return for Stalin's renewed promise

to enter the Pacific war, Roosevelt agreed that the Soviet Union should receive some of the territory in the Pacific that Russia had lost in the 1904 Russo-Japanese War. The negotiators also agreed to a plan for a new international organization, a plan that had been hammered out the previous summer at a conference in Washington, D.C., at the Dumbarton Oaks estate. The new United Nations  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii United Nations would contain a General Assembly, in which every member would be represented, and a Security Council, with permanent representatives of the five YALTA Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin (known during the war as the "Big Three") meet at Yalta in the Crimea in February 1945 to try to agree on the outlines of the peace that they knew was soon to come. Instead, they settled on a series of vague compromises that ultimately left all parties feeling betrayed. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



THE COLD WAR 735 major powers (the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and China), each of which would have veto power. The Security Council would also have temporary delegates from several other nations. These agreements became the basis of the United Nations charter, drafted at a conference of fifty nations beginning April 25, 1945, in San Francisco. The U.S. Senate ratified the charter in July by a vote of 80 to 2 (in striking contrast to the slow and painful defeat it had administered to the charter of the League of Nations twenty-five years before). On other issues, however, the Yalta Conference produced no real accord. Basic disagreement remained about the postwar Polish government. Stalin, whose armies now occupied Poland, had already installed a government composed of the pro-communist "Lublin" Poles. Roosevelt and Churchill insisted that the pro-Western "London" Poles must be allowed a place in the Warsaw regime. Roosevelt envisioned a government based on free, democratic elections-which both he and Stalin recognized the pro-Western forces would win. Stalin agreed only to a vague compromise by which an unspecified number of pro-Western Poles would be granted a place in the government. He reluctantly consented to hold "free and unfettered elections" in Poland on an unspecified future date. They did not take place for almost fifty years. Nor was there agreement about the future of Germany. Roosevelt seemed to want a reconstructed and reunited Germany. Stalin wanted to impose heavy reparations on Germany and to ensure a permanent dismemberment of the nation. The final agreement was, like the Polish accord, vague ^ and unstable. The decision on reparations Disagreements , , , r , r . . over Germany would be referred to a future commission. . The United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union would each control its own "zone of occupation" in Germany-the zones to be determined by the position of troops at the end of the war. Berlin, the German capital, was already well inside the Soviet zone, but because of its symbolic importance it would be divided into four sectors, one for each nation to occupy. At an unspecified date, Germany would be reunited; but there was no agreement on how the reunification would occur. As for the rest of Europe, the conference produced a murky accord on the establishment of governments "broadly representative of all democratic elements" and "responsible to the will of the people." The Yalta accords, in



other words, were less a settlement of postwar issues than a set of loose principles that sidestepped the most difficult questions. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin returned home from the conference each apparently convinced that he had signed an important agreement. But the Soviet interpretation of the accords differed so sharply from the Anglo-American interpretation that the illusion endured only briefly. In the weeks following the Yalta Conference, Roosevelt watched with growing alarm as the Soviet Union moved systematically to establish pro-communist governments in one Central or Eastern European nation after another and as Stalin refused to make the changes in Poland that the president believed he had promised. But Roosevelt did not abandon hope. Still believing the differences could be settled, he left Washington early in the spring for a vacation at his retreat in Warm Springs, Georgia. There, on April 12, 1945, he suffered a sudden, massive stroke and died.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE PEACE

Harry S. Truman, who succeeded Roosevelt in the presidency, had little familiarity with international issues. And he did not share Roosevelt's apparent faith in the flexibility of the Soviet Union. Roosevelt had hoped that Stalin was a reasonable man with whom an ultimate accord might be reached. Truman, in contrast, sided with those in the government (and there were many) who considered the Soviet Union fundamentally untrustworthy and who viewed Stalin with suspicion and even loathing. The Failure of Potsdam

Truman had been in office only a few days before he decided to, as he put it, "get tough" with the Soviet Union. Truman met on April 23 with Soviet foreign minister Molotov and sharply rr , chastised him for violations of the Yalta Truman's , , , , "Get Tough" accords. In fact, Truman had only limited Policy leverage by which to compel the Soviet iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii \_ \_ . Union to carry out its agreements. Truman insisted that the United States should be able to get "85 percent" of what it wanted, but he was ultimately forced to settle for much less. Truman conceded first on Poland. When Stalin made a few minor concessions to the pro-Western exiles, Truman recognized the Warsaw government, hoping that noncommunist forces might gradually expand their influence there. Until the 1980s, they did not. Other questions remained, above all the question of Germany. To settle them, Truman met in July at Potsdam, in Russian-occupied Germany, with Churchill (who, after elections in Britain in the midst of the talks, was

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DEBATING THE PAST / ar Origins of the Cold War rji ij

Cold War may be over, but the debate over its origins is not. 1 IT. CI For more than a decade after the end of World War II, few historians in the United States challenged the official American interpretation of the beginnings of the Cold War. Most students of the conflict agreed that relations with the Soviet Union broke down because Stalin violated the Yalta accords and because he was spreading communism throughout the world. Not long after the war, as communism was spreading in Europe, George F. Kennan wrote an important telegraph arguing that the Soviet Union needed to be "contained," that while the United States should not invade communist nations it should work to stop their growing influence. Over time, he suggested, containment would weaken the Soviet Union. In debates from the 1950s on, scholars began to offer different, more critical views about the Cold War. William Appleman Williams, writing in *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (1959), disagreed with the containment theory. The Cold War, he said, was simply the most recent version of a consistent American effort in the twentieth century to maintain an "open door" for American trade in world markets. According to Williams, the confrontation with the Soviet Union was less a response to Russian aggressive designs than an expression of the American belief in the necessity of capitalist expansion. Later revisionists modified Williams's claims, but most accepted his basic outlook. The United States had been primarily to blame for the Cold War, many scholars asserted. Claims were made that the Soviet Union was too weak and exhausted at the end of World War II to pose a serious threat to America; that the United States used its nuclear monopoly to threaten and intimidate Stalin; that Harry Truman recklessly abandoned the conciliatory tone taken by Franklin Roosevelt (who died in 1945), taking instead a provocative hard line against the Russians. The Soviet response, these scholars (National Archives and Records Administration) Chiang was unable or unwilling to face the problems that were threatening to engulf him. Since 1927, the nationalist government he headed had been engaged in a prolonged and bitter rivalry with the communist armies of Mao Zedong. So successful had the communist challenge grown that Mao was in control of one-fourth of the population by 1945. Some Americans urged the government to find a "third force" to support

as an alternative to either Chiang or Mao. A few argued that the United States should try to reach some accommodation with Mao. Truman, however, decided reluctantly that he had no choice but to continue supporting Chiang. For the next several years, as the long struggle between the nationalists and the communists erupted into a full-scale civil war, the United States continued to send money and weapons to Chiang. Eventually, Truman sent General George Marshall, former army chief of staff and future secretary of state, to study the Chinese problem and recommend a policy for the United States. Many American friends in China-known generally as the China Lobby-pressured Marshall to expand the American military presence as a way to combat the continuing expansion of communist control. Marshall came to believe that nothing short of an all-out war with China would be necessary to defeat the communists, and he was unwilling to recommend that the president should accept such a war. That decision was the source of many embittered attacks on Marshall, Truman, and many others for decades to come. Instead, the American government was beginning to consider an alternative to China as the strong, pro-Western force in Asia: a revived Japan. Abandoning the strict Restoring Japan occupation policies of the first years after the war (when General Douglas MacArthur had governed the nation), the United States lifted restrictions on industrial development and encouraged rapid economic growth in Japan. The vision of an open, united world was giving way in Asia, as it was in Europe, to an acceptance of a divided world with a strong, pro-American sphere of influence. The Containment Doctrine By the end of 1945, any realistic hope of a postwar world constructed according to the Atlantic Charter ideals that Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed upon was in shambles. Instead, a new American policy, known as containment, was slowly emerging. Rather than attempting to create a unified, "open" world, the United States and its allies would work to "contain" the threat of further Soviet expansion.

asserted, reflected a legitimate fear of capitalist encirclement. Walter LaFeber, in *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1966* (1967 and later editions), maintained that America's supposedly idealistic internationalism at the close of the war was in reality an effort to ensure a world shaped in the American image that would guarantee its influence, especially regarding trade. Ultimately, the revisionist interpretation began to produce a reaction of its own, a "postrevisionist" view of the conflict. Some manifestations of this reaction consisted of little more than a reaffirmation of the traditional view of the Cold War, but the dominant works of postrevisionist scholarship attempted to strike a balance between the two camps, to identify areas of blame and misperception on both sides of the conflict. Thomas G. Paterson, in *Soviet-American Confrontation* (1973), viewed Russian hostility and American efforts to dominate the postwar world as equally responsible for the Cold War. John Lewis Gaddis, in *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947* (1972) and other works, similarly maintained that "neither side can bear sole responsibility for the onset of the Cold War." American policymakers, he argued, had only limited options because of the pressures of domestic politics. And Stalin was immobilized by his obsessive concern with maintaining his own power and ensuring absolute security for the Soviet Union. But if neither side was entirely to blame, Gaddis concluded, the Soviets must be held more accountable for the problems, for Stalin was in a much better position to compromise, given his broader power within his own government, than the politically hamstrung Truman. Melvyn Leffler's *Preponderance of Power* (1991) argued similarly that American policymakers genuinely believed in the existence of a Soviet threat and were determined to remain consistently stronger than the Soviets in response. A more complex view of the Cold War has emerged out of the postrevisionist literature. The Cold War, historians now suggest, was not so much the fault of one side or the other as it was the natural, perhaps inevitable, result of tensions between the world's two most powerful nations— nations that had been suspicious of, if not hostile toward, one another for nearly a century. "The United States and the Soviet Union were doomed to be antagonists," Ernest May wrote in 1984. "There probably was never any real possibility that the post-1945 relationship could be

anything but hostility verging on conflict." Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, scholars have had access to Russian archives that have enriched— though not fundamentally changed— the way historians view the Cold War. John Lewis Gaddis, in *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (1998) and *The Cold War: A History* (2005), argues that the strong anticommunist positions of Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, and Pope John Paul II had a larger impact on the weakening of the Soviet Union than was previously understood. In *The Global Cold War* (2005), Arne Westad, also making use of the released archives, roots the origins of the dangerous instability in the so-called Third World in the frequent interventions of both the Soviet Union and the United States in the Cold War era. And John Lewis Gaddis, in *The Cold War: A History*, looks back on the Cold War that he chronicled for several decades in the midst of the Cold War. He argues that, despite all the anxieties it raised and all the violence it helped to create, the containment policy that shaped American foreign policy beginning in the mid-1940s was ultimately a significant success. •

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What are the traditional and revisionist arguments concerning the origins of the Cold War? 2. How does the postrevisionist view differ from the traditional and revisionist interpretations? 3. Was the Cold War inevitable? The new doctrine emerged in part as a response to events in Europe in 1946. In Turkey, Stalin was trying to win control over the vital sea lanes to the Mediterranean. In Greece, communist Truman forces were threatening the pro-Western Doctrine government. The British had announced . they could no longer provide assistance. Faced with these challenges, Truman decided to enunciate a firm new policy. In doing so, he drew from the ideas of the influential American diplomat George F. Kennan, who had warned not long after the war that the only appropriate diplomatic approach to dealing with the Soviet Union was "a longterm, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." On March 12, 1947, Truman appeared before Congress and used Kennan's warnings as the basis of what became known as the Truman Doctrine. "I believe," he argued, "that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." In the same speech he requested \$400 million— part of it to bolster the armed forces of Greece and Turkey, another

part to provide economic assistance to Greece. Congress quickly approved the measure. The American commitment ultimately helped ease Soviet pressure on Turkey and helped the Greek government defeat the communist insurgents. More important, it established a basis for American foreign policy that would survive for more than forty years. The Marshall Plan An integral part of the containment policy was a proposal to aid in the economic reconstruction of Western Europe. There were many motives: humanitarian concern for the European „ people; a fear that Europe would remain an Rebuilding . , . u TT . , r -r . Europe economic dram on the United States if it . could not quickly rebuild and begin to feed itself; a desire for a strong European market for American goods. But above all, American policymakers believed that unless something could be done to strengthen the shaky pro-American governments in Western Europe, those governments might fall under the control of rapidly growing domestic communist parties. In June 1947, therefore. Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced a plan to provide economic assistance to all European nations (including the Soviet Union) that would join in drafting a program for recovery. Although Russia and its Eastern satellites quickly and predictably rejected the plan. 737 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

## 738 CHAPTER 27 PEACE-MONGERING SALUTING THE

MARSHALL PLAN In another age, a chimney spouting smoke would evoke environmental damage. But in the aftermath of World War II, the rebuilding of Europe's industrial capacity was a great achievement— helped by (and celebrated by) the United States and the Marshall Plan. (© The Granger Collection, New York)

Mobilization at Home That the United States had accepted a continuing commitment to the containment policy became clear in 1947 and 1948 through a series of measures designed to maintain American military power at near wartime levels. In 1948, at President Truman's request, Congress approved a new military draft and revived the Selective Service System. In the meantime, the United States, having failed to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on international control of nuclear weapons, redoubled its own efforts in atomic research, elevating nuclear weaponry to a central place in its military arsenal. The Atomic Energy Commission, established in 1946, became the supervisory body charged with overseeing all nuclear research, both civilian and military. And in 1950, the Truman administration approved the development of the new hydrogen bomb, a nuclear weapon far more powerful than the bombs the United States had used in 1945. The National Security Act of 1947 reshaped the nation's major military and diplomatic institutions. It created a new Department of Defense to oversee all National Security Act branches of the armed services, combining of 1947 functions previously performed separately . by the War and Navy Departments. A National Security Council (NSC), operating out of the White House, would oversee foreign and military policy. A Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) would replace the wartime Office of sixteen Western European nations eagerly participated. Whatever domestic opposition to the plan there was in the United States largely vanished after a sudden coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 that established a Sovietdominated communist government there. In April, Congress approved the creation of the Economic Cooperation Administration, the agency that would administer the Marshall Plan, as it became known. Over the next three years, the Marshall Plan channeled over \$12 billion of American aid into Europe, helping to spark a substantial economic revival. By the end of 1950, European industrial production had risen 64 percent, communist strength in



the member nations had declined, and opportunities for American trade had revived. SURVIVING NUCLEAR WAR Preoccupation with the possibility of a nuclear war reached a fever pitch in the first years of the atomic era. The Federal Civil Defense Agency, which in 1950 issued these simple rules for civilians to follow in dealing with an atomic attack, was one of many organizations attempting to convince the American public that a nuclear war was survivable. (Federal Civil Defense Agency) Survival Secrets for Atomic Attacks ALWAYS PUT FIRST THINGS FIRST Try to Get Shielded If you have time, get down in a basement or subway. Should you unexpectedly be caught out-of-doors, seek shelter alongside a building, or jump in any handy ditch or gutter. Drop Flat on Ground or Floor To keep from being tossed about and to lessen the chances of being struck by falling and flying objects, flatten out at the base of a wall, or at the bottom of a bank Bury Your Face in Your Arms When you drop flat, hide your eyes in the crook of your elbow. That will protect your face from flash burns, prevent temporary blindness and keep flying objects out of your eyes. NEVER LOSE YOUR HEAD



THE COLD WAR 739 Strategic Services and would be responsible for collecting information through both open and covert methods; as the Cold War continued, the CIA would also engage secretly in political and military operations. The National Security Act, in other words, gave the president expanded powers with which to pursue the nation's international goals. The Road to NATO

At about the same time, the United States was moving to strengthen the military capabilities of Western Europe. Convinced that a reconstructed Germany was essential to the hopes of the West, Truman reached an agreement with England and France to merge the three western zones of occupation into a new West German republic (which would include the former American, British, and French sectors of Berlin, even though that city lay well within the East German zone). Stalin responded quickly. On June 24, 1948, he imposed a tight blockade around the western sectors of Berlin. If Germany was to be officially divided, he was implying, then the country's western government would have to abandon its outpost in the heart of the Soviet-controlled eastern zone. Truman refused to do so.

Reykjavik® ICELAND Faeroe Is. n (Den.) (' ATLANTIC OCEAN Shetland Is. , (Br.)f North Sea SWEDEN NORWAY H™r °sl°® Stockholm S C O fvV J IRELAND GREAT DENMARK BRITAIN ®Copenhagen Amsterdam London Ns\ .. « Berlin NETH. ® Warsaw EAST ® POLAND Lisbon® ^ / ® Madrid SPAIN MOROCCO ALGERIA (Fr.) Brussels® EAST 1 BELG. ®nn GERMANY Paris® njx WEST Pr°9ue u GERMANY c^fCH FRANCE \_ Vienna® SWITZ. AUSTRIA ® Budapest HUNGA ROMANIA Belgrade^ Bucharest @ °00S/ ITALY ^IZ/A Rome Tirane® ALBANIA GREECE Sicily ® Athens Moscow SOVIET UNION Corsica I (Fr.) ■ Sardinia i 1 (It.)M Q, cp ^ Sofia TUNISIA \* Malta (Br.) Mexit 1 t e r r , , r a n e Crete a n Sea LIBYA DIVIDED EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II This map shows the sharp division that emerged in Europe after World War II between the area under the control of the Soviet Union and the area allied with the United States. In the east, Soviet control or influence extended into all the nations shaded brown—including the eastern half of Germany. In the west and south, the green-shaded nations were allied with the United States as members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The countries shaded gold were aligned with neither of the two superpowers. The small map in the upper right shows the division of Berlin among the various

occupying powers at the end of the war. Eventually, the American, British, and French sectors were combined to create West Berlin, a city governed by West Germany but entirely surrounded by communist East Germany. How did the West prevent East Germany from absorbing West Berlin?

740 CHAPTER 27 Unwilling to risk war through a military challenge to the blockade, he ordered a massive airlift to supply the city with food, fuel, and other needed goods. The airlift continued for more than ten months, transporting nearly 2.5 million tons of material, keeping a city of 2 million people alive, and transforming West Berlin into a symbol of the West's resolve to resist communist expansion. In the spring of 1949, Stalin lifted the now ineffective blockade. And in October, the division of Germany into two nations—the Federal Republic in the west and the Democratic Republic in the east—became official. The crisis in Berlin accelerated the consolidation of what was already in effect an alliance among the United States and NATO the countries Western Europe. On April 4, 1949, twelve nations signed an agreement establishing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and declaring that an armed attack against one member would be considered an attack against all. The NATO countries would, moreover, maintain a standing military force in Europe to defend against what many policymakers believed was the threat of a Soviet invasion. The formation of NATO eventually spurred the Soviet Union to create an alliance of its own with the communist governments in Eastern Europe—an alliance formalized in 1955 by the Warsaw Pact.

Reevaluating Cold War Policy A series of events in 1949 propelled the Cold War in new directions. An announcement in September that the Soviet Union had successfully exploded its first atomic weapon, years earlier than predicted, shocked and frightened many Americans. So did the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government in China, which occurred with startling speed in the last months of 1949. Chiang fled with his political allies and the remnants of his army to the offshore island of Formosa (Taiwan), and the entire Chinese mainland came under the control of a communist government that many Americans believed to be an extension of the Soviet Union. The United States refused to recognize the new communist regime and, instead, devoted increased attention to the revitalization of Japan as a buffer against Asian communism, ending the American occupation in 1952. In this atmosphere of escalating crisis, Truman called for a thorough review of American foreign policy. The result was a NSC 68 National Security Council report, issued in

1950 and commonly known as NSC-68, which outlined a shift in the American position. The first statements of the containment doctrine-the writings of George Kennan, the Truman Doctrine speech-had made at least some distinctions between areas of vital interest to the United States and areas of less importance to the nation's foreign policy and called on America to share the burden of containment with its allies. But the April 1950 document argued that the United States could no longer rely on other nations to take the initiative in resisting communism. It must itself establish firm and active leadership of the noncommunist world. And it must move to stop communist expansion virtually anywhere it occurred.

**PROCLAIMING THE VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION** Chairman Mao Zedong, standing on the rostrum of the Tiananmen Square Gate in Beijing, speaks by radio to the Chinese people on October 1, 1949, to proclaim the founding of the People's Republic of China. This was shortly after the communist victory in the nation's civil war and the departure of Chiang Kaishek and his followers to the island of Taiwan. (© AP Images) regardless of the intrinsic strategic or economic value of the lands in question. Among other things, the report called for a major expansion of American military power, with a defense budget almost four times the previously projected figure. The Conservative Opposition to Containment The containment doctrine for dealing with the Cold War attracted broad bipartisan support. But not everyone believed that containment was the right approach to take. Some Americans on the left believed that containment was unnecessarily belligerent and that the United States could have made peace with the Russians. But greater opposition to containment came from conservative Americans who believed that it was too weak a response to communism and saw containment as a kind of appeasement. Among the conservatives who disdained containment was an anticommunist organization known as the John Birch



THE COLD WAR 741 Society. Its leader was Robert Welch, a man so fearful of communism that he believed some of the most important leaders of American government were trying to undermine the United States by collaborating with the Soviets. Welch presented his opposition in *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*, in which he argued that much of the American government was riddled with treason. "For years," he wrote, "we have been taken steadily down the road to Communism by steps supposedly designed ... as ways of fighting communism." But instead, he argued, it was communist Americans themselves who were undermining the nation. "Both the U.S. and Soviet governments are controlled by the same furtive conspiratorial cabal of internationalists, greedy bankers, and corrupt politicians," Welch wrote. "If left unexposed, the traitors inside the U.S. government would betray the country's sovereignty to the United Nations for a collectivist New World Order, managed by a 'one-world government.'" Among the sources of treason, Welch claimed, were the United Nations and other international institutions. Many Americans considered the John Birch Society an extremist organization, but the belief that communism was the greatest danger facing the United States was widely supported by many people. The opposition to containment reached some of the highest levels of the government. John Foster Dulles, who would become secretary of state in the Eisenhower administration, wrote the foreign policy plank of the Republican platform in 1952. "We charge that the leaders of the Administration in power lost the peace so dearly earned by World War II," Dulles stated. "They abandoned friendly nations such as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia." Containment, opponents such as Dulles argued, was a policy of weakness that had allowed the communists to take over much of the world. Many of those who argued against containment called for what was known as "rollback": instead of containing communism, the United States should be pushing back the borders of communism, despite the possibility of another war. President Eisenhower, however, did not share Dulles's belief in rollback, and the government abided by the containment strategy throughout the 1950s and beyond.

AMERICAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS AFTER THE WAR The crises overseas were not the only frustrations the American people



encountered after the war. The nation also faced serious economic difficulties in adapting to peacetime. The resulting instability contributed to an increasingly heated political climate. The Problems of Reconversion The bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended the war months earlier than almost anyone had predicted and propelled the nation precipitously into a process of reconversion. There had been many predictions that peace would bring a return of Depression unemployment, as war production ceased and returning soldiers flooded the labor market. But there was no general economic collapse in 1946-for several reasons. Government spending dropped sharply and abruptly, to be sure; \$35 billion of war contracts were canceled within weeks of the Japanese surrender. But increased consumer demand GI Bill soon compensated. Consumer goods had . been generally unavailable during the war, so many workers had saved a substantial portion of their wages and were now ready to spend. A \$6 billion tax cut pumped additional money into general circulation. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, better known as the GI Bill of Rights, provided economic and educational assistance to veterans, increasing spending even further. This flood of consumer demand ensured that there would be no new depression, but it contributed to more than two years of serious inflation, during which prices rose at rates of 14 to 15 percent annually. In the summer of 1946, President Truman vetoed an extension of the authority of the wartime Office of Price Administration, thus eliminating price controls. (He was opposed not to the controls, but to congressional amendments that had weakened the OPA.) Inflation soared to 25 percent before he relented a month later and signed a bill little different from the one he had rejected. Compounding the economic difficulties was a sharp rise in labor unrest, driven in part by the impact of inflation. By the end of 1945, there had already been major strikes in the autoPostwar mobile, electrical, and steel industries. In Labor Unrest April 1946, John L. Lewis led the United . Mine Workers on strike, shutting down the coal fields for forty days. Fears grew rapidly that without vital coal supplies, the entire economy might grind to a halt. Truman finally forced the miners to return to work by ordering THE GI BILL The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, better known as the GI Bill provided a wide range of benefits to all honorably discharged service personnel who served during the war. Benefits included low-

cost mortgages, low-interest loans to start a business, cash payments of tuition and living expenses to attend university, high school or vocational education, as well as one year of unemployment compensation. By 1956, roughly 2.2 million veterans had used the G.I. Bill education benefits to attend colleges or universities. An additional 5.6 million veterans used these benefits for some kind of training program. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

742 CHAPTER 27 government seizure of the mines. But in the process, he pressured mine owners to grant the union most of its demands, which he had earlier denounced as inflationary. Almost simultaneously, the nation's railroads suffered a total shutdown-the first in the nation's history-as two major unions walked out on strike. By threatening to use the army to run the trains, Truman pressured the workers back to work after only a few days. Reconversion was particularly difficult for the millions of women and minorities who had entered the workforce during the war. With veterans returning home and looking for jobs in the industrial economy, employers tended to push women, blacks, Hispanics, Chinese, and others out of the plants to make room for white males. Some of the war workers, particularly women, left the workforce voluntarily, out of a desire to return to their former domestic lives. But as many as 80 percent of women workers, and virtually all black, Hispanic, and Asian males, wanted to continue working. The postwar inflation, the pressure to meet the rising expectations of a high-consumption society, the growing divorce rate, which left many women responsible for their own economic well-being-all combined to create among women a high demand for paid employment. As they found themselves excluded from industrial jobs, therefore, women workers moved increasingly into other areas of the economy (above all, the service sector). The Fair Deal Rejected Days after the Japanese surrender, Truman submitted to Congress a twenty-one-point domestic program outlining what T, he later termed the "Fair Deal." It called for "Fair Deal" expansion of Social Security benefits, the . raising of the legal minimum wage from 40 to 65 cents an hour, a program to ensure full employment through aggressive use of federal spending and investment, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Act, public housing and slum clearance, long-range environmental and public works planning, and government promotion of scientific research. Weeks later he added other proposals: federal aid to funding for the St. Lawrence Seaway, nationalization of atomic energy, and, perhaps most important, national health insurance-a dream of welfare-state liberals for decades, but one deferred in 1935 when the Social Security Act was written. The president was declaring an end to the wartime moratorium on liberal reform. He was also symbolizing, as he later wrote, "my assumption of the office of President in my own right."

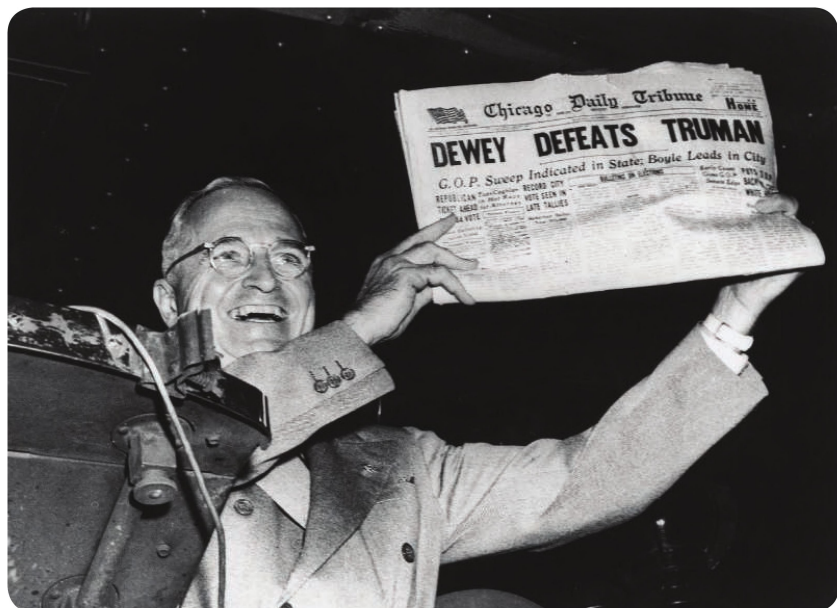
But many of the Fair Deal programs fell victim to the same public and congressional conservatism that had crippled the last years of the New Deal. Indeed, that conservatism seemed to be intensifying, as the November 1946 congressional elections suggested. Using the simple but devastating slogan "Had Enough?," the Republican Party won control of both houses of Congress. The new Republican Congress quickly moved to reduce government spending and chip away at New Deal reforms. The president bowed to what he claimed was the popular mandate to lift most remaining wage and price controls, and Congress moved further to deregulate the economy. Inflation rapidly increased. When a public outcry arose over the soaring prices for meat, Senator Robert Taft, perhaps the most influential Republican conservative in Congress, advised consumers to "eat less," and added, "We have got to break with the corrupting idea that we can legislate prosperity, legislate equality, legislate opportunity." True to the spirit of Taft's words, the Republican Congress refused to appropriate funds to aid education, increase Social Security, or support reclamation and power projects in the West. It defeated a proposal to raise the minimum wage. It passed tax measures that cut rates dramatically for high-income families and moderately for those with lower incomes. Only vetoes by the president finally forced a more progressive bill. The most notable action of the new Congress was its assault on the Wagner Act of 1935. Conservatives had always resented the new powers the legislation had granted to unions; and in light of the labor difficulties during and after the war, such resentments intensified sharply. The result was the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, better known as the Taft-Hartley Act. It made illegal the so-called closed shop (a workplace in which no one can be hired without first being a member of a union). And although it continued to permit the creation of so-called union shops (in which workers must join a union after being hired), it permitted states to pass "right-to-work" laws prohibiting even that. Repealing this provision, the controversial Section 14(b), would remain a goal of the labor movement for decades. Outraged workers and union leaders denounced the measure as a "slave labor bill." Truman vetoed it, but both the House and the Senate easily overruled him the same day. The Taft-Hartley Act did not destroy the labor movement, as many union leaders had predicted. But it did damage weaker unions in relatively lightly organized industries such as

chemicals and textiles; and it made more difficult the organizing of workers who had never been union members, especially women, minorities, and most workers in the South. The Election of 1948 Truman and his advisers believed the American public was not ready to abandon the achievements of the New Deal, despite the 1946 election results. As they planned strategy for the 1948 campaign, therefore, they placed their hopes in an appeal to enduring Democratic loyalties. Throughout 1948, Truman proposed one reform measure after another. Although Congress ignored or defeated them all, the president was building campaign issues for the fall. There remained, however, the problems of Truman's personal unpopularity-the belief among much of the electorate \_ that he and his administration were weak Democratic . . . Defections and inept~and the deep divisions within . the Democratic Party. At the Democratic National Convention that summer, two factions abandoned the party: southern conservatives reacted angrily to Truman's proposed civil rights bill (the first major one of the century)

## THE COLD WAR • 743 ELECTION NIGHT, 1948

Throughout the 1948 campaign, Harry Truman was considered a very unlikely victor for a new term as president. But the combination of an energetic campaign by Truman, a lack of enthusiasm for his opponent, Thomas Dewey, and the lingering loyalty to the New Deal led to a surprise victory. The Chicago Daily Tribune, a strongly Republican paper, was so certain of Dewey's victory that it published this headline, which hit the newsstands just after it became clear that Truman won. This picture is one of the most famous political photographs of the twentieth century. (© Rue des Archives/The Granger Collection, New York) and to the approval at the convention of a civil rights plank in the platform (engineered by Hubert Humphrey, the mayor of Minneapolis). These two factions formed the States' Rights (or "Dixiecrat") Party, with Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as its presidential nominee. At the same time, the Democratic Party's left wing formed a new Progressive Party, with Henry A. Wallace as its candidate. Wallace supporters objected to what they considered the slow and ineffective domestic policies of the Truman administration, but they resented even more the president's confrontational stance toward the Soviet Union. In addition, many Democratic liberals unwilling to leave the party attempted to dump the president in 1948. The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a coalition of liberals, tried to entice Dwight D. Eisenhower, the popular war hero, to contest the nomination. Only after Eisenhower had refused did liberals bow to the inevitable and concede the nomination to Truman. The Republicans, in the meantime, had once again nominated Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, whose substantial reelection victory in 1946 had made him one of the nation's leading political figures. Austere, dignified, and competent, he seemed to offer an unbeatable alternative to the president. Polls showed Dewey with an apparently insurmountable lead in September, so much so that some opinion analysts stopped taking surveys. Dewey conducted a subdued, statesmanlike campaign and tried to avoid antagonizing anyone. But Truman, seemingly alone, believed he could win. As the campaign gathered momentum, Truman became more and more aggressive, turning the fire away from himself and toward Dewey and the "do-nothing, good-for-nothing" Republican Congress, which was, he told the voters,

responsible for fueling inflation and abandoning workers and the middle class. To dramatize his point, he called Congress into a special session in July to give it a chance, he said, to enact the liberal measures the Republicans had recently written into their platform. Congress met for two weeks and, predictably, did almost nothing. The president traveled nearly 32,000 miles and made 356 speeches, delivering blunt, extemporaneous attacks. He had told Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, his running mate, "I'm going to fight hard. I'm going to give them hell." He called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, increased price supports for m , farmers, and strong civil rights protection Trumans c U1 , /TT u ° , Surprising f'r '3^ac^s- (He was the first president to Victory campaign in Harlem.) He sought, in short, . to re-create much of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal coalition. To the surprise of virtually everyone, he succeeded. On election night, Truman won a narrow but decisive victory: 49.5 percent of the popular vote to Dewey's 45.1 percent (with the two splinter parties dividing the small remainder between them), and an electoral vote margin of 303 to 189. Democrats, in the meantime, regained both houses of Congress by substantial margins. The Fair Deal Revived Despite the Democratic victories, the Eighty-First Congress was little more hospitable to Truman's Fair Deal reform than its Republican predecessor. Truman did win some important victories. Congress raised the legal minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour. It approved an important expansion





Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%) Harry S. Truman 303 24,105,695 (Democratic) (49.5) Thomas E. Dewey 189 21,969,170 (Republican) (45.1) Strom Thurmond 39 1,169,021 (States' Rights) (2.4) Henry A. Wallace \_ 1,156,103 (Progressive) (2.4) Other Candidates (Prohibition; Socialist Labor, Socialist, Socialist Workers) — 272,713 53% of electorate voting

**ELECTION OF 1948** Despite the widespread expectation that the Republican candidate, Thomas Dewey, would easily defeat Truman in 1948, the president in fact won a substantial reelection victory that year. This map shows the broad geographic reach of Truman's victory. Dewey swept most of the Northeast, but Truman dominated almost everywhere else. Strom Thurmond, the States' Rights candidate, carried four states in the South. • What had prompted Thurmond to desert the Democratic Party and run for president on his own? of the Social Security system, increasing benefits by 75 percent and extending them to 10 million additional people. And it passed the National Housing Act of 1949, which provided for the construction of 810,000 units of low- income housing, accompanied by long-term rent subsidies. (Inadequate funding plagued the program for years, and it reached its initial goal only in 1972.) But on other issues-among them national health insurance and aid to education-Truman made no progress. Nor was he able to persuade Congress to accept the civil rights legislation he proposed in 1949, which would have made lynching a federal crime, provided federal protection of black voting rights, abolished the poll tax, and established a new Fair Employment Practices Commission to curb discrimination in hiring (to replace the wartime commission Roosevelt had established in 1941). Southern Democrats filibustered to kill the bill. Truman did proceed on his own to battle several forms of racial discrimination. He ordered an end to discrimination in the hiring of government employees. He began to dismantle Truman Stymied

segregation within the armed forces. And he allowed the Justice Department to become actively involved in court battles against discriminatory statutes. In the meantime, the Supreme Court signaled its own growing awareness of the issue by ruling, in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), that the courts could not be used to enforce private "covenants" meant

to bar African Americans from residential neighborhoods. The Nuclear Age Conflicting Views of Nuclear Power  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii Looming over the political, economic, and diplomatic struggles of the postwar years was the image of the great and terrible mushroom clouds that had risen over Alamogordo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki. Americans greeted these terrible new instruments of destruction with fear and awe, but also with expectation. Postwar culture, therefore, was torn in many ways. There was the dark image of the nuclear war that many Americans feared would be a result of the rivalry with the Soviet Union. But there was also the bright image of a dazzling technological future that atomic power might help to produce. The fear of nuclear weapons was not hard to find in popular culture, even if it was often disguised in other ways. The late 1940s and early 1950s were the heyday of the film noir, a kind of filmmaking that had originated in France and had been named for the dark lighting characteristic of the genre. American film noir movies portrayed the loneliness of individuals in an impersonal world-a staple of American culture for many decades-but also suggested the menacing character of the age, the looming possibility of vast destruction. Sometimes, films and television programs addressed nuclear fear explicitly-for example, the celebrated television show of the 1950s and early 1960s *The Twilight Zone*, which frequently featured dramatic portrayals of the aftermath of nuclear war; or postwar comic books, which depicted powerful superheroes saving the world from destruction. Such images resonated with the public because awareness of nuclear weapons was increasingly built into their daily lives. Schools and office buildings had regular air raid drills, to prepare people for the possibility of nuclear attack. Radio stations regularly tested the emergency broadcast systems. Fallout shelters sprang up in public buildings and private homes, stocked with water and canned goods. America was a nation filled with anxiety. And yet at the same time, the United States was also an exuberant nation, dazzled by its own prosperity and excited by the technological innovations that were transforming the world. Among those innovations was nuclear power-which offered the possibility that the same scientific knowledge that could destroy the world might also lead it iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii into a dazzling future. A Gallup poll late in 1948 revealed that approximately two-thirds of those who had an opinion on the

subject believed that, "in the long run," atomic energy would "do more good than harm." Nuclear power Promise of Cheap Nuclear Power

THE COLD WAR • 745 plants began to spring up in many areas of the country, welcomed as the source of cheap and unlimited electricity, their potential dangers scarcely even discussed by those who celebrated the creation of atomic power.

THE KOREAN WAR On June 24, 1950, the armies of communist North Korea swept across their southern border and invaded the pro-Western half of the Korean peninsula to the south. Within days, they had occupied much of South Korea, including Seoul, its capital. Almost immediately, the United States committed itself to defeating the North Korean offensive. It was the nation's first military engagement of the Cold War.

The Divided Peninsula Before the end of World War II, both the United States and the Soviet Union had sent troops into Korea in an effort to weaken Japanese occupation. Once the war was over and the Japanese expelled, the United States and the Soviet Union each supported different governments—the Soviets supporting a communist regime in the North and the United States supporting a pro-Syngman Western government in the South. Instead, they had divided the nation, supposedly temporarily, along the 38th parallel. The Russians departed in 1949, leaving behind a communist government in the north with a strong, Soviet-equipped army. The Americans left a few months later, handing control to the pro-Western government of Syngman Rhee, who was anticommunist but only nominally democratic. He had a relatively small military, which he used primarily to suppress internal opposition. The relative weakness of the south offered a strong incentive to nationalists in the North Korean government who wanted to reunite the country. The temptation to invade grew stronger when the American government implied that it did not consider South Korea within its own "defense perimeter." The role of the Soviet Union in North Korea's calculations prior to the 1950 invasion remains unclear; there is reason to believe that the North Koreans acted without Stalin's prior approval. But the Soviets supported the offensive once it began. The Truman administration responded quickly to the invasion. On June 27, 1950, the president appealed to the United Nations to intervene. The Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council at the time (to protest the council's refusal to recognize the new communist government of China) and thus was unable to exercise its veto power. As a result, American

delegates were able to win UN agreement to a resolution calling for international assistance to the Rhee government. On June 30, the United States ordered its own ground forces into Korea, and Truman appointed General Douglas MacArthur to command the overwhelmingly American UN operations there. The intervention in Korea was the first expression of the newly expansive American foreign policy outlined in NSC-68. But the administration quickly went beyond NSC-68 and decided that the war would be an effort not simply at containment but also at "liberation." After a surprise American invasion at Inchon in September had routed the North Korean forces from the south and sent them fleeing back across the 38th parallel, Truman gave MacArthur permission to pursue the communists into their own territory. His aim, as an American-sponsored UN resolution proclaimed in October, was to create "a unified, independent and democratic Korea." "Liberation"

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii From Invasion to Stalemate For several weeks, MacArthur's invasion of North Korea proceeded smoothly. On October 19, the capital, Pyongyang, fell to the UN forces. Victory seemed near-until the new communist government of China, alarmed by the movement of American forces toward its border, intervened. By November 4, eight divisions of the Chinese army had entered the war. The UN offensive stalled and then collapsed. Through December 1950, outnumbered American forces fought a bitter, losing battle against the Chinese divisions, retreating at almost every juncture. Within weeks, communist forces had pushed the Americans back below the 38th parallel once again and had captured the South Korean capital of Seoul a second time. By mid-January 1951 the rout had ceased; and by March the UN armies had managed to regain much of the territory they had recently lost, taking back Seoul and pushing the communists north of the 38th parallel once more. But with that, the war degenerated into a protracted stalemate. From the start, Truman was determined to avoid a direct conflict with China, which he feared might lead to a new world war. Once China entered the war, he began seeking a negotiated solution to the struggle, and for the next two years he insisted that there be no wider war. But he faced a formidable opponent in General MacArthur, who resisted any limits on his military discretion. The United States was fighting the Chinese, he argued. It should therefore attack China itself, if not through an actual invasion, then at least by bombing communist forces massing

north of the Chinese border. In March 1951, MacArthur indicated his unhappiness in a public letter to House Republican leader Joseph W. Martin that concluded: "There is no substitute for victory." His position had wide popular support. The Martin letter came after nine months during which MacArthur had opposed Truman's decisions. More than once, „ the president had warned the general Truman- ; . 8 MacArthur to keep his objections to himself.

Controversy The release of the Martin letter,  
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r 11 -i therefore, struck the president as intolerable insubordination. On April 11, 1951, he relieved MacArthur of his command. There was a storm of public outrage. Sixty-nine percent of the American people supported MacArthur, a Gallup poll reported. When the general returned to the United States

746 CHAPTER 27 DISARRAY IN KOREA This disturbing picture by the noted Life magazine photographer Carl Mydans conveys something of the air of catastrophe that surrounded the rout of Americans from North Korea by the Chinese in 1951. Having approached the Chinese border, the Americans confronted a massive invasion of Korea by Chinese troops, who soon pushed them back below the border between the North and the South and well beyond. Shown here are U.S. Marines following a vehicle carrying corpses after a battle with Chinese and North Korean troops. They had been trapped by the enemy in North Korea and had fought their way forty miles south before being rescued. (Photo by Carl Mydans/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) later in 1951, he was greeted with wild enthusiasm. His televised farewell appearance before a joint session of Congress which he concluded by saying, "Old soldiers never die, they Just fade away"-attracted an audience of millions. Public criticism of Truman abated somewhat when a number of prominent military figures, including General Omar Bradley, publicly supported the president's decision. But substantial hostility toward Truman remained. In the meantime, the Korean stalemate continued. Negotiations between the opposing forces began at Panmunjom in July 1951, but the talks and the war dragged on until 1953. Limited Mobilization Just as the war in Korea produced only a limited American military commitment abroad, so it created only a limited economic mobilization at home. Still, the government did try to control the wartime economy in several important ways. First, Truman set up the Office of Defense Mobilization to fight inflation by holding down prices and discouraging high union wage demands. When these cautious regulatory efforts failed, the president took more-drastic action. When railroad workers walked off the job in 1951, Truman ordered the government to seize control of the railroads. That helped keep the , . r trains running, but it had no effect on union Wartime Economic demands. Workers ultimately got most of Regulation what they had demanded. In 1952, during a nationwide steel strike, Truman seized the steel mills, citing his powers as commander in chief. But in a 6-to-3 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the president had exceeded his authority, and Truman was forced to relent. The Korean War gave a significant boost to economic growth by pumping new government funds into the economy at a point

when many people believed a recession was about to begin. But as the long stalemate continued, leaving 140,000 Americans dead or wounded, frustration turned to anger. Many began to believe that something must be deeply wrong not only in Korea but within the United States as well. Such fears contributed to the rise of the second major campaign of the century against domestic communism.





THE COLD WAR 747 ^ Chinese North Korean forces, ^ Chinese and North Korean counterattack ^ June 25, 1950-Sept. 10, 1950 CHINA ^ Nov. 26, 1950-Jan. 24, 1951 w UN counterattack (MANCHURIA) w Final UN counterattack \*\* Sept. 15, 1950-Nov. 24, 1950 ^ Jan. 25, 1951 —April 21, 1951 Choson# Furthest extent of UN counteroffensive Nov. 24, 1950 Chongjin CHINA (MANCHURIA) Chongjj Chosarv NORTH KOREA Pyongyang. Sea of Japan Yellow Sea Extent of communist counterattack Jan. 12, 1951 SOUTH KOREA #Pusan THE KOREAN WAR, 1950-1953 These two maps illustrate the changing fortunes of UN forces (which were mostly American) during the 1950-1953 Korean War. The map at the left shows the extent of the North Korean invasion of the South in 1950; communist forces for a time controlled all of Korea except a small area around Pusan in the southeast. On September 15, 1950, UN troops under Douglas MacArthur landed in force at Inchon and soon drove the North Koreans back across the border. MacArthur then pursued the North Koreans well into their own territory. The map at right shows the very different circumstances once the Chinese entered the war in November 1950. Chinese forces drove the UN army back below the 38th parallel and, briefly, deep into South Korea, below Seoul. The UN troops fought back to the prewar border between North and South Korea late in 1951, but the war then bogged down into a stalemate that continued for a year and a half.

• What impact did the Korean War have on American politics in the early 1950s? THE CRUSADE AGAINST SUBVERSION Why did the American people develop a growing fear of internal communist subversion that by the early 1950s had reached the point of near hysteria? There are many possible answers, but no single definitive explanation. One factor was obvious. Communism was not an imagined enemy in the 1950s. It had tangible shape, in Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union. In addition, America had Sources of encountered setbacks in its battle against

IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII communism: the Korean stalemate, the "loss" of China, the Soviet development of an atomic bomb. Searching for someone to blame, many people were attracted to the idea of a communist conspiracy within American borders. But there were other factors as well, rooted in American domestic politics. HUAC and Alger Hiss Much of the anticommunist furor emerged out of the Republican Party's search for an issue with which to

attack the Democrats, and out of the Democrats' efforts to stifle that issue. Beginning in 1947 (with Republicans temporarily in control of Congress), the House Un-American Activities

748 CHAPTER 27 DALTON TRUMBO Screenwriter Dalton Trumbo was a member of the "Hollywood Ten." He refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee in its investigation of communist influences in Hollywood. As a result, Trumbo was blacklisted and could not find work. While blacklisted, Trumbo won two Academy Awards; one was given to a "front" writer who pretended to be the author of the script and the other was awarded to "Robert Rich," Trumbo's pseudonym. (© Bettmann/Corbis) Committee (HUAC) held widely publicized investigations to prove that, under Democratic rule, the government had tolerated (if not actually encouraged) communist subversion. The committee turned first to the movie industry, arguing that communists had infiltrated Hollywood. Writers and producers, some of them former communists, were called to testify; and when several of them ("the Hollywood Ten") refused to answer questions about their own political beliefs and those of their colleagues, they were jailed for contempt. Some writers were barred from employment in the movie industry when Hollywood, attempting to protect its public image, adopted a blacklist of those of "suspicious loyalty." More alarming to much of the public was HUAC's investigation into charges of disloyalty leveled against a former high-ranking member of the State Department: Alger Hiss. In 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a self-avowed former communist agent who had turned vehemently against the party and become an editor at Time magazine, told the committee that Alger Hiss Fliss Passed classified State Department . documents through him to the Soviet Union in 1937 and 1938. When Hiss sued him for slander. Chambers produced microfilms of the documents (called the "pumpkin papers," because Chambers had kept them hidden in a pumpkin in his garden). Hiss could not be tried for espionage because of the statute of limitations (a law that protects individuals from prosecution for most crimes after seven years have passed). But largely because of the relentless efforts of Richard M. Nixon, a freshman Republican congressman from California and a member of HUAC, Hiss was convicted of perjury and served several years in prison. The Hiss case not only discredited a prominent young diplomat; it also cast suspicion on a generation of liberal Democrats and made it possible for many Americans to believe that communists had actually infiltrated the government. The Federal Loyalty Program and the Rosenberg Case

Partly to protect itself against Republican attacks, partly to encourage support for the president's foreign policy initiatives, the Truman administration in 1947 initiated a widely publicized program to review the loyalty of federal employees. In August 1950, the president authorized sensitive agencies to fire people deemed "bad security risks." By 1951, more than 2,000 government employees had resigned under pressure and 212 had been dismissed. The employee loyalty program established a widely cited list of supposedly subversive organizations. The director of the The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), J. McCarran Edgar Hoover, investigated and harassed Internal alleged radicals. In 1950, Congress passed Security Act the McCarran Internal Security Act, requiring all communist organizations to register with the government. Truman vetoed the bill. Congress easily overrode his veto. The successful Soviet detonation of a nuclear weapon in 1949 convinced many people that there had been a conspiracy to pass American atomic secrets to the Russians. In 1950, Klaus Fuchs, a young British scientist, seemed to confirm those fears when he testified that he had delivered to the Russians details of the manufacture of the bomb. The case ultimately settled on an obscure New York couple, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, members of the Communist Party, whom the federal government claimed had been the masterminds of



THE COLD WAR 749 the conspiracy. The case against them rested in large part on testimony by Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, a machinist who had worked on the Manhattan Project. Greenglass admitted to channeling secret information to the Soviet Union through other agents (including Fuchs). His sister and brother-in-law had, he claimed, planned and orchestrated the espionage. The Rosenbergs were convicted and, on April 5, 1951, sentenced to death. After two years of appeals and protests by sympathizers, they died in the electric chair on June 19, 1953. All these factors-the HUAC investigations, the Hiss trial, the loyalty investigations, the McCarran Act, the Rosenberg case-helped to intensify public fear of communist subversion. By the early 1950s, the fear seemed to have gripped much of the country. State and local governments, the judiciary, schools and universities, labor unions-all sought to purge themselves Anticommunist of real or imagined subversives. A pervasive hysteria settled on the country-not only the fear of communist infiltration but also the fear of being suspected of communist subversion. It was a climate that made possible the rise of an extraordinary public figure, whose behavior at any other time might have been dismissed as preposterous. McCarthyism Joseph McCarthy was a relatively undistinguished first-term Republican senator from Wisconsin when, in February 1950, he suddenly burst into national prominence. In the midst of a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, he raised a sheet of paper and claimed to "hold in my hand" a list of 205 known communists currently working in the U.S. State Department. No person of comparable stature had ever made so bold a charge against the federal government; and in the weeks to come, as McCarthy repeated and expanded his accusations, he emerged as the nation's most prominent leader of the crusade against domestic subversion. Within weeks of his charges against the State Department, McCarthy was leveling accusations at other agencies. After 1952, with the Republicans in control of the Senate and McCarthy the chairman of a special subcommittee, he conducted highly publicized investigations of subversion in many areas of the government. His ambitious assistants, Roy Cohn and David Schine, sauntered McCarthyism's, Appeal arrogantly through federal offices and American embassies overseas looking for evidence of communist influence. One hapless government

official after another appeared before McCarthy's subcommittee, where the senator belligerently and often cruelly badgered witnesses and destroyed public careers. McCarthy never produced solid evidence of actual communist subversion. But a growing constituency adored him nevertheless for his coarse, "fearless" assaults on a government establishment that many Americans considered arrogant, elitist, even traitorous. Republicans, in particular, rallied to his claims that the Democrats had been responsible for "twenty years of treason," that only a change of parties could rid the country of subversion. McCarthy, in short, provided his followers with an issue into which they could channel a wide range of resentments: fear of communism, animosity toward the country's "eastern establishment," and frustrated partisan ambitions. For a time, McCarthy intimidated all but a few people from opposing him. Even the highly popular Dwight D. Eisenhower, running for president in 1952, did not speak out against him, although he disliked McCarthy's tactics and was outraged at McCarthy's attacks on General George Marshall. The Republican Revival Public frustration over the stalemate in Korea and popular fears of internal subversion combined to make 1952 a bad year for the Democratic Party. Truman, whose popularity had greatly diminished, wisely decided not to run again. The party united instead behind Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, whose dignity, wit, and eloquence made him a beloved figure to many liberals and intellectuals. But Republicans charged that Stevenson lacked the strength or the will to combat communism sufficiently. McCarthy described him as "soft" and took delight in deliberately confusing him with Alger Hiss. Stevenson's greatest problem, however, was the Republican candidate opposing him. Rejecting the efforts of conservatives to nominate Robert Taft or Douglas MacArthur, the Republicans turned to a man who had no previous identification with the party: General Dwight Eisenhower D-Eisenhower, military hero, commander . of NATO, president of Columbia University in New York. Eisenhower won nomination on the first ballot. He chose as his running mate the young California senator who had gained national prominence through his crusade against Alger Hiss: Richard M. Nixon. Eisenhower and Nixon were a powerful combination in the autumn campaign. While Eisenhower attracted support through his geniality and his statesmanlike pledges to settle the Korean conflict (at one point dramatically

promising to "go to Korea" himself), Nixon effectively exploited the issue of communist subversion. After surviving early accusations of financial improprieties (which he effectively neutralized in a famous television address, the "Checkers speech"), Nixon went on to launch harsh attacks on Democratic "cowardice," "appeasement," and "treason." Eisenhower won by both a popular and electoral landslide: 55 percent of the popular vote to Stevenson's 44 percent, 442 electoral votes to Stevenson's 89. Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress for only the second time in two decades. The election of 1952 ended twenty years of Democratic government. And while it might not have seemed so at the time, it also signaled the end of some of the worst turbulence of the postwar era.



DEBATING THE PAST / \ "McCarthyism" tat fj Tk t the American Civil Liberties Union warned in the early 1950s, at the peak of VV n Ci IN the anticommunist fervor that is now known as "McCarthyism," that "the threat to civil liberties today is the most serious in the history of our country," it was expressing a view with which many Americans wholeheartedly agreed. But while many Americans accept that there were unusually powerful challenges to freedom of speech and association in the late 1940s and early 1950s, there is wide disagreement about the causes and meaning of those challenges. The simplest argument— and one that continues to attract scholarly support— is that the postwar Red Scare expressed real and legitimate concerns about communist subversion in the United States. William O'Neill, in *A Better World* (1982), and Richard Gid Powers, in *Not Without Honor* (1995), have both argued that anticommunism was a serious, intelligent, and patriotic movement, despite its excesses. The American Communist Party, according to this view, was an agent of Stalin and the Soviet Union within the United States, actively engaged in espionage and subversion. The effort to root communists out of public life was both understandable and justifiable— and the hysteria it sometimes produced was an unhappy but predictable by-product of an essentially rational and justifiable effort. "Anticommunism," Powers wrote, "expressed the essential American determination to stand against attacks on human freedom and foster the growth of democracy throughout the world. ... To superimpose on this rich history the cartoon features of Joe McCarthy is to reject history for the easy comforts of moralism." Most interpretations, however, have been much less charitable. In the 1950s, in the midst of the Red Scare, an influential group of historians and social scientists began to portray the anticommunist fervor of their time as an expression of social maladjustment— an argument perhaps (Rare Book and Special Collections Division, The Library of Congress) LOOKING BACK Even during World War II, when the United States and the Soviet Union were allies, it was evident to leaders in both nations that America and Russia had quite different visions of what the postwar world should look like. Very quickly after the war ended, those differences became visible to almost everyone, and the once fruitful relationship between the world's two greatest powers quickly soured. Americans came to believe that the Soviet Union

was an expansionist tyranny little different from Hitler's Germany, that Josef Stalin, the Soviet leader, was bent on world conquest. Soviets came to believe that the United States was trying to protect its own dominance in the world by encircling the Soviet Union and trying to limit its ability to operate as a great power. The result of these tensions was what became known by the end of the 1940s as the Cold War. Actual conflicts in the early years of the Cold War were relatively few. Instead, the United States engaged in a series of policies designed to prevent both war and Soviet aggression. It helped rebuild the shattered nations of Western Europe with 750 • substantial economic aid, through the Marshall Plan, to stabilize those nations and prevent them from becoming communist. America announced a new foreign policy-known as containment-that committed it to an effort to keep the Soviet Union from expanding its influence further into the world. The United States and Western Europe formed a strong and enduring alliance, NATO, to defend Europe against possible Soviet advances. In 1950, however, the armed forces of communist North Korea launched an invasion of the noncommunist South; and to most Americans-including, most importantly. President Truman-the conflict quickly came to be seen as a test of American resolve in the Cold War. The Korean War was long, costly, and unpopular, with many military setbacks and frustrations. In the end, however, the United States-working through the United Nations-managed to drive the North Koreans out of the south and stabilize the original division of the peninsula. iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

most closely associated with Richard Hofstadter's essay "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." There was, they argued, no logical connection between the modest power of actual communists in the United States and the anticommunist hysteria. The fear of communism, they maintained, was rooted in social and cultural anxieties that had only an indirect connection with the political world. Extreme anticommunism, they claimed, was something close to a pathology; it expressed fear of and alienation from the modern world. A person afflicted with the "paranoid style," Hofstadter wrote: believes himself to be living in a world in which he is spied upon, plotted against, betrayed, and very likely destined for total ruin. He feels that his liberties have been arbitrarily and outrageously invaded. He is opposed to almost everything that has happened in American politics in the past twenty years. Other scholars, writing not long after the decline of McCarthyism, rejected the sociocultural argument but shared the belief that the crusade against subversion was a distortion of normal public life. They saw the anticommunist crusade as an example of party politics run amok. Richard Freeland, in *The Truman Doctrine and the Origins of McCarthyism* (1971), argued that the Democrats began the effort to purge the government of radicals to protect themselves from attacks by the Republicans. Nelson Polsby, Robert Griffith, and others have noted how Republicans seized on the issue of communism in government in the late 1940s to reverse their nearly twenty-year exclusion from power. With each party trying to outdo the other in its effort to demonstrate its anticommunist credentials, it was hardly surprising that the crusade reached extraordinarily intense proportions. Still other historians have emphasized the role of powerful government officials and agencies with a strong commitment to anticommunism— most notably J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Athan Theoharis and Kenneth O'Reilly introduced the idea of an anticommunist bureaucracy in work published in the 1970s and 1980s. Ellen Schrecker, in *Many Are the Crimes* (1998), argues that the Red Scare was, at its heart, directed largely against the left and that it was orchestrated by an interlocking cluster of official agencies with a deep commitment to the project. Several scholars, finally, have presented an argument that does not so much challenge other interpretations as complement them. Anticommunist zealots were not alone to blame for the excesses of

McCarthyism, they argue. It was also the fault of liberals—in politics, in academia, and perhaps above all in the media—who were so intimidated by the political climate, or so imprisoned within the conventions of their professions, that they found themselves unable to respond effectively to the distortions and excesses they recognized around them.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Why did the American public feel so threatened by communism? Who exploited the public's fears and why?
2. Was the public reaction to the Red Scare a logical response or disproportionate to the actual threat posed by communism?
3. How were party politics and McCarthyism connected? Do you find elements similar to McCarthyism in politics today?

The Korean War had other effects on the domestic life of the United States. It hardened American foreign policy into a much more rigidly anticommunist form. It undermined the Truman administration, and the Democratic Party, and helped strengthen conservatives and Republicans. It greatly strengthened an already powerful crusade against communists, and those believed to be communists, within the United States—a crusade often known as McCarthyism, because of the notoriety of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, the most celebrated leader of the effort. America after World War II was indisputably the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world. But in the harsh climate of the Cold War, neither wealth nor power could obscure deep anxieties and bitter divisions.

**Key Terms/People/Places/Events**

Alger Hiss 747 Atlantic Charter 733 Containment 736 Douglas Mac Arthur 736 Fair Deal 742 George F. Kennan 737 House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) 747 Joseph McCarthy 749 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg 748 Mao Zedong 736 Marshall Plan 737 McCarthyism 749 National Security Act 738 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 739 NSC-68 740 Syngman Rhee 745 Taft-Hartley Act 742 Thomas E. Dewey 743 Truman Doctrine 737 United Nations 734 Warsaw Pact 740 Whittaker Chambers 748 Yalta Conference 734 . 751

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752 CHAPTER 27 RECALL AND REFLECT 1. How did American diplomats plan for the postwar world and settle postwar issues? How did opposing visions of the postwar world order thwart those efforts? 2. How did postwar economic problems affect American politics and society? 3. Why did the United States become involved in the war in Korea? What was the result of U.S. involvement in that war? 4. Why did the fear of communism at home reach such great proportions? What events helped fan that fear? SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1941 \_ Roosevelt and Churchill draft Atlantic Charter - 1943 Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin meet at Teheran 1944 \_ o GI Bill of Rights enacted 1945 Yalta Conference 1946 Atomic Energy Commission established Roosevelt dies; Harry S. Truman becomes president Potsdam Conference United Nations founded 1948 O Berlin blockade prompts U.S. airlift Truman elected president Hiss case begins q Communists stage coup in Czechoslovakia 1950 O Joseph McCarthy begins campaign against communists in government NSC-68 outlines new U.S. policy ^ toward communism Korean War begins 1947 Taft-Hartley Act passed HUAC begins investigating Hollywood film industry Truman Doctrine announced Marshall Plan proposed National Security Act passed 1949 NATO established Soviet Union explodes atomic bomb Communists seize power in China 1951 Truman removes MacArthur from command in Korea 1952 American occupation of Japan ends Dwight D. Eisenhower elected president





SETTING THE STAGE IF AMERICA WAS EXPERIENCING A GOLDEN AGE IN THE 1950S and early 1960s, as many Americans believed at the time and many continue to believe today, it was largely a result of two developments. One was a booming national prosperity, which profoundly altered the social, economic, and even physical landscape of the United States. The other was the continuing struggle against communism, a struggle that created great anxiety but that also encouraged some Americans to look even more approvingly at their own society. The politics of the 1950s seemed in many ways to reflect the combination of self-satisfaction and anxiety that affluence and the Cold War had created. There were, to be sure, many critics of American life in these years, but their influence was mostly limited to the margins of the nation's culture. In retrospect, many of these marginalized critics appear to have understood the state of American life far better than those who so confidently celebrated the nation's successes, for there were serious social problems that most Americans largely ignored. More than 30 million Americans (20 percent of the population) continued to live in poverty in the 1950s, according to some measurements. Significant minorities continued to suffer social, political, and economic discrimination. Many American women were beginning to chafe at the obstacles to their personal and professional growth. The very things that made America seem so successful in the 1950s also contributed to bringing the nation's social problems more sharply into focus. But even in the 1950s, the first signs of the changes to come could be seen. The smooth surface of American public life could not obscure a growing restlessness. "THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE" Among the most striking features of American society in the 1950s and early 1960s was a booming economic growth that made even the heady 1920s seem pale by comparison. It was a betterbalanced and more widely distributed prosperity than that of thirty years earlier, but it was not as universal as some Americans liked to believe. Sources of Economic Growth Between 1945 and 1960, the gross national product grew by 250 percent, from \$200 billion to over \$500 billion. Unemployment, which during the Depression had averaged between 15 and 25 percent, remained throughout the 1950s and early 1960s at about 5 percent or lower. Inflation, in the meantime, hovered around 3 percent a year or less. The causes of this growth and



stability were varied. Government spending, which had ended the Depression in the 1940s, continued to stimulate growth through public funding of schools. Government housing, veterans' benefits, welfare, the \$100 billion interstate highway program, which began in 1956, and above all, military spending. Economic growth was at its peak (averaging 4.7 percent a year) during the first half of the 1950s, when military spending was highest because of the Korean War. In the late 1950s, with spending on armaments in decline, the annual rate of growth declined by more than half, to 2.25 percent. The national birth rate reversed a long pattern of decline with the so-called baby boom, which had begun during the war and peaked in 1957. The nation's population rose almost 20 percent in the decade, from 150 million in 1950 to 179 million in 1960. The baby boom contributed to increased consumer demand and expanding economic growth. The rapid expansion of suburbs—the suburban population grew 47 percent in the 1950s, more than twice as fast as the population as a whole—helped stimulate growth in several important sectors of the economy. The number of privately owned cars (essential for most suburban living) more than doubled in a decade, sparking a great boom in the automobile industry. Demand for new homes helped sustain a vigorous housing industry. The construction of roads and highways stimulated the economy as well. 754

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY • 755 Births per thousand women 15-44 years old 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 THE AMERICAN BIRTH RATE, 1940-1960 This chart shows how the American birth rate grew rapidly during and after World War II (after a long period of decline in the 1930s) to produce what became known as the "baby boom." At the peak of the baby boom, during the 1950s, the nation's population grew by 20 percent. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) • What impact did the baby boom have on the nation's economy? Because of this unprecedented growth, the economy grew nearly ten times as fast as the population in the thirty years after the war. And while that growth was far from equally distributed, it affected most of society. The average American in 1960 had over 20 percent more purchasing power than in 1945, and more than twice as much as during the prosperous 1920s. By 1960, per capita income was over \$1,800, \$500 more than it had been in 1945. The American people had achieved the highest standard of living of any society in the history of the world. The Rise of the Modern West No region of the country profited more from economic growth than the American West. Its population expanded dramatically; its cities boomed; its industrial economy flourished. Before World War II, most of the West had been, economically at least, an appendage of the great industrial economy of the East. The West provided the East with raw materials and agricultural goods. By the 1960s, however, some parts of the West had become among the most important (and populous) industrial and cultural centers of the nation in their own right. As during World War II, much of the growth of the West was a result of federal spending and investment-on the dams, power stations, highways, and other infrastructure projects that made economic development possible; and on the military contracts that continued to flow disproportionately to factories in California and Texas, many of them built with government funds during the war. But other factors played a role as well. The enormous increase in automobile use after World War II— a result, among other things, of suburbanization and improved highway systems-gave a large stimulus to the petroleum industry and contributed to the rapid growth of oil fields in Texas and Colorado, and also to the metropolitan centers serving them: Houston, Dallas, and Denver. State governments in the West invested heavily in their universities.

The University of Texas and University of California systems, in particular, became among the nation's largest and best; as centers of research, they helped attract technology-intensive industries to the region. Climate also contributed to economic growth. California, Nevada, and Arizona, in particular, attracted many migrants from the East because of their warm, dry climates. The growth of Los Angeles after World War II was a particularly remarkable phenomenon. More than 10 percent of all new businesses in the United States between 1945 and 1950 began in Los Angeles. Its population rose by over 50 percent between 1940 and 1960. The New Economics The discovery of the power of the American economic system was a major cause of the confident tone of much American political life in the 1950s. During the Depression, politicians, intellectuals, and others had often questioned the viability of capitalism. In the 1950s, such doubt vanished. Two features in particular made the postwar economy a source of national confidence. First was the belief that Keynesian economics made it possible for government to regulate and stabilize the economy without intruding directly into the private sector. The British economist John Maynard Keynes had argued as early as the 1920s that by varying the flow of government spending and taxation (fiscal policy) and managing the supply of currency (monetary policy), the government could stimulate the economy to cure recession and dampen growth to prevent inflation. The experience of the last years of the Depression and the first years of the war had seemed to confirm this argument. By the mid-1950s, Keynesian theory was rapidly becoming a fundamental article of faith—not only among professional economists but also among much of the public. The "new economics," as its supporters came to call it, finally won official acceptance in 1963, when John Kennedy proposed a tax cut to stimulate economic growth. Although it took Kennedy's death and the political skills of Lyndon Johnson to win passage of the measure in 1964, the result seemed to confirm all that the Keynesians had predicted: an increase in private demand, which stimulated economic growth and reduced unemployment. As the economy continued to expand far beyond what anyone had predicted only a few years before, many Americans assumed that such growth was now without bounds. By the mid-1950s, reformers concerned about poverty were arguing

## PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE 7 On the Road y\ y\ t

have traveled across the Americas for thousands of years, often with considerable difficulty. Indians had to make paths over rough terrain. Immigrants from England, Scotland, Mexico, and many other places began to move from town to town often on log roads. Later, they used stones and pebbles to create new byways. Wagons and carriages often rode on bumpy or muddy surfaces. Of course, many years later more-efficient, comfortable roads were built across the American continent, a development that changed American life dramatically. JACK KEROUAC Beat author Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* captured in literature the energy of a country on the move. The book's emphasis on jazz, beat poetry, and drugs, however, made it a notorious expression of the prevailing counterculture. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images) In the mid-twentieth century, automobiles traveled more slowly than they do today. But cars allowed travelers to discover interesting places and meet new people as they moved from town to town. Jack Kerouac, in his famous book *On the Road* (1957), was one of the first to capture in writing the new spirit of automobile travel. "It was drizzling and mysterious at the beginning of our journey," Kerouac wrote as he got his battered car ready. "I could see that it was all going to be one big saga of the mist. . . . We were all delighted, when we all realized we were leaving confusion and nonsense behind and performing our one and noble function of the time, move. And we moved!" In the 1950s, Route 66 was one of the first highways to cross most of the United States, from the West Coast to Chicago. But Route 66 became more than a road; it became a popular symbol of a country on the move. Travelers could drive along the famous highway while listening to the hit song "(Get Your Kicks On) Route 66" on the radio. A television series called *Route 66* depicted characters becoming involved in all sorts of drama as they traveled the storied route. People traveling long distances, perhaps even across the continent, needed restaurants, motels, and shops, a development that encouraged the creation of fast-food chains, many of which began with drive-in restaurants where customers could be served and eat in their cars. The first drive-in restaurant, Royce Hailey's Pig Stand, opened in Dallas in 1921, followed later in the decade by the White Tower. Ray Kroc's McDonald's opened its first outlets in Des Plaines, Ending Poverty

that the solution lay not in redistribution but in economic growth. The affluent would not have to sacrifice in order to eliminate poverty; the nation would simply have to produce more abundance, thus raising the quality of life of even the poorest citizens to a level of comfort and decency.

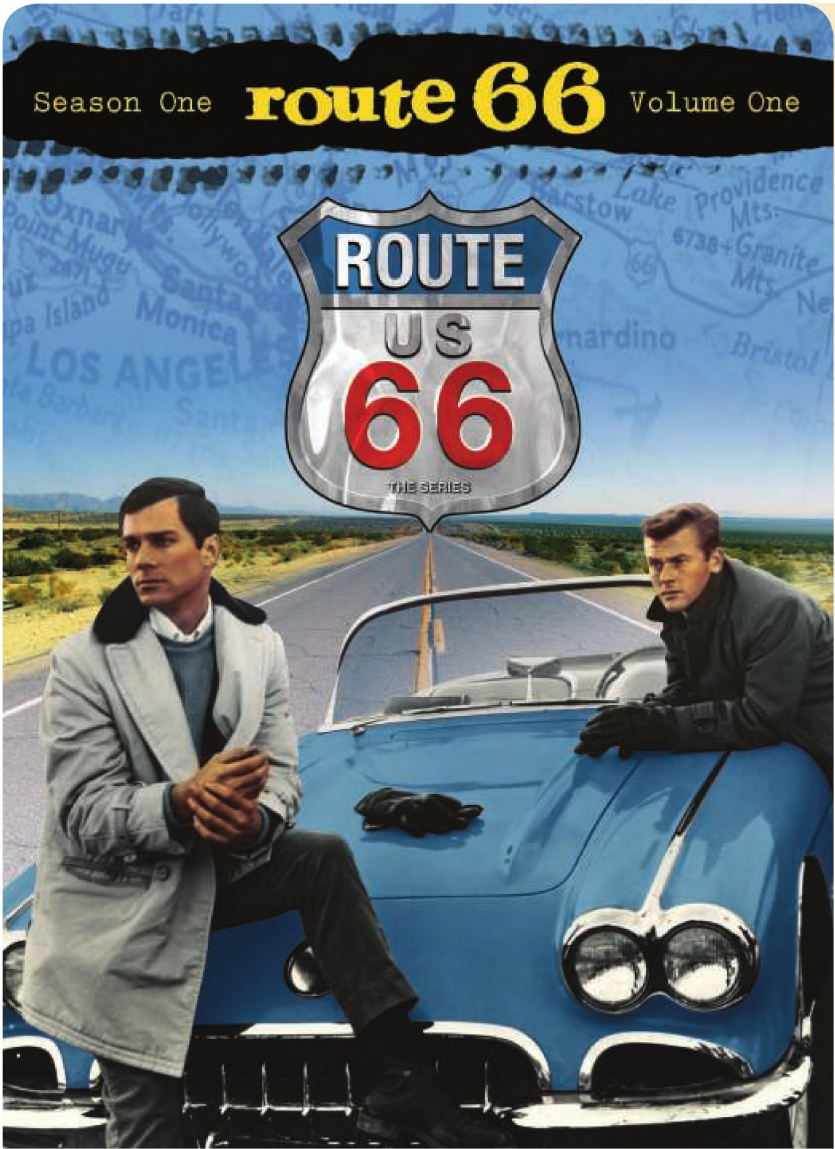
**Capital and Labor** Over 4,000 corporate mergers took place in the 1950s; and more than ever before, a relatively small number of large-scale organizations controlled an enormous proportion of the nation's economic activity. This was particularly true in industries benefiting Corporate from government defense spending. As Consolidation during World War II, the federal government tended to award military contracts to a few large corporations. In 1959, for example, half of all defense contracts went to only twenty firms. By the end of the decade, half the net corporate income in the nation was going to only slightly more than 500 firms, or one-tenth of 1 percent of the total number of corporations. A similar consolidation was occurring in the agricultural economy. As increasing mechanization reduced the need for farm labor, the agricultural workforce declined by more than half in the two decades after the war. Mechanization also endangered one of the most cherished American institutions: the family farm. By the 1960s, relatively few individuals could

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Illinois, and southern California in 1955. Five years later, there were 228 outlets. In time, with thousands of restaurants, McDonald's became the most recognizable symbol of food in the world. Large supermarket chains— catering to customers with automobiles— replaced smaller, family-owned markets in town centers. Large centers and shopping malls moved the center of retailing out of cities and into separate, sprawling complexes surrounded by large parking lots. Eventually, with President Eisenhower's encouragement, the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 provided money to build the interstate highway system. This network of highways made it possible for people to travel long distances quickly and efficiently. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did television programs like Route 66 of the mid-1950s reflect much older American myths about the American West? 2. In what other ways than those described in this feature did the interstate highway system help the American economy? 3. What military advantages did the highway system provide? ROUTE 66 The television show Route 66, starring George Maharis and Martin Milner, conveyed in popular culture the optimistic energy of a driving nation. (© CBS/Photofest) any longer afford to buy and equip a modern farm, and much of the nation's most productive land had been purchased by financial institutions and corporations. Corporations enjoying booming growth were reluctant to allow strikes to interfere with their operations. As a result, business leaders made important concessions to unions. As early as 1948, Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, obtained a contract from General Motors that included a built-in "escalator clause"—an automatic cost-of-living increase pegged to the consumer price index. In 1955, Reuther received a guarantee from Ford Motor Company of continuing wages to auto workers even during layoffs. By the mid-1950s, factory wages in all industries had risen substantially. The "Postwar Contract" By the early 1950s, large labor unions had developed a new kind of relationship with employers, a relationship sometimes known as the "postwar contract." Workers in steel, automobiles, and other large unionized industries were receiving generous increases in wages and benefits; in return, the unions tacitly agreed to refrain from raising other issues—issues involving control of the workplace and a voice for

workers in the planning of production. Strikes became far less frequent. The economic successes of the 1950s helped pave the way for a reunification of the labor movement. In December 1955, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations ended their twenty-year rivalry and merged to create the AFL-CIO, AFL-CIO  
• 757



758 CHAPTER 28 under the leadership of George Meany. Relations between the leaders of the former AFL and the former CIO were not always comfortable. CIO leaders believed (correctly) that the AFL hierarchy was dominating the relationship. AFL leaders were suspicious of what they considered the radical past of the CIO leadership. Even so, the union of the two great labor movements of the 1930s survived; and gradually tensions subsided. Success bred corruption in some union bureaucracies. In 1957, the powerful Teamsters Union became the subject of a congressional investigation, and its president, David Beck, was charged with misappropriation of union funds. Beck ultimately stepped down to be replaced by Jimmy Hoffa, whom government investigators pursued for nearly a decade before finally winning a conviction against him (for tax evasion) in 1967. The United Mine Workers, the union that had spearheaded the industrial movement in the 1930s, similarly became tainted by suspicions of corruption and by violence. John L. Lewis's last years as head of the union were plagued with scandals and dissent within the organization. His successor, Tony Boyle, was ultimately convicted of complicity in the 1969 murder of the leader of a dissident faction within the union. While the labor movement enjoyed significant success in winning better wages and benefits for workers already organized in strong unions, the majority of laborers who were as Total represented by unions (in millions) 25 20 15 10 5 0 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 2001 WORKERS REPRESENTED BY UNIONS, 1920-2001 This chart shows the number of workers represented by unions over an eighty-year period. Note the dramatic rise in the unionized workforce during the 1930s and 1940s, the slower but still-significant rise in the 1960s and 1970s, and the steady decline that began in the 1980s. The chart, in fact, understates the decline of unionized labor in the postwar era, since it shows union membership in absolute numbers and not as a percentage of the rapidly growing workforce. • Why did unions cease recruiting new members successfully in the 1970s, and why did they begin losing members in the 1980s? - AFL-CIO - AFL - CIO — Independent Unions Tinted area represents total Limited yet unorganized made fewer advances. Gains for Total union membership remained relaU Workers'30 tively Stable throuShout the 1950s> at . about 16 million; and while this was in part a result of a shift in the



workforce from blue-collar to white-collar jobs, it was also a result of new obstacles to organization. The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act and the state "right-to-work" laws that it created made it more difficult to form (or even sustain) many unions. The CIO launched a major organizing drive in the South shortly after World War II, targeting the poorly paid workers in textile mills in particular. But "Operation Dixie," as it was called, was a failure-as were most other organizing drives for at least thirty years after World War II.

### THE EXPLOSION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In 1961, Time magazine selected as its "man of the year" not a specific person but "the American Scientist." The choice was an indication of the widespread fascination with which Americans viewed science and technology. But it was also a sign of the remarkable, and remarkably rapid, scientific and technological advances in many areas during the postwar years.

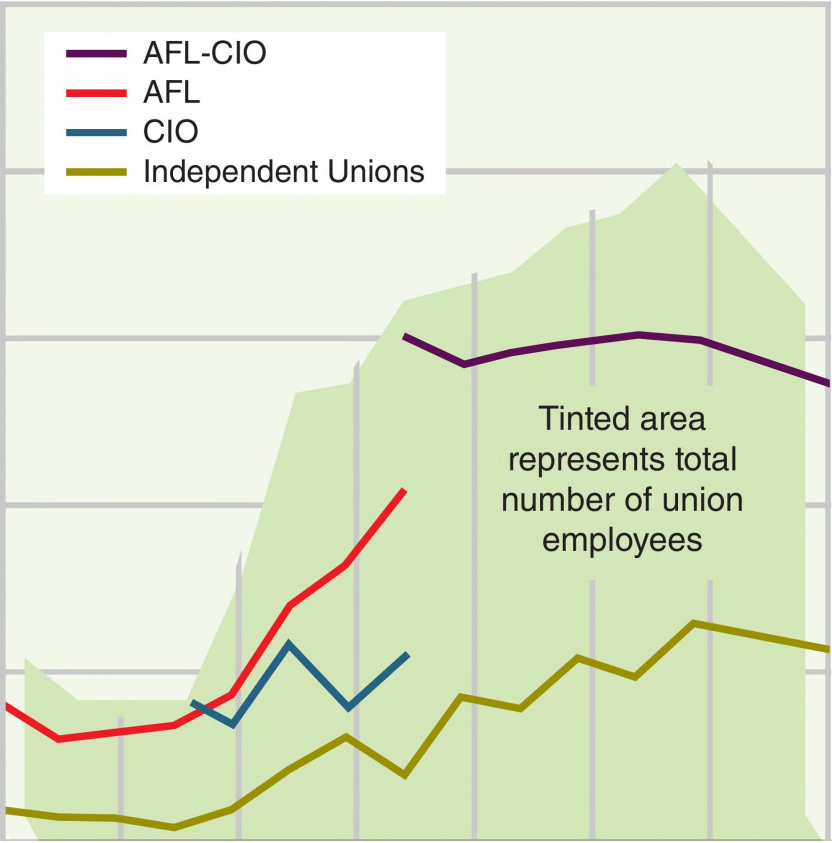
### Medical Breakthroughs

A particularly important advance in medical science was the development of new antibacterial drugs capable of fighting infections that in the past had been all but untreatable. The development of antibiotics had its origins in the discoveries of Louis Pasteur and Jules-Francois Joubert.

### Working Antibiotics in France in the 1870s

> they produced the . first conclusive evidence that virulent bacterial infections could be defeated by other, more ordinary bacteria. Using their discoveries, the English physician Joseph Lister revealed the value of antiseptic solutions in preventing infection during surgery. But the practical use of antibacterial agents to combat disease did not begin until many decades later. In the 1930s, scientists in Germany, France, and England demonstrated the power of so-called sulfa drugs-drugs derived from an antibacterial agent known as sulfanilamide-which could be used effectively to treat streptococcal blood infections. New sulfa drugs were soon being developed at an astonishing rate, and were steadily improved, with dramatic results in treating what had once been a major cause of death. In 1928, in the meantime, Alexander Fleming, an English medical researcher, accidentally discovered the antibacterial properties of an organism that he named penicillin. There was little progress in using penicillin to treat human illness, however, until a group of researchers at Oxford University, directed by Howard Florey

### Penicillin



THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY • 759 and Ernest Chain, learned how to produce stable, potent penicillin in sizable enough quantities to make it a practical weapon against bacterial disease. The first human trials of the new drug, in 1941, were dramatically successful, but progress toward the mass availability of penicillin was stalled in England because of World War II. American laboratories took the next crucial steps in developing methods for the mass production and commercial distribution of penicillin, which became widely available to doctors and hospitals around the world by 1948. Since then, a wide range of new antibiotics of highly specific character have been developed so that bacterial infections are now among the most successfully treated of all human illnesses. There was also dramatic progress in immunization. The first great triumph was the development of the smallpox vaccine by the English researcher Edward Jenner in the late eighteenth century. A vaccine effective against typhoid was developed by an English bacteriologist, Almorth Wright, in 1897, and was in wide use by World War I. Vaccination against tetanus became widespread in many countries just before and during World War II. Medical scientists also developed a vaccine, BCG, against another major killer, tuberculosis, in the 1920s; but controversy over its safety stalled its adoption, especially in the United States, for many years. It was not widely used in the United States until after World War II, when it largely eliminated tuberculosis. Viruses are much more difficult to prevent and treat than bacterial infections, and progress toward vaccines against viral infections—except for smallpox—was relatively slow. Not until the 1930s, when scientists discovered how to grow viruses in laboratories in tissue cultures, could researchers study them with any real effectiveness. Gradually, they discovered how to produce forms of a virus incapable of causing a disease but capable of triggering antibodies in vaccinated people that would protect them from contracting the disease. An effective vaccine against yellow fever was developed in the late 1930s, and one against some forms of influenza—one of the great killers of the first half of the twentieth century—appeared in 1945. A particularly dramatic postwar triumph was the development of a vaccine against polio. In 1954, the American scientist Jonas Salk introduced an effective vaccine against the virus that had killed and crippled thousands of children

and adults (among them Franklin Roosevelt). It was provided free to the public by the federal government beginning in 1955. After 1960, an oral vaccine developed by Albert Sabin-usually administered in a sugar cube-made widespread vaccination even easier. By the early 1960s, these vaccines had virtually eliminated polio from American life and much of the rest of the world. As a result of these and many other medical advances, both infant mortality and the death rate among young children declined significantly in the first twenty-five years after the war (although not by as much as in Western Europe). Average life expectancy in that same period rose by five years, to seventy-one. Pesticides At the same time that medical researchers were finding cures and vaccines against infectious diseases, other scientists were developing new kinds of chemical pesticides, which they hoped would protect crops from destruction by insects and protect humans from such insect-carried diseases as typhus and malaria. The most famous of the new pesticides was dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane, generally known as DDT, a compound discovered in 1939 by a Swiss chemist named Paul DDT Muller. He had found that although DDT . seemed harmless to human beings and other mammals, it was extremely toxic to insects. American scientists learned of Muller's discovery in 1942, just as the army was grappling with the insect-borne tropical diseasesespecially malaria and typhus-that threatened American soldiers overseas during World War II. Under these circumstances, DDT seemed a godsend. It was first used on a large scale in Italy in 1943-1944 during a typhus outbreak, which it quickly helped end. Soon it was being sprayed in mosquito-infested areas of Pacific islands where American troops were fighting the Japanese. No soldiers suffered any apparent ill effects from the sprayings, and the incidence of malaria dropped precipitously. DDT quickly gained a reputation as a miraculous tool for controlling insects, and it undoubtedly saved thousands of lives. Only later did scientists recognize that DDT had long-term toxic effects on animals and humans. Postwar Electronic Research The 1940s and 1950s saw dramatic new developments in electronic technology. Researchers in the 1940s produced the first commercially viable televisions and created a technology that made it possible to broadcast programming Television over large areas. Later, in the late 1950s, scientists at RCA's David Sarnoff Laboratories in Princeton, New Jersey

developed the technology for color television, which first became widely available in the early 1960s. In 1948 Bell Labs, the research arm of AT&T, produced the first transistor, a small solid-state device capable of amplifying electrical signals, which was much smaller and more efficient than the cumbersome vacuum tubes that had powered most electronic equipment in the past. Transistors made possible the miniaturization of many devices (radios, televisions, audio equipment, hearing aids) and were also important in aviation, weaponry, and satellites. They contributed as well to another major breakthrough in electronics: the development of integrated circuitry in the late 1950s. Integrated circuits combined a number of once-separate electronic elements (transistors, resistors, diodes, and others) and embedded them into a single, microscopically small device. They made it possible to create increasingly complex electronic devices requiring complicated circuitry that would have been impractical to produce through other means. Most of all, integrated circuits helped advance the development of the computer.

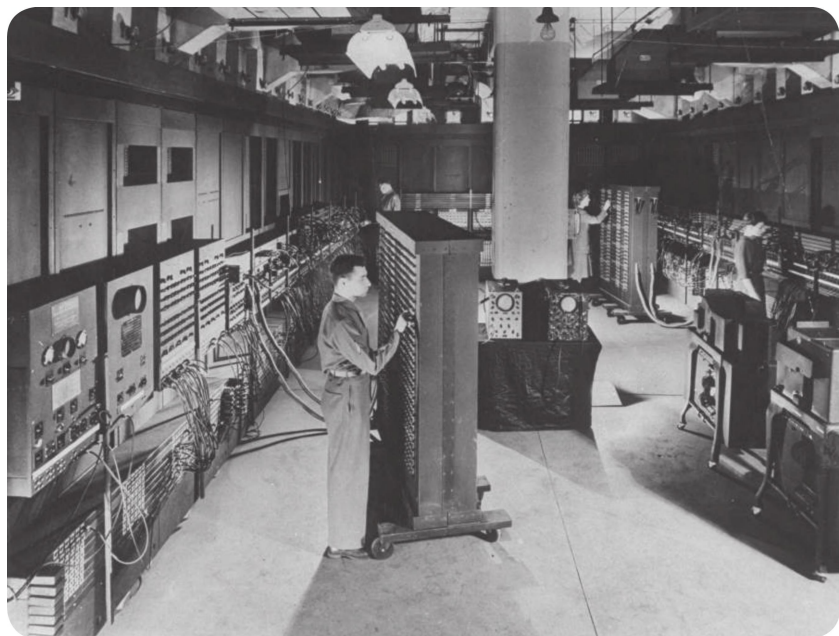
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii THE SALK VACCINE

Dr. Jonas Salk, a medical researcher at the University of Pittsburgh, developed in the mid-1950s the first vaccine that proved effective in preventing polio. In its aftermath, scenes similar to this one—a mass inoculation of families in a municipal stadium in Evansville, Indiana—repeated themselves all over the country. A few years later, Dr. Albert Sabin of the University of Cincinnati created a vaccine that could be administered more easily, through sugar cubes. (© AP Images)

Postwar Computer Technology Prior to the 1950s, computers had been constructed mainly to perform complicated mathematical tasks, such as those required to break military codes. In the 1950s, they began to perform commercial functions for the first time, as dataprocessing devices used by businesses and other organizations. The first significant computer of the 1950s was the Universal Automatic Computer (or UNIVAC), which was developed initially for the U.S. Bureau of the Census by the Remington Rand Company. It was the first computer able to handle both alphabetical and numerical information easily. It used tape storage and could perform calculations and other functions much faster than its predecessor, the ENIAC, developed in 1946 by the same researchers at the University of Pennsylvania who were responsible for the UNIVAC. Searching for a larger market than the census for their very expensive new device, Remington Rand arranged to use a UNIVAC to predict the results of the 1952 election for CBS television news. It would, they believed, produce valuable publicity for the machine. Analyzing early voting results, the UNIVAC accurately predicted an enormous landslide victory for Eisenhower over Stevenson. Few Americans had ever heard of a computer before that night, and the UNIVAC's television debut became, therefore, a critical breakthrough in public awareness of computer technology. Remington Rand had limited success in marketing the UNIVAC, but in the mid-1950s the International Business Machines Company (IBM) introduced its first major dataprocessing computers and began to find a wide market for them among businesses in the United States and abroad. These early successes, combined with the enormous amount of money IBM invested in research and development, made the company the worldwide leader in computers for many years. Bombs, Rockets,

and Missiles In 1952, the United States successfully detonated the first hydrogen bomb. (The Soviet Union tested its first H-bomb a year later.) Unlike the plutonium and uranium bombs developed during World War II, the hydroThe Hydrogen Bomb  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii gen bomb power not  
derives its from fission THE DAWN OF THE COMPUTER AGE This  
massive computer, powered by tubes, was part of the first  
generation of mainframes developed after World War II. They  
served mostly government agencies and large corporations. By the  
1990s, a small desktop computer could perform all the functions of  
this huge computer at much greater s (© Time & Life Pictures/Getty  
Images) (the splitting of atoms) but from fusion (the joining of  
lighter atomic elements with heavier ones). It is capable of  
producing explosions of vastly greater power than the earlier,  
fission bombs. The development of the hydrogen bomb gave  
considerable impetus to a stalled scientific project in both the  
United States and the Soviet Union-the effort to develop unmanned  
rockets and missiles capable of carrying the

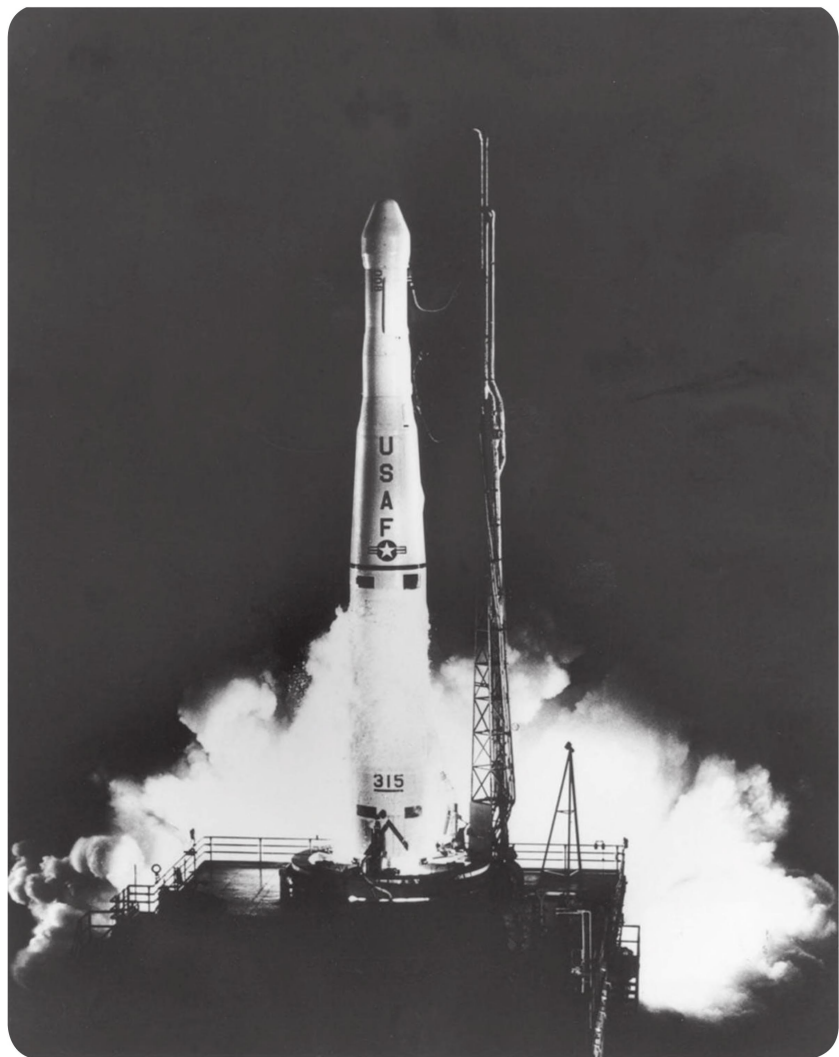






THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 761 new weapons, which were not suitable for delivery by airplanes, to their targets. Both nations began to put tremendous resources into their development. The United States, in particular, benefited from the emigration to America of some of the German scientists who had helped develop rocketry for Germany during World War II. In the United States, early missile research was conducted almost entirely by the Air Force. There were significant early successes in developing rockets capable of traveling several hundred miles. But American and Soviet leaders were both struggling to build longer-range missiles that could cross oceans and continents-intercontinental ballistic missiles, or ICBMs, capable of traveling through space to distant targets. American scientists experimented in the 1950s with first the Atlas and then the Titan ICBM. There were some early successes, but there were also many setbacks, particularly because of the difficulty of massing sufficient, stable fuel to provide the tremendous power needed to launch missiles beyond the atmosphere. By 1958, scientists had created a solid fuel to replace the volatile liquid fuels of the early missiles; and they had also produced miniaturized guidance systems capable of ensuring that missiles could travel to reasonably precise destinations. Within a few years, a new generation of missile, known as the Minuteman, with a range of several thousand miles, became the basis of the American atomic weapons arsenal. American scientists also developed a nuclear missile capable of being carried and fired by submarines-the Polaris, which could launch from below the surface of the ocean by compressed air. A Polaris was first successfully fired from underwater in 1960. The Space Program The origins of the American space program can be traced most directly to a dramatic event in 1957, when the Soviet Union The Shock announced that it had launched an of Sputnik earth-orbiting satellite-Spizm/fc-into outer space. The United States had yet to perform any similar feats, and the American government (and much of American society) reacted to the announcement with alarm, as if the Soviet achievement was also a massive American failure. Federal policy began encouraging (and funding) strenuous efforts to improve scientific education in the schools, to create more research laboratories, and, above all, to speed the development of America's own exploration of outer space. The United States launched its first

satellite, Explorer I, in January 1958. The centerpiece of space exploration, however, soon became the manned space program, established in 1958 through the creation of a new agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and through the selection of the first American space pilots, or "astronauts." They quickly became among the nation's most revered heroes. NASA's initial effort, the Mercury Project, was designed to launch manned vehicles into space to orbit the earth. On May 5, 1961, Alan Shepard became the first American launched into space. But his short, suborbital flight came several months after a Soviet "cosmonaut," Yuri Gagarin, had made a flight in which he had orbited the earth. On February 2, 1962, John Glenn (later a U.S. senator) became the first American to orbit the globe. NASA later introduced the Gemini program, whose spacecraft could carry two astronauts at once. Mercury and Gemini were followed by the Apollo program, whose purpose was to land men on the moon. It had some catastrophic setbacks, most notably a fire The Apollo January 1967 that killed three Program astronauts. But on July 20, 1969, . Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin, and Michael Collins successfully traveled in a space capsule into orbit around the moon. Armstrong and Aldrin then detached a smaller craft from the capsule, landed LAUNCHING A SATELLITE, 1961 Four years after the successful Russian launching of the satellite Sputnik in 1957 threw Americans into something close to a panic, a Thor-Able Star rocket takes off from Cape Canaveral, Florida, carrying an American satellite. The satellite contained a nuclear generator capable of providing it with extended continuous power for its radio transmitters. (National Archives and Records Administration)



762 CHAPTER 28 (and later repaired its flawed lens). But problems continued to plague the program into the early twenty-first century. The space program, like the military development of missiles, gave a tremendous boost to the American aeronautics industry and was responsible for the development of many technologies that proved valuable in other areas. APOLLO 11 Edwin ("Buzz") Aldrin is photographed by his fellow astronaut Neil Armstrong in August 1969, when they became the first humans to set foot on the surface of the moon. They traveled into orbit around the moon in the spaceship Apollo 11 and then traveled from the spaceship to the moon in a "lunar module," which they then used to return to the ship for the journey home. (NASA) on the surface of the moon, and became the first humans to walk on a body other than earth. Six more lunar missions followed, the last in 1972. Not long after that, however, the government began to cut the funding for missions, and popular enthusiasm for the program began to wane. The future of the manned space program did not lie primarily in efforts to reach distant planets, as originally envisioned. Instead, the program became a more modest effort to make travel in near space easier and more practical through the development of the "space shuttle," an airplane-like device launched by a missile but capable of both navigating in space and landing on earth much like a conventional aircraft. The first space shuttle was successfully launched in 1982. The explosion of one shuttle. Challenger , in January 1986 shortly after takeoff, killing all seven astronauts, stalled the program for two years. Missions resumed in the late 1980s, driven in part by commercial purposes. The space shuttle launched and repaired communications satellites, and inserted the Hubble Space Telescope into orbit in 1990 PEOPLE OF PLENTY

Among the most striking social developments of the postwar era was the rapid expansion of a middle-class lifestyle and outlook. The new prosperity of social groups that had previously lived on the margins; the growing availability of consumer products at affordable prices and the rising public fascination with such products; and the massive population movement from the cities to the suburbs-all helped make the American middle class a larger, more powerful, more homogeneous, and more dominant force than ever before. The Consumer Culture At the center of middle-class

culture in the 1950s, as it had been for many decades before, was a growing absorption with consumer goods. That was a result of increased prosperity, of the increasing variety and availability of products, and of advertisers' adeptness in creating a demand for those products. It was also a result of the growth of consumer credit, which increased by 800 percent between 1945 and 1957 through the development of credit cards, revolving charge accounts, and easy-payment plans. Prosperity fueled the automobile industry, and Detroit responded to the boom with ever-flashier styling and accessories. Consumers also responded eagerly to the development of such new products as dishwashers, garbage disposals, televisions, hi-fis, and stereos. To a large degree, the prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s was consumer driven (as opposed to investment driven). Because consumer goods were so often marketed (and advertised) nationally, the 1950s were notable for the rapid „ spread of great national consumer crazes. Consumer J s. Crazes For example > children, adolescents, and . even some adults became entranced in the late 1950s with the hula hoop-a large plastic ring kept spinning around the waist. The popularity of the Walt Disney-produced children's television show The Mickey Mouse Club created a national demand for related products such as Mickey Mouse watches and hats. It also helped produce the stunning success of Disneyland, an amusement park near Los Angeles that re-created many of the characters and events of Disney entertainment programs.



THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 763 made trucking a more economical way than railroads to transport goods to markets. They made travel by automobile, truck, and bus as fast as or faster than travel by trains, resulting in the long, steady decline of railroads. Highways also encouraged the movement of economic activities—manufacturing in particular—out of cities and into suburban and rural areas where land was cheaper. The decline of many traditional downtowns soon followed, as many workers moved outside the urban core. There was rapid growth of what eventually became known as "edge cities" and other new centers of industry and commerce outside traditional city centers. The proliferation of automobiles and the spread of highways also made it easier for families to move into homes that were far away from where they worked. This enabled many people to live in larger houses with larger lots than they could have afforded previously. Garages began to be built onto houses in great numbers after World War II, and such suburban amenities as swing sets, barbecues, and private swimming pools became more common as backyards became more the focus of family life. The shift of travel from train to automobile helped launch a tremendous proliferation of motels—26,000 by 1948, 60,000 by 1960, well over 100,000 by 1970. The first Holiday Inn (starting what would soon become the largest motel chain in America) opened along a highway connecting Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, in 1952. Drive-in theaters—a distinctively American phenomenon that had begun to appear in the 1930s—spread rapidly after the war. There were 4,000 drive-ins by 1958.

THE DAVY CROCKETT CRAZE In the 1950s Walt Disney introduced a television show about American folk hero Davy Crockett. This boy wears to school his hero's famous "coon-skin" (that is, raccoon skin) cap and Davy Crockett T-shirt as he reads about Crockett. In addition to merchandising products associated with Crockett, Disney believed that it was time for Americans "to get acquainted, or renew acquaintance with, the robust, cheerful, energetic and representative folk heroes" from the American past. (© Bettmann/Corbis)

The Suburban Nation The Landscape and the Automobile The success of Disneyland depended largely on the ease of highway access from the dense urban areas around it, as well as the vast parking lots that surrounded the park. It was, in short, a symbol of the overwhelming influence of automobiles on American life and on

the American landscape in the postwar era. Between 1950 and 1980, the nation's population increased by 50 percent, but the numbers of automobiles owned by Americans increased by 400 percent. The Federal Highway Act of 1956, which appropriated \$25 billion for highway construction, was one of the most important alterations of the national landscape in modern history. Great ribbons of concrete-40,000 miles of them-spread across the nation, spanning rivers and valleys, traversing every state, and providing links to every major city (and between cities and their suburbs). These highways dramatically reduced the time necessary to travel from one place to another. They also Interstate Highways

By 1960, a third of the nation's population was living in suburbs. Suburbanization was partly a result of important innovations in home-building, which made singlefamily houses affordable to millions of people. The most famous "Levittown" of the Postwar suburban developers, . William Levitt, used new mass-production techniques to construct a large housing development on Long Island, near New York City. This first "Levittown" (there would later be others in New Jersey and Pennsylvania) consisted of several thousand two-bedroom Cape Cod-style houses, with identical interiors and only slightly varied facades, each perched on its own concrete slab (to eliminate excavation costs), facing curving, treeless streets. Levittown houses, and other, similarly low-priced homes, sold for under \$10,000, and they helped meet an enormous and growing demand for housing. Young couples-often newly married and the husband a war veteran, eager to start a family, assisted by low-cost, government-subsidized mortgages provided by the GI Bill (see p. 741)-rushed to purchase the inexpensive homes. Why did so many Americans want to move to the suburbs? One reason was the enormous importance postwar Americans placed on family life after five years of disruptive war.

Suburbs





INTERSTATES The interstate highway system changed the physical landscape of the United States. Its great, sprawling ribbons of concrete— such as this photograph that shows the Hollywood Freeway, Harbor Freeway, and Arroyo Seco Freeway intersecting on multiple levels— sliced through cities, towns, and rural areas. But its biggest impact was in facilitating the movement of urban populations out of cities and into increasingly distant suburbs. (Photo by J. R. Eyerman/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) provided families with larger homes than they could find (or afford) in the cities. Many people were attracted by the idea of living in a community populated largely by people of similar age and background and found it easier to form friendships and social circles there than in the city. Women in particular often valued the presence of other nonworking mothers living nearby to share the tasks of child raising. Another factor motivating white Americans to move to the suburbs was race. There were some African American suburbs, but most suburbs were restricted to whites—both because relatively few blacks could afford to live in them and because formal and informal barriers kept out even prosperous African Americans. In an era when the black population of most cities was rapidly growing, many white families moved to the suburbs to escape the integration of urban neighborhoods and schools. Suburban neighborhoods had many things in common with one another. But they were not uniform. Levittowns and inexpensive developments like them ultimately became the homes of mainly lower-middle-class people one step removed from the inner city. Other, more affluent suburbs became enclaves of wealthy families. In virtually every city, a clear hierarchy emerged of upper-class suburban neighborhoods and more modest ones, just as such gradations had emerged years earlier among urban neighborhoods. The Suburban Family For professional men (many of whom worked in cities, at some distance from their homes), suburban life generally meant a rigid division between their working and personal worlds. For many middle-class, married women, it meant increased isolation from the workplace. The enormous cultural emphasis on family life in the 1950s strengthened popular prejudices against women entering the

professions, or occupying any paid job at all. Many middle-class husbands considered it demeaning for their wives to be employed. And many women shied away from the workplace when they could afford to stay at home full-time with their children. One of the most influential books in postwar American life was a famous guide to child rearing: Dr. Benjamin Spock's *Baby and Child Care*, first published in 1946 and reissued (and revised) repeatedly for decades thereafter. Dr. Spock's approach to raising babies was child-centered, as opposed to parent-centered. The purpose of motherhood, he taught, was to help children learn and grow and realize their potential. All other considerations, including the mother's own physical and emotional requirements, should be subordinated to the needs of the child. Dr. Spock at first envisioned only a very modest role for fathers in the process of child rearing, although he changed his views on this (and on many other issues) over time. Women who could afford not to work faced pressures to remain in the home and concentrate on raising their children. But as expectations of material comfort rose, many middle-class families needed a second income to maintain the standard of living they desired. As a result, the number of married women working outside the home actually increased in the postwar years—even as the social pressure for them to stay out of the workplace grew. By 1960, nearly a third of all married women were part of the paid workforce. The Birth of Television Television, the most powerful medium of mass communication in the second half of the twentieth century, was central to the culture of the postwar era. Experiments in broadcasting pictures (along with sound) had begun as early as the 1920s, but commercial television began only shortly after World War II. Its growth was phenomenally rapid. In 1946, there were only 17,000 sets in the country; by 1957, there were 40 million television sets in use—almost as many sets as there were families. More people had television sets, according to one report, than had refrigerators. The television industry emerged directly out of the radio industry, and all three major networks—the National Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the American Broadcasting Company—had started as radio companies. Like radio, the television business was driven by advertising. The need to attract advertisers determined most programming decisions; and in the early days of television, sponsors often played a direct, powerful, and continuing role in determining the content of the

programs they chose to



THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 765 OZZIE AND HARRIET In addition to depicting American life as predominantly white, middle class, and suburban, television in the 1950s and 1960s often portrayed Americans as optimistic and upwardly mobile. Here the Nelson family, characters from the show *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, enjoys time together in their backyard pool. (© ABC/ Photofest) sponsor. Many early television shows bore the names of the corporations that were paying for them: the GE Television Theater, the Chrysler Playhouse, the Camel News Caravan, and others. Some daytime serials were actually written and produced by Procter & Gamble and other companies. The impact of television on American life was rapid, pervasive, and profound. By the late 1950s, television news had replaced newspapers, magazines, and radios as the nation's most important vehicle of information. Television advertising helped create a vast market for new products. Televised athletic events of Television gradually made professional and college sports one of the most important sources of entertainment (and one of the biggest businesses) in America. Television entertainment programming-almost all of it controlled by the three national networks and their corporate sponsors-replaced movies and radio as the principal source of diversion for American families. Much of the programming of the 1950s and early 1960s created a common image of American life-an image that was predominantly white, middle-class, and suburban, and that was epitomized by such popular situation comedies as *Ozzie and Harriet* and *Leave It to Beaver*. Television's *Homogenizing Programming* also reinforced the concept of gender roles that most men (and many women) unthinkingly embraced. Most situation comedies, in particular, showed families in which, as the title of one of the most popular put it, *Father Knows Best*, and in which most women were mothers and housewives striving to serve their children and please their husbands. But television also conveyed other images: gritty, urban, working-class families in Jackie Gleason's *The Honeymooners*; the childless show-business family of the early *I Love Lucy*; unmarried professional women in *Our Miss Brooks* and *My Little Maryie*; hapless African Americans in *Amos 'n Andy*. Television not only sought to create an idealized image of a homogeneous suburban America. It also sought to convey

experiences at odds with that image-but to convey them in warm, unthreatening terms. Yet television also, inadvertently, created conditions that could accentuate social conflict. Even those unable to share in the affluence of the era could, through television news and other venues, acquire a vivid picture of how the rest of their society lived. And at the same time that television was reinforcing the homogeneity of the white middle class, it was also contributing to the sense of alienation and powerlessness among groups excluded from the world it portrayed. Travel, Outdoor Recreation, and Environmentalism The idea of a paid vacation for American workers, and the association of that idea with travel, entered American culture beginning in the 1920s. But it was not until the postwar years that vacation travel became truly widespread among middle-income Americans. The construction of the interstate highway system contributed dramatically to the growth of travel. So did the increasing affluence of workers, which made it possible for them to buy cars. Nowhere was this surge in travel and recreation more visible than in America's national parks, which experienced the

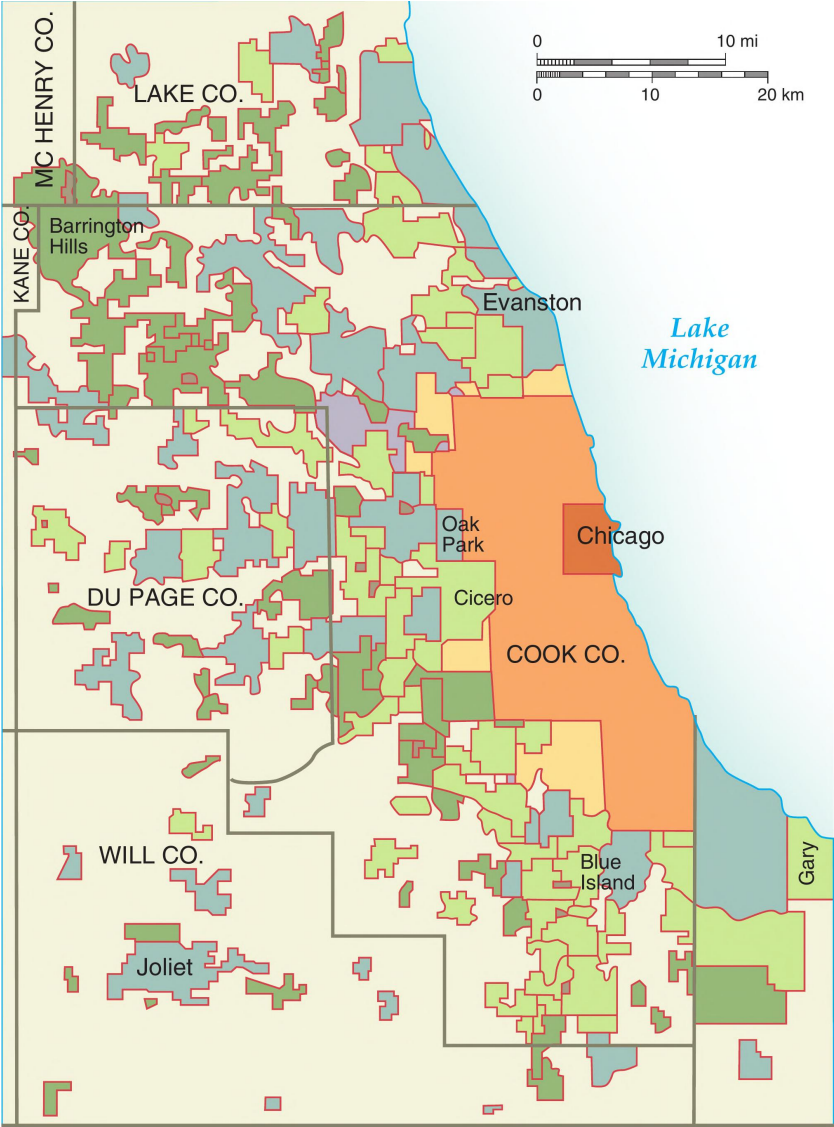


766 CHAPTER 28 CITY ANNEXATIONS ORIGINAL  
SUBURBAN MUNICIPAL Original city (1837) INCORPORATIONS  
1837-1889 1837-1889 1890-1939 1890-1939 1940-1990 ■

1940-1990 CHICAGO'S ANNEXATIONS AND THE SUBURBAN  
NOOSE This map uses Chicago as an example of two important processes in the growth of American cities— municipal consolidation and suburbanization. In 1837, Chicago consisted of a small area on the shore of Lake Michigan (represented by the small dark orange area on the right center of the map. Over the next fifty years, Chicago annexed an enormous amount of additional land around its original borders, followed by a few smaller annexations in the twentieth century. At the same time, however, many of the areas around Chicago were separating themselves from the city by incorporating as independent communities— suburbs— with a particular wave of such incorporations in the first decades of the twentieth century, continuing into the 1990s. A map of New York, and of many other cities, would reveal a similar pattern. • What were the consequences for the city of its legal and financial separation from so many suburban communities? beginnings of what became a permanent surge in attendance in the 1950s. People who traveled to national parks did so for many \_ reasons-some to hike and camp; some to fish . and hunt (activities that themselves grew dramatically in the 1950s and helped create a large number of clubs); some simply to look in awe at the landscape. Many visitors to national parks came in search less of conventional recreation than of wilderness. The importance of that search became clear in the early 1950s in the first of many battles over development of wilderness areas: the fight to preserve Echo Park. Echo Park is a spectacular valley in the Dinosaur National Monument, on the border between Utah and Colorado, near the southern border of Wyoming. In the early 1950s, the federal government's Bureau of Reclamation-created early in the century to encourage irrigation, develop electric power, and increase water supplies-proposed building a dam across the Green River, which runs through Echo Valley, so as to create a lake for recreation and a source of hydroelectric power. The American environmental movement had been relatively quiet since its searing defeat early in the century in its effort to stop a similar dam in the Hetch Hetchy Valley at Yosemite National Park (see p. 575). But the Echo Park proposal

helped rouse it from its slumber. In 1950, Bernard DeVoto-a well-known writer and a great champion of the American West-published an essay in The Saturday Evening Post titled "Shall We Let Them Ruin Our National Parks?" It had a sensational impact, arousing opposition to the Echo Valley dam from many areas of the country. The Sierra Club, relatively quiet Sierra Club , , , . Reborn in previous decades, moved into action; . the controversy helped elevate a new and aggressive leader, David Brower, who eventually transformed the club into the nation's leading environmental organization. By the mid-1950s, a large coalition of environmentalists, naturalists, and wilderness vacationers had been mobilized in opposition to the dam, and in 1956 Congressbowing to the public pressure-blocked the project and preserved Echo Park in its natural state. The controversy was a major victory for those who wished to preserve the sanctity of the national parks, and it was an important impetus to the dawning environmental consciousness that would become so important in later decades. Organized Society and Its Detractors White-collar workers came to outnumber blue-collar laborers for the first time in the 1950s, and an increasing proportion of them worked in corporate settings with rigid hierarchical structures. Industrial workers also confronted large bureaucracies, both in the workplace and in their own unions. Consumers discovered the frustrations of bureaucracy in dealing with the large national companies from whom they bought goods and services. More and more Americans were becoming convinced that the key to a successful future lay in acquiring the specialized training and skills necessary for work in large organizations. The American educational system responded to the demands of this increasingly organized society by experimenting with changes in curriculum and philosophy. Elementary and secondary schools gave increased attention to the teaching of science, mathematics, and foreign languages (particularly after the launching of the Soviet Union's Sputnik)- all of which educators considered important for the development of skilled, specialized professionals. Universities in the meantime were expanding their curricula Growth of Specialized Education





THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 767 to provide more opportunities for students to develop specialized skills. The idea of the "multiversity"-a phrase first coined by the chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley to describe his institution's diversity-represented a commitment to making higher education a training ground for specialists in a wide variety of fields. The debilitating impact of bureaucratic life on the individual slowly became a central theme of popular and scholarly debate. William H. Whyte Jr. produced one of the most widely discussed books of the decade: *The Organization Man* (1956), which attempted to describe the special mentality of the worker in a large, bureaucratic setting. Self-reliance, Whyte claimed, was losing place to the ability to "get along" and "work as a team" as the most valued trait in the modern character. Sociologist David Riesman had made similar observations in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), in which he argued that the traditional "inner-directed" man, who judged himself on the basis of his own values and the esteem of his family, was giving way to a new "other-directed" man, more concerned with winning the approval of the larger organization or community. Novelists, too, expressed misgivings in their work about the impersonality of modern society. Saul Bellow produced a series of novels-*The Adventures of Augie March* (1953), *Seize the Day* (1956), *Herzog* (1964), and many others-that chronicled the difficulties American Jewish men had in finding fulfillment in modern urban America. J. D. Salinger wrote in *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) of a prep-school student, Holden Caulfield, who was unable to find any area of society-school, family, friends, city-in which he could feel secure or committed. Americans in the 1950s. In part, that restlessness was a result of prosperity itself-of a growing sense among young people of limitless possibilities, and of the declining power of such traditional values as thrift, discipline, and self-restraint. Young middleclass Americans were growing up in a culture that encouraged them to expect rich and fulfilling lives; but they were living in a world in which almost all of them experienced obstacles to that fulfillment. Tremendous public attention was directed at the phenomenon of "juvenile delinquency," and in both politics and popular culture there were dire warnings about the growing criminality of American youth. The 1955 film *Blackboard Jungle*, for example, was a frightening depiction of crime and violence in city schools.

Scholarly studies, presidential commissions, and journalistic exposes all contributed to the sense of alarm about the spread of delinquency although in fact youth crime did not dramatically increase in the 1950s. The culture of alienation that the beats so vividly represented had counterparts even in ordinary middle-class behavior: teenage rebelliousness toward parents, youthful fascination with fast cars and motorcycles, and the increasing visibility of teenage sex, assisted by the greater availability of birth-control devices. The popularity of James Dean, in such movies as *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), *East of Eden* (1955), and *Giant* (1956), conveyed a powerful image of youth culture in the 1950s. Both in the roles he played (moody, alienated teenagers and young men with a streak of self-destructive violence) and in the way he lived his own life (he died in 1955, at the age of 24, *The Beats and the Restless Culture of Youth* The most caustic critics of bureaucracy, and of middle-class society in general, were a group The Beat of y°unS Poets > writers > and Generation's artists generally known as Critiques the "beats" (or, derisively, , V 1 as beatniks ). They wrote harsh critiques of what they considered the sterility and conformity of American life, the meaninglessness of American politics, and the banality of popular culture. Allen Ginsberg's dark, bitter poem "Howl" (1955) decried the "Robot apartments! invincible suburbs! skeleton treasuries! blind capitals! demonic industries!" of modern life. Jack Kerouac produced the bible of much of the Beat Generation in his novel *On the Road* (1957)-an account of a cross-country automobile trip that depicted the rootless, iconoclastic lifestyle of Kerouac and his friends. The beats were the most visible evidence of a widespread restlessness among young ELVIS Elvis Presley is almost certainly the most famous and influential rock musician of the twentieth century. Born in Mississippi and influenced by the African American of the South, he became a singer in the mid-1950s and continued to be extraordinarily popular until his death in 1977. This photograph shows him very early in his career. (© AP Images)



Lucy and Desi Arnaz's most popular show in the history of television began as an effort by a young comedian, Lucille Ball, to strengthen her troubled marriage. In 1950, Lucille Ball was performing in a popular weekly CBS radio comedy, *My Favorite Husband*, in which she portrayed a slightly zany housewife who tangled frequently with her banker husband, played by Richard Denning. The network proposed to transfer the show from radio to television. Lucy said she would do so only if she could replace Denning with her real-life husband of ten years, Desi Arnaz—a Cuban-born bandleader whose almost constant traveling was putting a strain on their marriage. Network officials tried in vain to talk her out of the idea. Arnaz had no acting experience, they told her. Lucy herself recognized another reason for their reluctance: the radicalism of portraying an ethnically mixed marriage on the air. But she held her ground. On Monday, October 15, 1951, the first episode of *I Love Lucy* was broadcast over CBS. Desi Arnaz played Ricky Ricardo, a Cuban bandleader and singer who spoke, at times, with a comically exaggerated Latin accent. Lucille Ball was Lucy Ricardo, his stage-struck and slightly dizzy wife. Performing with them were William Frawley and Vivian Vance, who played their neighbors and close friends, Fred and Ethel Mertz. In the premiere episode, "The Girls Want to Go to a Nightclub," Ricky and Fred want to go to a boxing match on the night of Fred and Ethel's anniversary, while the wives are arranging an evening at a nightclub. The opening episode contained many of the elements that characterized the show throughout its long run and ensured its extraordinary success: the remarkable chemistry among the four principal actors, the unexpected comedic talent of Desi Arnaz, and most of all the brilliance of Lucille Ball. She was a master of physical comedy, and many of her funniest moments involved scenes of absurdly incongruous situations (Lucy working an assembly line, Lucy stomping grapes in Italy). Her characteristic yowl of frustration became one of the most familiar sounds in American culture. She was a beautiful woman, but she never hesitated to make herself look ridiculous. "She was everywoman," her longtime writer Jess Oppenheim once wrote; "her little expressions and inflections stimulated the shock of recognition in the audience." But it was not just the great talents of its cast that made *I Love Lucy* such a phenomenon. It was the skill of its writers

in evoking some of the most common experiences and desires of television viewers in the 1950s. Lucy, in particular, mined the frustrations of domestic life for all they were worth, constantly engaging in zany and hilarious schemes to break into show business or somehow expand her world. The husbands wanted calm and conventional domestic lives— and time to themselves for conspicuously male activities: boxing, fishing, baseball. In the first seasons, the fictional LUCY AT HOME Although Lucy and Desi at first portrayed a childless, ethnically mixed couple living in a Manhattan apartment, many of the comic situations in the early years of the show were purely domestic. Here, Lucy, wearing an apron, deals with one of her many household predicaments with the extraordinary physical comedy that was part of her great success. Desi, watching skeptically, was a talented straight man to Lucy's zaniness. (© CBS/Photofest) couples lived as neighbors, without children, in a Manhattan apartment building. Later, Lucy had a child and they all moved to the suburbs. (The show used Lucy's real-life pregnancy on the air; and on January 19, 1953— only hours after Lucille Ball gave birth to her real in a car accident). Dean became an icon of the unfocused rebelliousness of American youth in his time. Rock n' Roll One of the most powerful cultural forces for American youth was the enormous popularity of rock 'n' roll—and of the greatest early rock star, Elvis Presley. Presley became a symbol of a Elvis Presley youthful determination to push at the borders of the conventional and acceptable. His sultry good looks; his self-conscious effort to dress in the vaguely rebellious style of urban gangs (motorcycle jackets and slicked-back hair); and most of all, the open sexuality of his music and his public performances made him wildly popular among young Americans in the 1950s. His first great hit, "Heartbreak Hotel," established him as a national phenomenon in 1956, and he remained a powerful figure in American popular culture until—and indeed beyond—his death in 1977. Presley's music, like that of most early white rock musicians, drew heavily from black rhythm and blues traditions, which appealed to some white youths in the early 1950s because of their pulsing. Roots sensual rhythms and their hard-edged lyrics. Sam Phillips, a local record promoter who had recorded some of the important black rhythm and blues musicians of his time (among them B. B. King), reportedly said in the early 1950s: "If I could find a white man with a Negro sound, I could

make a billion dollars.” Soon after that, he found Presley. But there were others as well. Among them were Buddy Holly and Bill Haley (whose 1955 song 768 • iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

**VITAMEATAVEGAMIN** One of the most popular episodes of / Love Lucy portrays Lucy at a trade show promoting a new health product called "Vitameatavegamin." In the course of the show, she herself drinks a great deal of the concoction, which has a high alcohol content and leaves her hilariously drunk. (© CBS/ Photofest) son and second child— CBS aired a previously filmed episode of the fictional Lucy giving birth to a fictional son, "Little Ricky" Ricardo.) Lucille Ball remained a major television star for nearly twenty years after / Love Lucy (and its successor, The Lucille Ball-Desi Arnaz Comedy Hour ) left the air in 1960. Desi Arnaz, whom Lucy divorced in 1960, remained for a time one of Hollywood's most powerful and successful studio executives as the head of Desilu Productions. And nearly sixty-five years after the first episode of / Love Lucy aired, the series remains extraordinarily popular all over the world— shown so frequently in reruns that in some American cities it is sometimes possible to see six Lucy episodes in a single evening. "People identified with the Ricardos," Lucille Ball once said, "because we had the same problems they had. We just took ordinary situations and exaggerated them." •

**PROMOTING THE SHOW** The marriage of Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, which paralleled the television marriage of Lucy and Ricky Ricardo, was one of the most effective promotional devices for / Love Lucy. Here, Lucy and Desi pose for a promotional still— one of many they made for advertisements, magazine covers, and posters until their marriage (and the show) dissolved in 1960. (©

**Photofest)** **UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE** 1. In what ways did / Love Lucy reflect American society and family life of the 1950s? 2. How have television situation comedies since / Love Lucy copied the formula for success established by that program? Do you see elements of the / Love Lucy pattern in today's situation comedies? 3. Why do you think / Love Lucy has continued to be so popular, both in the United States and throughout the world? "Rock Around the Clock"—used in the film Blackboard Jungle—to announce the arrival of rock 'n' roll to millions of young people), who were closely connected to African American musical traditions. Rock drew from other sources too: from country western music (another strong influence on Presley), from gospel music, even from Jazz. But its most important influence was its roots in rhythm and blues. The rise of such white rock musicians as Presley was a result



in part of the limited willingness of white audiences to accept black musicians. But the 1950s did see a growth in the popularity of African American bands and singers among both black and white audiences. Chuck Berry, Little Richard, B. B. King, Chubby Checker, the Temptations, and others-many of them recorded by the African American producer Berry Gordy, the founder and president of Motown Records in Detroit-never rivaled Presley in their popularity among white youths. But they did develop a significant multiracial audience of their own. The rapid rise and enormous popularity of rock owed a great deal to innovations in radio and television programming. By the 1950s, radio stations no longer felt obliged to present mostly live programming. Instead, many radio stations devoted themselves to playing recorded music. Early in the 1950s, a new breed of radio announcers, known now as "disc Jockeys," began to create programming aimed specifically at young fans of rock music; and when those programs became wildly successful, other stations followed suit. American Bandstand , a televised showcase for rock Tf roll hits that began in 1957, featured a live audience dancing to mostly recorded music. The show helped spread the popularity of rock-and made its . 769 iiimiiiiiiiiimiiiiimii



770 CHAPTER 28 host, Dick Clark, one of the best-known figures in America among young Americans. Radio and television were important to the recording industry, of course, because they encouraged the sale of records. Also important were jukeboxes, which played individual songs on 45s (records with one song on each side) and "Payola" proliferated in soda fountains, diners, bars. Scandals and other places where young people . were likely to congregate. Sales of records increased threefold-from \$182 million to \$521 million between 1954 and 1960. So eager were record promoters to get their songs on the air that some routinely made secret payments to station owners and disc jockeys to encourage them to showcase their artists. These payments, which became known as "payola," produced a briefly sensational series of scandals when they were exposed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. THE "OTHER AMERICA" Persistent Poverty  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii could be at the lower levels of the job market. But approximately 20 percent of the poor were people for whom poverty was a continuous, debilitating reality, from which there was no easy escape. That included approximately half the nation's elderly and a large proportion of African Americans and Hispanics. Native Americans constituted the single poorest group in the country, a result of government policies that undermined the economies of the reservations and drove many Indians into cities, where some lived in a poverty worse than that they had left. These were the people Harrington had written about in *The Other America* , people who suffered from what he called "a system designed to be impervious to hope." This "hard-core" poverty rebuked the assumptions of those who argued that economic growth would eventually lead everyone into prosperity; that, as many claimed, "a rising tide lifts all boats." It was a poverty that the growing prosperity of the postwar era seemed to affect hardly at all. It was relatively easy for white, middle-class Americans in the 1950s to believe that the world they knew-a world of economic growth, personal affluence, and cultural homogeneity was the world all Americans experienced; that the values and assumptions they shared were ones that most other Americans shared too. But such assumptions were false. Even within the middle class, there was considerable restiveness-among women, intellectuals, young people, and others who found the

middle-class consumer culture somehow unsatisfying, even stultifying. More importantly, large groups of Americans remained outside the circle of abundance and shared in neither the affluence of the middle class nor its values. On the Margins of the Affluent Society In 1962, the socialist writer Michael Harrington created a sensation by publishing a book called *The Other America*, in which *The Other* chronicled the continuing existence of America poverty in America. The conditions he . described were not new. Only the attention he was bringing to them was. The great economic expansion of the postwar years reduced poverty significantly but did not eliminate it. In 1960, at any given moment, more than a fifth of all American families (over 30 million people) continued to live below what the government defined as the poverty line (down from a third of all families fifteen years before). Many millions more lived just above the official poverty line, but with incomes that gave them little comfort and no security. Most of the poor experienced poverty intermittently and temporarily. Eighty percent of those classified as poor at any particular moment were likely to have moved into poverty recently and might move out of it again as soon as they found a job-an indication of how unstable employment Rural Poverty Among those on the margins of the affluent society were many rural Americans. In 1948, farmers had received 8.9 percent of the national income; in 1956, they received only 4.1 percent. In part, this decline reflected the steadily shrinking farm population; in 1956 alone, nearly 10 percent of the rural population moved into or was Agricultural absorbed bV cities- But k also reflected Prices declining farm prices. Because of enormous . surpluses in basic staples, prices fell 33 percent in those years, even though national income as a whole rose 50 percent at the same time. Even most farmers who managed to survive experienced substantial losses of income at the same time that the prices of many consumer goods rose. Not all farmers were poor. Some substantial landowners weathered, and even managed to profit from, the changes in American agriculture. Others moved from considerable to only modest affluence. But the agrarian economy did produce substantial numbers of genuinely impoverished people. Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers continued to live at or below subsistence level throughout the rural South-in part because of the mechanization of cotton picking beginning in 1944, in part because of the development of synthetic fibers that reduced demand

for cotton. (Two-thirds of the cotton acreage of the South went out of production between 1930 and 1960.) Migrant farmworkers, a group concentrated especially in the West and Southwest and containing many Mexican American and Asian American workers, lived in similarly dire circumstances. In rural areas without much commercial agriculture-such as the Appalachian region in the East, where the decline of the coal economy reduced the one significant source of support for the region-whole communities lived in desperate poverty, increasingly cut off from the market economy. All these groups were vulnerable to malnutrition and even starvation.

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 771 The Inner Cities As white families moved from cities to suburbs in vast numbers, many inner-city neighborhoods became vast repositories for the poor, "ghettos" from which there was no easy escape. The growth of these neighborhoods owed much to a vast Black Urban migration of African Americans out of the Migration countryside and into industrial cities. More than 3 million black men and women moved from the South to northern cities between 1940 and 1960. Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, and other eastern and midwestern industrial cities experienced a great expansion of their black populations-both in absolute numbers and, even more, as a percentage of the whole, since so many whites were leaving these cities at the same time. Similar migrations from Mexico and Puerto Rico expanded poor Hispanic neighborhoods at the same time. Between 1940 and 1960, nearly a million Puerto Ricans moved into American cities (the largest group to New York). Mexican workers crossed the border in Texas and California and swelled the already substantial Latino communities of such cities as San Antonio, Houston, San Diego, and Los Angeles (which by 1960 had the largest Mexican American population of any city, approximately 500,000 people). Why so many inner-city communities, populated largely by racial and ethnic minorities, remained so poor in the midst of growing affluence has been the subject of considerable debate. Some critics have argued that the new migrants were victims, in part, of their own pasts, that the work habits, values, and family structures they brought with them from their rural homes were poorly adapted to the needs of the modern industrial city. Others have argued that the inner city itself-its crippling poverty, its crime, its violence, its apparent hopelessness-created a "culture of poverty" that made it difficult for individuals to advance. Many others argue that a combination of declining bluecollar jobs, inadequate support for minority-dominated public schools, and barriers to advancement rooted in racism-not the culture and values of the poor themselves-was the source of inner-city poverty. It is indisputable that inner cities were filling up with poor minority residents at the same time that the unskilled industrial jobs they were seeking were diminishing. Employers were relocating factories and mills from old industrial cities to new locations in suburbs, smaller cities, and even abroad-places where

the cost of labor was lower. Even in the factories that remained, automation was reducing the number of unskilled jobs. The economic opportunities that had helped earlier immigrant groups to rise up from poverty were unavailable to most of the postwar migrants. Nor can there be any doubt that historic patterns of racial discrimination in hiring, education, and housing doomed many members of these communities to continuing, and in some cases increasing, poverty. For many years, the principal policy response to the poverty of inner cities was "urban renewal": the effort to tear down buildings in the poorest and most degraded areas. In the "Urban twenty years after World War II, urban Renewal" renewal projects destroyed over 400,000 . buildings, among them the homes of nearly 1.5 million people. In some cases, urban renewal provided new public housing for poor city residents. Some of it was considerably better than the housing they left; some of it was poorly designed and constructed, and deteriorated rapidly into dismal and dangerous slums.

PERCENT OF TOTAL AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION ] 25%— 50% □ 5%-10% 1 1 0%— 25% ■ 0%-5%

AFRICAN AMERICAN MIGRATION, 1950-1980 Although there had been a substantial migration of African Americans out of the South and into northern industrial cities around the time of World War I and again during World War II, that process accelerated in the thirty years after 1950. By 1980, fewer southern states had black populations that accounted for 25 percent or more of their total population than in 1950. In the rest of the country, the number of states whose black populations exceeded 5 and 10 percent (the states shaded orange and purple) greatly increased. • What were some of the factors that produced the African American migration in this period?

## 772 CHAPTER 28 THE RISE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

After decades of skirmishes, an open battle began in the 1950s against racial segregation and discrimination. Although white Americans played an important role in the civil rights movement, pressure from African Americans themselves was the crucial element in raising the issue of race to prominence. The Brown Decision and "Massive Resistance" On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court announced its decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. In *considBrown v erin8* the legal segregation of a Kansas pubBoard of he scho'l system, the Court rejected its Education own 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision. In some communities-for example, Washington, D.C.compliance came relatively quickly and quietly. More often, "Massive however, strong local opposition (what Resistance" came to be known in the South as "massive . resistance") produced long delays and bitter conflicts. Some school districts ignored the ruling altogether. Others attempted to circumvent it with purely token efforts to integrate. More than 100 southern members of Congress signed a "manifesto" in 1956 denouncing the Brown decision and urging their constituents to defy it. Southern governors, mayors, local school boards, and nongovernmental pressure groups (including hundreds of "White Citizens' Councils") all worked to obstruct desegregation. Many school districts enacted "pupil placement laws" allowing school officials to place students in schools according to their scholastic abilities and social behavior. Such laws were transparent devices for maintaining segregation; but in 1958, the Supreme iiiiifiiiiifimiiiiitiiiiii which had ruled that communities could provide blacks with separate facilities as long as the facilities were equal to those of whites. The Brown decision was the culmination of many decades of effort by black opponents of segregation, and particularly by a group of talented NAACP lawyers, many of them trained at Howard University in Washington, D.C., by the great legal educator Charles Houston. Thurgood Marshall, William Hastie, James Nabrit, and others spent years filing legal challenges to segregation in one state after another, nibbling at the edges of the system, and accumulating precedents to support their assault on the "separate but equal" doctrine itself. The same lawyers filed the suits against the school



boards of Topeka, Kansas, and several other cities that became the basis for the Brown decision. The Topeka suit involved the case of an African American girl who had to travel several miles to a segregated public school every day even though she lived virtually next door to a white elementary school. When the case arrived before the Supreme Court, the justices examined it not simply in terms of legal precedent but in terms of history, sociology, and psychology. They concluded that school segregation inflicted unacceptable damage on those it affected, regardless of the relative quality of the separate schools. Chief Justice Earl Warren explained the unanimous opinion of his colleagues: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The following year, the Court issued another decision (known as "Brown II") to provide rules for implementing the 1954 order. It ruled that communities must work to desegregate their schools "with all deliberate speed," but it set no timetable and left specific decisions up to lower courts. "Separate but Equal" Doctrine Overturned

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS African American student Elizabeth Eckford passes by jeering whites on her way to Little Rock Central High School, newly integrated by federal court order. The black students later admitted that they had been terrified during the first difficult weeks of integration. But in public, most of them acted with calm and dignity. (© Everett Collection/SuperStock)



THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 773 Court (in *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education*) refused to declare them unconstitutional. By the fall of 1957, only 684 of 3,000 affected school districts in the South had even begun to desegregate their schools. Many white parents simply withdrew their children from the public schools and enrolled them in all-white "segregation academies"; some state and local governments diverted money from newly integrated public schools and used it to fund the new, all-white academies. The Brown decision, far from ending segregation, had launched a prolonged battle between federal authority and state and local governments, and between those who believed in racial equality and those who did not. The Eisenhower administration was not eager to commit itself to that battle. The president himself had greeted the Little Rock Brown decision with skepticism (and once said it had set back progress on race relations "at least fifteen years"). But in September 1957, he faced a case of direct state defiance of federal authority and felt compelled to act. Federal courts had ordered the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. An angry white mob tried to prevent implementation of the order by blockading the entrances to the school, and Governor Orval Faubus refused to do anything to stop the obstruction. President Eisenhower responded by federalizing the Arkansas National Guard and sending troops to Little Rock to restore order and ensure that the court orders would be obeyed. Only then did Central High School admit its first black students.

The Expanding Movement The Brown decision helped spark a growing number of popular challenges to segregation in the South. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, an African American woman, was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, when she refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus to a white passenger. Parks, an active civil rights leader in the community, had apparently decided spontaneously to resist the order to move. Her feet were tired, she later explained. But black leaders in Montgomery had been waiting for such an incident, which they wanted to use to challenge the segregation of the buses. The arrest of this admired woman produced outrage in the city's African American community and helped local leaders organize a successful boycott of the bus system to demand an end to segregated seating. The bus boycott owed much of its success to the prior existence of

well-organized black citizens' groups. A black women's political caucus had, in fact, been developing plans for a boycott of the segregated buses for some time. They seized on Rosa Parks as a symbol of the movement. Once Montgomery launched the boycott was almost completely effective. Black workers who needed to commute to their jobs (of whom the largest group consisted of female domestic servants) formed car pools to ride back and forth to work, or simply walked, at times over long distances. The boycott put economic pressure not only on the bus company (a private concern) but on many Montgomery merchants as well. The bus boycotters found it difficult to get to downtown stores and tended to shop instead in their own neighborhoods. Still, the boycott might well have failed had it not been for a Supreme Court decision late in 1956, inspired in part by the protest, that declared segregation in public transportation to be illegal. The buses in Montgomery abandoned their discriminatory seating policies, and the boycott came to a close. An important result of the Montgomery boycott was the rise to prominence of a new figure in the movement for civil rights. The man chosen to head the boycott movement was a local Baptist pastor, Martin Luther King Jr., the son of a prominent Atlanta minister, a powerful orator, and a gifted leader. At first King was reluctant to lead the movement. But once he accepted the role, he became consumed by it. King's approach to black protest was based on the doctrine of nonviolence—that is, of passive resistance even in the face of direct attack. He drew from the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian nationalist leader; from Henry David Thoreau and his doctrine of civil disobedience; and from Martin Luther King's Christian doctrine. And he produced an approach to racial struggle that captured the moral high ground for his supporters. He urged African Americans to engage in peaceful demonstrations; to allow themselves to be arrested, even beaten, if necessary; and to respond to hate with love. For the next thirteen years—as leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an interracial group he founded shortly after the bus boycott—he was the most influential and most widely admired black leader in the country. The popular movement he came to represent soon spread throughout the South and throughout the country. Pressure from the courts, from northern liberals, and from African Americans themselves also speeded the pace of racial change in other areas. One important color line had

been breached as early as 1947, when the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson as the first African American to play Major League baseball. By the mid-1950s, blacks had established themselves as a powerful force in almost all professional sports. Within the government. President Eisenhower completed the integration of the armed forces, attempted to desegregate the federal workforce, and in 1957 signed a civil rights act (passed, without active support from the White House, by a Democratic Congress) providing federal protection for African Americans who wished to register to vote. It was a weak bill, with few mechanisms for enforcement, but it was the first civil rights bill of any kind to win passage since the end of Reconstruction, and it served as a signal that the executive and legislative branches were beginning to join the judiciary in the federal commitment to the "Second Reconstruction." Causes of the Civil Rights Movement Why did a civil rights movement begin to emerge at this particular moment? The injustices it challenged and the goals it promoted were hardly new; in theory, African Americans

774 CHAPTER 28 could have launched the same movement fifty or a hundred years earlier, or decades later. Why did they do so in the 1950s and 1960s? Several factors contributed to the rise of African American protest in these years. The legacy of World War II was one of the most important. Millions of black men and women had served in the military or worked in war plants during the war and had derived from the experience a broader view of the world, and of their place in it. Another factor was the growth of an urban black middle class, which had been developing for decades but which began to flourish after the war. Much of the impetus for the Urban Black Middle Class rights movement came from the leaders of urban black communities, ministers, educators, professionals-and much of it came as well from students at black colleges and universities, which had expanded significantly in the previous decades. Men and women with education and a stake in society were often more aware of the obstacles to their advancement than poorer and more oppressed people, to whom the possibility of advancement may have seemed too remote even to consider. And urban blacks had considerably more freedom to associate with one another and to develop independent institutions than did rural blacks, who were often under the very direct supervision of white landowners. Television and other forms of popular culture were another factor in the rising consciousness of racism among blacks. More than any previous generation, postwar African Americans had constant, vivid reminders of how the white majority lived-of the world from which they were effectively excluded. Television also conveyed the activities of demonstrators to a national audience, ensuring that activism in one community would inspire similar protests in others. In addition to the forces that were inspiring African Americans to mobilize, other forces were at work mobilizing many white Americans to support the movement once it began. One was the Cold War, which made racial injustice an embarrassment to Americans trying to present their nation as a model to the world. Another was the political mobilization of northern blacks, who were now a substantial voting bloc within the Democratic Party; politicians from northern industrial states could not ignore their views. Labor unions with

substantial black memberships also played an important part in supporting (and funding) the civil rights movement. EISENHOWER  
REPUBLICANISM IIIIIIIIIIIII III III III I mil II III I II III MINIM IIIII  
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MINIM III III IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII Dwight D. Eisenhower was one of the  
least experienced politicians to serve in the White House in the  
twentieth century. He was also among the most popular and  
politically successful presidents of the postwar era. At home, he  
pursued essentially moderate policies, avoiding most new initiatives  
but accepting the work of earlier reformers. Abroad, he continued  
and even intensified American commitments to oppose communism  
but brought to some of those commitments a measure of restraint  
that his successors did not always match. "What Was Good for . . .  
General Motors" The first Republican administration in twenty years  
staffed itself with men drawn from the same quarter as those who  
had „ staffed Republican administrations in the Business „ Leaders\*  
New 1920s: the business community. But by Outlook the 1950s,  
many business leaders had acquired a social and political outlook  
very different from that of their predecessors. Above all, many had  
reconciled themselves to at least the broad outlines of the  
Keynesian welfare state the New Deal had launched. Indeed, some  
corporate leaders had come to see it as something that actually  
benefited them-by helping maintain social order, by increasing mass  
purchasing power, and by stabilizing labor relations. To his cabinet,  
Eisenhower appointed wealthy corporate lawyers and business  
executives who were not apologetic about their backgrounds.  
Charles Wilson, president of General Motors, assured senators  
considering his nomination for secretary of defense that he foresaw  
no conflict of interest because he was certain that "what was good  
for our country was good for General Motors, and vice versa."  
Eisenhower's consistent inclination was to limit federal activities  
and encourage private enterprise. He supported the private rather  
than public development of natural resources. To the chagrin of  
farmers, he lowered federal support for farm prices. He also  
removed the last limited wage and price controls maintained by the  
Truman administration. He opposed the creation of new social  
service programs such as national health insurance. He strove  
constantly to reduce federal expenditures (even during the recession  
of 1958) and balance the budget. He ended 1960, his last full year

in office, with a \$1 billion budget surplus. The Survival of the Welfare State The president took few new initiatives in domestic policy, but he resisted pressure from the right wing of his party to dismantle those welfare policies of the New Deal Federal , , , , , Highway Act survive(a conservative assaults of 1956 °f the war years and after. He agreed to

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii extend the Social Security system to an additional 10 million people and unemployment compensation to an additional 4 million, and he agreed to increase the legal minimum hourly wage from 75 cents to \$1. Perhaps the most significant legislative accomplishment of the Eisenhower administration was the Federal Highway Act of 1956, which authorized \$25 billion for a ten-year project that built over 40,000 miles of interstate highways-the largest public works project in American history. The program was to be funded through a highway "trust fund," whose revenues would come from new taxes on the purchase of fuel, automobiles, trucks, and tires.



## THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 775 THE "HIGHWAY BILL"

President Dwight Eisenhower signs the Federal Highway Act of 1956 into law from the Oval Office at the White House. This initiative authorized \$25 billion to build more than 40,000 miles of interstate highway. (© Corbis) In 1956, Eisenhower ran for a second term, even though he had suffered a serious heart attack the previous year. With Adlai Stevenson opposing him once again, he won by another, even greater landslide, receiving nearly 57 percent of the popular vote and 457 electoral votes to Stevenson's 73. Democrats retained control of both houses of Congress, which they had won back in 1954. And in 1958-during a serious recession they increased that control by substantial margins. for "conduct unbecoming a senator." Three years later, with little public support left, he died-a victim, apparently, of complications arising from alcoholism. EISENHOWER, DULLES, AND THE COLD WAR The Decline of McCarthyism The Eisenhower administration did little in its first years in office to discourage the anticommunist furor that had gripped the nation. By 1954, however, the crusade against subversion was beginning to produce significant popular opposition-an indication that the anticommunist passion of several years earlier was beginning to abate. The clearest signal of that change was the political demise of Senator Joseph McCarthy. During the first year of the Eisenhower administration, McCarthy continued to operate with impunity. But in January 1954 he overreached when he attacked Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens and the armed services in ArmyMcCarthy general. At that point, the administration Hearings and influential members of Congress orgaiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii zed a special investigation of the charges, which became known as the Army-McCarthy hearings. They were among the first congressional hearings to be nationally televised. The result was devastating to McCarthy. Watching McCarthy in action-bullying witnesses, hurling groundless (and often cruel) accusations, evading issues-much of the public began to see him as a villain, and even a buffoon. In December 1954, the Senate voted 67 to 22 to condemn him The threat of nuclear war with the Soviet Union created a sense of high anxiety in international relations in the 1950s. But the nuclear threat had another effect as well. With the potential devastation of an atomic war so enormous, both superpowers began to edge away

from direct confrontations. The attention of both the United States and the Soviet Union began to turn to the rapidly escalating instability in the poor and developing nations of the Third World. Dulles and "Massive Retaliation" Eisenhower's secretary of state, and (except for the president himself) the dominant figure in the nation's foreign policy in the 1950s, was John Foster Dulles, an aristocratic corporate lawyer with a stern moral revulsion to communism. He entered office denouncing the containment policies of the Truman years as excessively passive, arguing that the United States should pursue an active program of "liberation," which would lead to a "rollback" of communist expansion. Once in power, however, he had to defer to the more moderate views of the president himself. The most prominent of Dulles's innovations was the policy of "massive retaliation," which Dulles announced early in 1954.



The United States would, he explained, respond to communist Economic threats to its allies not by using conventional forces in local conflicts (a policy that "Massive had led to so much frustration in Korea) but by relying on "the deterrent of massive retaliatory power" (by which he meant nuclear weapons). In part, the new doctrines reflected Dulles's inclination for tense confrontations, an approach he once defined as "brinksmanship"-pushing the Soviet Union to the brink of war in order to exact concessions. But the real force behind the massive-retaliation policy was economics. With pressure growing both in and out of government for a reduction in American military expenditures, an increasing reliance on atomic weapons seemed to promise, as some advocates put it, "more bang for the buck." France, America, and Vietnam by which to reunite the nation peacefully-although in fact the 1954 meeting produced no agreement and left the ceasefire line as the apparently permanent border between the two countries. Almost simultaneously, however, the United States was being drawn into a long, bitter struggle in Southeast Asia. Vietnam, a colony of France, was facing strong opposition from nationalists, led by Ho Chi Minh, a communist. When French troops became surrounded in a disastrous siege in North Vietnam, only American intervention, it was Dien Bien clear, could prevent the total collapse of Phu the French military effort. Yet despite the urgings of Secretary of State Dulles, Vice President Nixon, and others, Eisenhower refused to permit direct American military intervention in Vietnam, claiming that neither Congress nor America's other allies would support such action. What had been the most troubling foreign policy concern of the Truman years-the war in Korea-plagued the Eisenhower administration only briefly. On July 27, 1953, negotiators at Panmunjom finally signed an agreement ending the hostilities. Each antagonist was to withdraw its troops a mile and a half from the existing battle line, which ran roughly along the 38th parallel, the prewar border between North and South Korea. A conference in Geneva was to consider means Cold War Crises American foreign policy in the 1950s rested on a reasonably consistent foundation: the containment policy, as revised by the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. But the nation's leaders spent much of their time reacting to both real and imagined

crises in far-flung areas of the world. Among the Cold War challenges the Eisenhower administration EISENHOWER AND DULLES Although President Eisenhower was a somewhat colorless television personality, his was the first administration to make extensive use of the new medium to promote its policies and dramatize its actions. The president's press conferences were frequently televised, and on several occasions Secretary of State John Foster Dulles reported to the president in front of the cameras. Dulles is shown here in the Oval Office on May 17, 1955, reporting after his return from Europe, where he had signed the treaty restoring sovereignty to Austria. (© AP Images)



The prime minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion (in suit and open collar shirt), watches the departure of the last British troops from Palestine shortly after the United Nations approved (and the United States recognized) in 1948 the existence of a new Jewish state in part of the region. (© Bettmann/ Corbis) confronted were a series of crises in the Middle East, a region in which the United States had been little involved until after World War II. On May 14, 1948, after years of Zionist efforts and a dramatic decision by the new United Nations, Israel proclaimed its independence. President Truman recognized the new Jewish homeland the next day. But the creation of Israel, while it resolved some conflicts, created others. Palestinian Arabs, unwilling to accept being displaced from what they considered their own country, joined with Israel's Arab neighbors and fought determinedly against the new state in 1948-the first of several Arab-Israeli wars. Committed as the American government was to Israel, it was also concerned about the stability and friendliness of the Arab regimes in the oil-rich Middle East, in which American petroleum companies had major investments. Thus the United States reacted with alarm as it watched Mohammad Mossadegh, the nationalist prime minister of Iran, begin to resist the presence of Western corporations in his nation in the early 1950s. In 1953, the American CIA joined forces with conservative Iranian military leaders to engineer a coup that drove Mossadegh from office. To replace him, the CIA helped elevate the young shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlevi, from his position as token constitutional monarch to that of virtually absolute ruler. The shah remained closely tied to the United States for the next twenty-five years. American policy was less effective in dealing with the nationalist government of Egypt, under the leadership of General Gamal Abdel Nasser, which began to develop a trade relationship with the Soviet Union in the early 1950s. In 1956, to punish Nasser for Suez Crisis his friendliness toward the communists, Dulles withdrew American offers to assist in building the great Aswan Dam across the Nile. A week later, Nasser retaliated by seizing control of the Suez Canal from the British, saying that he would use the income from it to build the dam himself. On October 29, 1956, Israeli forces attacked Egypt.

The next day the British and French landed troops in the Suez to drive the Egyptians from the canal. Dulles and Eisenhower feared that the Suez crisis would drive the Arab states toward the Soviet Union and precipitate a new world war. By refusing to support the invasion, and by joining in a United Nations denunciation of it, the United States helped pressure the French and British to withdraw and helped persuade Israel to agree to a truce with Egypt. Cold War concerns affected American relations in Latin America as well. In 1954, the Eisenhower administration ordered the CIA to help topple the new, leftist government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala, a regime that Dulles (responding to the entreaties of the United Fruit Company, a major investor in Guatemala fearful of Arbenz) argued was potentially communist. No nation in the region had been more closely tied to America than Cuba. Its leader, Fulgencio Batista, had ruled as a military dictator since 1952, when with American assistance Fidel Castro he had toppled a more moderate government. Cuba's relatively prosperous economy had become a virtual fiefdom of American corporations, which controlled almost all the island's natural resources and had cornered over half the vital sugar crop. American organized-crime syndicates controlled much of Havana's lucrative hotel and nightlife business. In 1957, a popular movement of resistance to the Batista regime began to gather strength



778 CHAPTER 28 under the leadership of Fidel Castro. On January 1, 1959, with Batista having fled to exile in Spain, Castro marched into Havana and established a new government. Castro soon began implementing radical policies of land reform and expropriating foreign-owned businesses and resources. Cuban-American relations deteriorated rapidly as a result. When Castro began accepting assistance from the Soviet Union in 1960, the United States cut back the "quota" by which Cuba could export sugar to America at a favored price. Early in 1961, as one of its last acts, the Eisenhower administration severed diplomatic relations with Castro. Isolated by the United States, Castro soon cemented an alliance with the Soviet Union. Europe and the Soviet Union

Although the problems of the Third World were moving slowly toward the center of American foreign policy, the direct relationship with the Soviet Union and the effort to resist communist expansion in Europe remained the principal concerns of the Eisenhower administration. In 1955, Hungarian Eisenhower and other NATO leaders met Revolution with the Soviet premier, Nikolai Bulganin, . , at a cordial summit conference in Geneva. But when a subsequent conference of foreign ministers met to try to resolve specific issues, they could find no basis for agreement. Relations between the Soviet Union and the West soured further in 1956 in response to the Hungarian Revolution. Hungarian dissidents had launched a popular uprising in November to demand democratic reforms. Before the month was out, Soviet tanks and troops entered Budapest to crush the uprising and restore an orthodox, pro-Soviet regime. The Eisenhower administration refused to intervene. The U-2 Crisis In November 1958, Nikita Khrushchev, who had succeeded Bulganin as Soviet premier and Communist Party chief earlier that year, renewed the demands of his predecessors that the NATO powers abandon West Berlin. When the United States and its allies predictably refused, Khrushchev THE CUBAN REVOLUTION Fidel Castro is shown here in the Cuban jungle in 1957 with a small group of his staff and their revolutionary forces. Kneeling in the foreground is Castro's brother Raoul. Two years later, Castro's forces toppled the existing government and elevated Fidel to the nation's leadership, where he remained for almost fifty years. (© Bettmann/Corbis)





THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY 779 suggested that he and Eisenhower discuss the issue personally, both in visits to each other's countries and at a summit meeting in Paris in 1960. The United States agreed. Khrushchev's 1959 visit to America produced a cool but mostly polite public response. Plans proceeded for the summit conference and for Eisenhower's visit to Moscow shortly thereafter. Only days before the scheduled beginning of the Paris meeting, however, the Soviet Union announced that it had shot down an American U-2, a high-altitude spy plane, over Russian territory. Its pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was in captivity. Khrushchev lashed out angrily at the American incursion into Soviet air space, breaking up the Paris summit almost before it could begin and withdrawing his invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. After eight years in office, Eisenhower had failed to eliminate, and in some respects had actually increased, the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Yet \_ , Eisenhower had brought to the Cold War Eisenhower's . r . & . Restraint his own sense °f the limits of American . power. He had resisted military intervention in Vietnam. And he had placed a measure of restraint on those who urged the creation of an enormous American military establishment. In his Farewell Address in January 1961, he warned of the "unwarranted influence" of a vast "militaryindustrial complex." His caution, in both domestic and international affairs, stood in marked contrast to the attitudes of his successors, who argued that the United States must act more boldly and aggressively on behalf of its goals at home and abroad. LOOKING BACK The booming economic growth of the 1950s-and the anxiety over the Cold War that formed a backdrop to it-shaped the politics and the culture of the decade. For most Americans, the 1950s were years of increasing personal prosperity. Sales of private homes increased dramatically; suburbs grew precipitously; young families had children at an astounding ratecreating what came to be known as the postwar "baby boom." After the end of the divisive Korean War, the nation's politics entered a period of relative calm, symbolized by the genial presence in the White House of Dwight D. Eisenhower, who provided moderate and undemanding leadership through most of the decade. The nation's culture, too, helped create a broad sense of stability and calm. Television, which emerged in the 1950s as the most powerful medium of mass culture, presented

largely uncontroversial programming dominated by middle-class images and traditional values. Movies, theater, popular magazines, and newspapers generally contributed to a broad sense of well-being. But the 1950s were not, in the end, as calm and contented as the politics and popular culture of the time suggested. A powerful youth culture emerged in these years that displayed a considerable level of restiveness and even disillusionment. African Americans began to escalate their protests against segregation and inequality. The continuing existence of widespread poverty among large groups of Americans attracted increasing attention as the decade progressed. These pulsing anxieties, combined with frustration over the continuing tensions of the Cold War, produced by the late 1950s a growing sense of impatience with the calm, placid public culture of the time. That was one reason for the growing desire for action and innovation as the 1960s began.

Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events Allen Ginsberg 767 "Beats" 767 Brinkmanship 776 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka 772 Dien Bien Phu 776 Echo Park 766 Elvis Presley 768 Fidel Castro ITT J. D. Salinger 767 Jackie Robinson 773 Jack Kerouac 767 John Foster Dulles 775 Jonas Salk 759 Levittown 763 Martin Luther King Jr. 773 Massive retaliation 775 Michael Harrington 770 Rosa Parks 773 Saul Bellow 767 Sputnik 761 UNIVAC 760 William H. Whyte Jr. 767 William Levitt 763 RECALL AND REFLECT 1. How did the economic boom of the postwar era change American lifestyles? 2. What were some of the significant scientific and technological breakthroughs, especially in medicine, chemistry, electronics, weaponry, and space exploration, of the 1950s and 1960s? How did these developments affect American life? 3. How did the increasing popularity of the automobile change the American landscape and American society? 4. Who were the critics of the affluent society of the 1950s? What were their criticisms? 5. How did the Cold War progress under Eisenhower?

## 780 CHAPTER 28 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1947 Jackie

Robinson becomes first African American to play in Major Leagues  
Construction begins on Levittown, New York 1948 United Nations  
votes to partition Palestine and create state of Israel 1952  
Eisenhower elected president 1953 Truce ends Korean War 1954 ^ O  
Supreme Court rules in Brown v. Board of Education Army-  
McCarthy hearings; Senate censures McCarthy ^ 1955 O Labor  
organizations reconcile and form AFL-CIO Supreme Court  
announces 'Brown II' decision Montgomery bus boycott begins 1956  
Eisenhower reelected president Suez crisis Soviets crush Hungarian  
revolution Federal Highway Act passed 1959 Castro seizes power in  
Cuba 1957 Soviet Union launches Sputnik Little Rock school  
desegregation crisis Civil rights act passed 1960 U-2 incident  
precipitates collapse of Paris summit 1961 Yuri Gagarin of Soviet  
Union becomes first man in space Alan Shepard becomes first  
American in space United States breaks diplomatic relations with  
Cuba 1962 Michael Harrington publishes The Other America 1969  
Americans land on moon

[illegible]

A close-up photograph of a worn, brown leather book cover. The word "RED" is embossed in large, stylized, block letters on the right side. The leather is heavily textured with cracks and creases. There are several small, irregular holes or tears in the leather, particularly around the central spine area and near the bottom edge. The overall appearance is aged and distressed.



## SETTING THE STAGE

BY THE LATE 1950S, A GROWING RESTLESSNESS was bubbling beneath the apparently placid surface of American society. Anxiety about America's position in the world, growing pressures from African Americans and other minorities, the increasing visibility of poverty, the rising frustrations of women, and other long-suppressed discontents were beginning to shake the nation's public life. Ultimately, that restlessness would make the 1960s one of the most turbulent eras of the twentieth century. But at first, it contributed to a bold and confident effort by political leaders and popular movements to attack social and international problems within the framework of conventional liberal politics. At the same time, challenges to liberalism emerged from both the left and the right. The civil rights movement grew rapidly in the early 1960s and quickly evolved into a diverse set of movements, some of which adopted radical and even revolutionary goals. Student disenchantment also grew dramatically in the 1960s, becoming a powerful and increasingly disruptive force on campuses and beyond. Finally, U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam led eventually to a commitment of over half a million American troops and resulted in over 55,000 American deaths. It also produced an unprecedentedly large opposition movement in the United States. By the end of the 1960s, the United States had entered what was in many ways a fundamentally new period in its history. The 1960s produced a searing critique of American life, which greatly transformed both the politics and culture of the nation. The moderate center had dominated American life for decades before the 1960s. In the aftermath of the decade, American society became increasingly fragmented and, at times, polarized. EXPANDING THE LIBERAL STATE Those who yearned for a more active government in the late 1950s, and who accused the Eisenhower administration of allowing the nation to "drift," looked above all to the presidency for leadership. The two men who served in the White House through most of the 1960s—John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson—seemed for a time to be the embodiment of these liberal hopes. John Kennedy The presidential campaign of 1960 produced two young candidates who claimed to offer the nation active leadership. The Republican nomination went almost uncontested to Vice

President Richard Nixon, who promised moderate reform. The Democrats, in the meantime, emerged from a spirited primary campaign united, somewhat uneasily, behind John Fitzgerald Kennedy, an attractive and articulate senator from Massachusetts who had narrowly missed being the party's vice presidential candidate in 1956. John Kennedy was the son of the wealthy, powerful, and highly controversial Joseph P. Kennedy, former American ambassador to Britain. But while he had grown up in a world of ease Election and Privilege > he became a spokesman for personal sacrifice and energetic of 1960 progress. His appealing public image was at least as important as his political . positions in attracting popular support. He overcame doubts about his youth (he turned forty-three in 1960) and religion (he was Catholic) to win with a tiny plurality of the popular vote (49.7 percent to Nixon's 49.6 percent) and only a slightly more comfortable electoral majority (303 to 219). Kennedy had campaigned promising a set of domestic reforms more ambitious than any since the New Deal, a program he described as the "New Frontier." But his thin popular mandate and a Congress dominated by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats frustrated many of his hopes. Kennedy did manage to win approval of tariff reductions his administration had negotiated, and he began to build an ambitious legislative agenda that he hoped he might eventually see enacted-including a call for a significant tax cut to promote economic growth. More than any other president of the century (except perhaps the two Roosevelts and, later, Ronald Reagan), Kennedy made his own personality an integral part of his presidency and a central 782



CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERALISM 783

| Candidate        | Party                                                                         | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote (%) |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| John F. Kennedy  | Democratic                                                                    | 303            | 64.0             |
| Richard M. Nixon | Republican                                                                    | 219            | 35.9             |
| Harry F. Byrd    | Dixiecrat                                                                     | 15             | 0.7              |
| Other candidates | Prohibition; Socialist Labor; Constitution; Socialist Workers; States' Rights | 34             | 0.6              |

64% of electorate voting 303 219 15 34,227,096 (49.7) 34,108,546 (49.6) 501,643 (0.7) 197,029

THE ELECTION OF 1960 The election of 1960 was, in the popular vote at least, one of the closest in American history. John Kennedy's margin over Richard Nixon was less than onethird of 1 percent of the total national vote, but greater in the electoral college. Note the distribution of electoral strength of the two candidates. Kennedy was strong in the industrial Northeast and the largest industrial states of the Midwest, and he retained at least a portion of his party's traditional strength in the South and Southwest. But Nixon made significant inroads into the upper South, carried Florida, and swept most of the Plains and Mountain states.

- What was the significance of this distribution of strength to the future of the two parties? Kennedy focus of national attention. Nothing illustrated that more clearly than the popular reaction to the tragedy of November 22, 1963. Kennedy had traveled to Texas with his wife and Vice President Lyndon Johnson for a series of political appearances. While the presidential motorcade rode slowly through the streets of Dallas, shots rang out. Two bullets struck the president—one in the throat, the other in the head. He was sped to a nearby hospital, where minutes after arriving he was pronounced dead. Lee Harvey Oswald, who appeared to be a confused and embittered Marxist, was arrested for the crime later that day, and then mysteriously murdered by a Dallas nightclub owner. Jack Ruby, two days later. Most Americans at the time accepted the conclusions of a federal commission, appointed by President Johnson and chaired by Chief Justice Earl Warren, which found that both Oswald and Ruby had acted alone, that there was no conspiracy. In later years, however, many Americans came to believe that the Warren Commission report had ignored evidence of a broad conspiracy behind the murders. Even after fifty years, some people still believe in the conspiracies associated with the president's assassination. And fifty years after his death, Kennedy's popularity remains high. Lyndon Johnson The Kennedy assassination was a national trauma—a defining event for

almost everyone old enough to be aware of it. At the time, however, much of the nation took comfort in the personality and performance of Kennedy's successor in the White House, Lyndon Baines Johnson. Johnson was a native of the poor "hill country" of west Texas and had risen to become majority leader of the U.S. Senate by dint of extraordinary, even obsessive, effort and ambition. Having failed to win the Democratic nomination for president in 1960, he surprised many who knew him by agreeing to accept the second position on the ticket with Kennedy. The events in Dallas thrust him into the White House. Johnson's rough-edged, even crude personality could hardly have been more different from Kennedy's. But like Kennedy, JOHN KENNEDY The new president and his wife, Jacqueline, attend one of the five balls in Washington marking Kennedy's inauguration in 1961. (Photo by Paul Schutzer/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)



784 CHAPTER 29 Johnson was a man who believed in the active use of power. Between 1963 and 1966, he compiled the most impressive legislative record of any president since Franklin Roosevelt. He was aided by the tidal wave of emotion that followed the death of President Kennedy, which helped win support for many New Frontier proposals. The "Great Society" But Johnson also constructed a bill in 1964 that would provide federal aid to all elderly Americans, one that he ultimately labeled the "Great Society." And he won approval of much of it through the same sort of skillful lobbying in Congress that had made him an effective majority leader. Johnson envisioned himself as a great "coalition builder." He wanted the support of everyone, and for a time he nearly got it. His first year in office was, by necessity, dominated by the campaign for reelection. There was little doubt that he would win—particularly after the Republican Party fell under the sway of its right wing and nominated the conservative Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. In the November 1964 election, the president received a larger plurality of the popular vote, over 61 percent, than any candidate before or since. Goldwater managed to carry only his home state of Arizona and five states in the Deep South. Record Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress, many of whose members had been swept into office only because of the margin of Johnson's victory, ensured that the president would be able to fulfill many of his goals. The Assault on Poverty For the first time since the 1930s, the federal government took steps in the 1960s to create important new social welfare programs—Medicare and Medicaid. The most important of these, per se, was Medicare: a program to provide federal aid to the elderly for medical expenses. Its enactment in 1965 came at the end of a bitter, twenty-year debate between those who believed in the concept of national health assistance and those who denounced it as "socialized medicine." But the program as it went into effect pacified many critics. For one thing, it avoided the stigma of "welfare" by making Medicare benefits available to all elderly Americans, regardless of need (just as Social Security had done with pensions). That created a large middle-class constituency for the program. The program also defused the opposition of the medical community by allowing doctors serving Medicare patients to practice privately and to

charge their normal fees; Medicare simply shifted responsibility for paying those fees from the patient to the government. In 1966, Johnson steered to passage the Medicaid program, which extended federal medical assistance to welfare recipients and other indigent people of all ages. Medicare and Medicaid were early steps in a much larger assault on poverty-one that Kennedy had been planning in ETERNAL FLAME The John F. Kennedy Eternal Flame memorializes the slain president. It is located at Kennedy's grave site in Arlington National Cemetery. The site was designed by architect John Carl Warnecke, long-time friend of the president. (© Getty Images News/Getty Images) the last months of his life and that Johnson launched only weeks after taking office. The centerpiece of this "war on poverty," as Johnson called it, was the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which created an array of new educational, employment, housing, and health-care programs. But the OEO was controversial from the start, in part because of its commitment to the idea of "Community Action." Community Action was an effort to involve members of poor communities themselves in the planning and administration of the programs designed to help them. The Community Action programs provided jobs for many poor people and gave them valuable experience in administrative and political work. Many men and women who went on to significant careers in Community Politics or community organizing, including many black and Hispanic politicians, as well as many Indians, got their start in Community Action programs. But despite its achievements, the Community Action approach proved impossible to sustain, both because of administrative failures and because the apparent excesses of a few agencies damaged the popular image of the Community Action programs and, indeed, the war on poverty as a whole. The OEO spent nearly \$3 billion during its first two years of existence, and it helped reduce poverty in some areas. But it fell far short of eliminating poverty. That was in part because of the weaknesses of the programs themselves and in part because funding for them, inadequate from the beginning, dwindled as the years passed and a costly war in Southeast Asia became the nation's first priority. Cities, Schools, and Immigration Closely tied to the antipoverty program were federal efforts to promote the revitalization of decaying cities and to strengthen



## CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF

LIBERALISM 785 the nation's schools. The Housing Act of 1961 offered \$4.9 billion in federal grants to cities for the preservation of open spaces, the Housing and development of mass-transit systems, and Urban the subsidization of middle-income housing.

Development In 1966, Johnson established a new cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (whose first secretary, Robert Weaver, was the first African American ever to serve in the cabinet). Johnson also inaugurated the Model Cities program, which offered federal subsidies for urban redevelopment pilot programs. Kennedy had long fought for federal aid to public education, but he had failed to overcome two important obstacles: many Americans feared that aid to education was the first step toward federal control of the schools, and Catholics insisted that federal assistance must extend to parochial as well as public schools. Johnson managed to circumvent both objections with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and a series of subsequent measures. The bills extended aid to both private and parochial schools and based the aid on the economic conditions of the students, not on the needs of the schools themselves. Total annual federal expenditures for education and technical training rose from \$5 billion to \$12 billion between 1964 and 1967. The Johnson administration also supported the Immigration Act of 1965, one of the most important pieces of legislation of the 1960s. The law maintained a strict Immigration Act of 1965 limit on the number of newcomers admitted to the country each year (170,000), but it eliminated the "national origins" system established in the 1920s, which gave preference to immigrants from northern Europe over those from other parts of the world. It continued to restrict immigration from some parts of Latin America, but it allowed people from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa to enter the United States on an equal basis. By the early 1970s, the character of American immigration had changed, with members of new national groups and particularly large groups of Asians entering the United States and changing the character of the American population. Legacies of the Great Society Taken together, the Great Society reforms meant a significant increase in federal spending. For a time, rising tax revenues from the growing economy nearly compensated for the new expenditures. In 1964, Johnson

managed to win passage of the \$1 1.5 billion tax cut that Kennedy had first proposed in 1962. The cut increased the federal deficit, but substantial economic growth over the next several years made up for much of the revenue initially lost. As Great Society programs began to multiply, however, and particularly as they began to compete with the escalating costs of America's military ventures, federal spending rapidly outpaced increases in revenues. In 1961, the federal government had spent \$94.4 billion. By 1970, that sum had risen to \$196.6 billion. The high costs of the Great Society programs, the deficiencies and failures of many of them, and the inability of the government to find the revenues to pay for them contributed to a growing disillusionment in later years with the idea of federal efforts to solve social problems. By Failures and , A , , Achievements the 1980s' many Amencans had become of the Great convinced that the Great Society experiSociety ments had not worked and that, indeed,

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii . . . government programs to solve social problems could not work. But the Great Society, despite many failures, was also responsible for some significant achievements. It substantially reduced hunger in America. It made medical care available to millions of elderly and poor people who would otherwise have had great difficulty affording it. It contributed to the greatest reduction in poverty in American history. In 1959, according to the most widely accepted estimates, 21 percent of the American people lived below THE JOHNSON TREATMENT Lyndon Johnson was legendary for his powers of persuasion— for a combination of charm and intimidation that often worked on even the most experienced politicians. He is shown here in the Oval Office meeting with his old friend Senator Richard Russell of Georgia and demonstrating one of his most powerful and unsettling techniques of persuasion: moving so close to the person with whom he was talking as to be almost touching him. (LBJ Library Photo by Yoichi Okamoto)



786 CHAPTER 29 the official poverty line. By 1969, only 12 percent remained below that line. The improvements affected blacks and whites in about the same proportion: 56 percent of the black population had lived in poverty in 1959, while only 32 percent did so ten years later—a 42 percent reduction; 18 percent of all whites had been poor in 1959, but only 10 percent were poor a decade later—a 44 percent reduction. Much of that progress was a result of economic growth, but some of it was a result of Great Society programs.

**THE BATTLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY** The nation's most important domestic initiative in the 1960s was the effort to provide justice and equality to African Americans. It was the most difficult commitment, the one that produced the severest strains on American society. It was also the most urgent. Black Americans were themselves ensuring that the nation would have to deal with the problem of race. Expanding Protests John Kennedy had long been sympathetic to the cause of racial justice, but he was hardly a committed crusader. His intervention during the 1960 campaign to help win the release of Martin Luther King Jr. from a Georgia prison won him a large plurality of the black vote. But like many presidents before him, he feared alienating southern Democratic voters and members of Congress.

**BIRMINGHAM, 1963** In one of the scenes that horrified many Americans watching on television, police in Birmingham, Alabama, turn fire hoses full force on civil rights demonstrators, knocking many of them to the ground. (© AP Images) His administration set out to contain the racial problem by expanding enforcement of existing laws and supporting litigation to overturn existing segregation statutes, hoping to make modest progress without creating politically damaging divisions. But the pressure for more fundamental change could not be contained. In February 1960, black college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged a sit-in at a segregated SNCC Woolworth's lunch counter; and in the following weeks, similar demonstrations spread throughout much of the South, forcing many merchants to integrate their facilities. In the fall of 1960, some of those who had participated in the sit-ins formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which worked to keep the spirit of resistance alive. In 1961, an interracial group of students, working with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), began what they called "Freedom" freedom rides" (reviving a tactic

CORE had Rides” tried, without much success, in the 1940s). Traveling by bus throughout the South, the freedom riders tried to force the desegregation of bus stations. In some places, they met with such savage violence at the hands of enraged whites that the president finally dispatched federal marshals to help keep the peace. Kennedy also ordered the integration of all bus and train stations. In the meantime, SNCC workers began fanning out through black communities and even into remote rural areas to encourage African Americans to challenge the obstacles to voting that the Jim Crow laws had created. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) also created citizen-education and other programs-many of them organized by Ella Baker, one of the most successful grassroots leaders of the movement-to mobilize black workers, farmers, housewives, and others to challenge segregation, disenfranchisement, and discrimination. Continuing Judicial efforts to enforce the integration of public education increased the pressure on national leaders to respond to the civil rights movement. In October 1962, a federal court ordered the University of Mississippi to enroll its first black student, James Meredith; Governor Ross Barnett, a strident segregationist, refused to enforce the order. When angry whites in Oxford, Mississippi, began rioting to protest the court decree. President Kennedy sent federal troops to the city to restore order and protect Meredith’s right to attend the university. Events in Alabama in 1963 helped bring the growing movement to something of a climax. In April, Martin Luther King Jr. helped launch a series of nonviolent demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, a city perhaps unsurpassed in its commitment to segregation. Police Commissioner Eugene “Bull” Connor supervised a brutal effort to break up the peaceful marches, arresting hundreds of

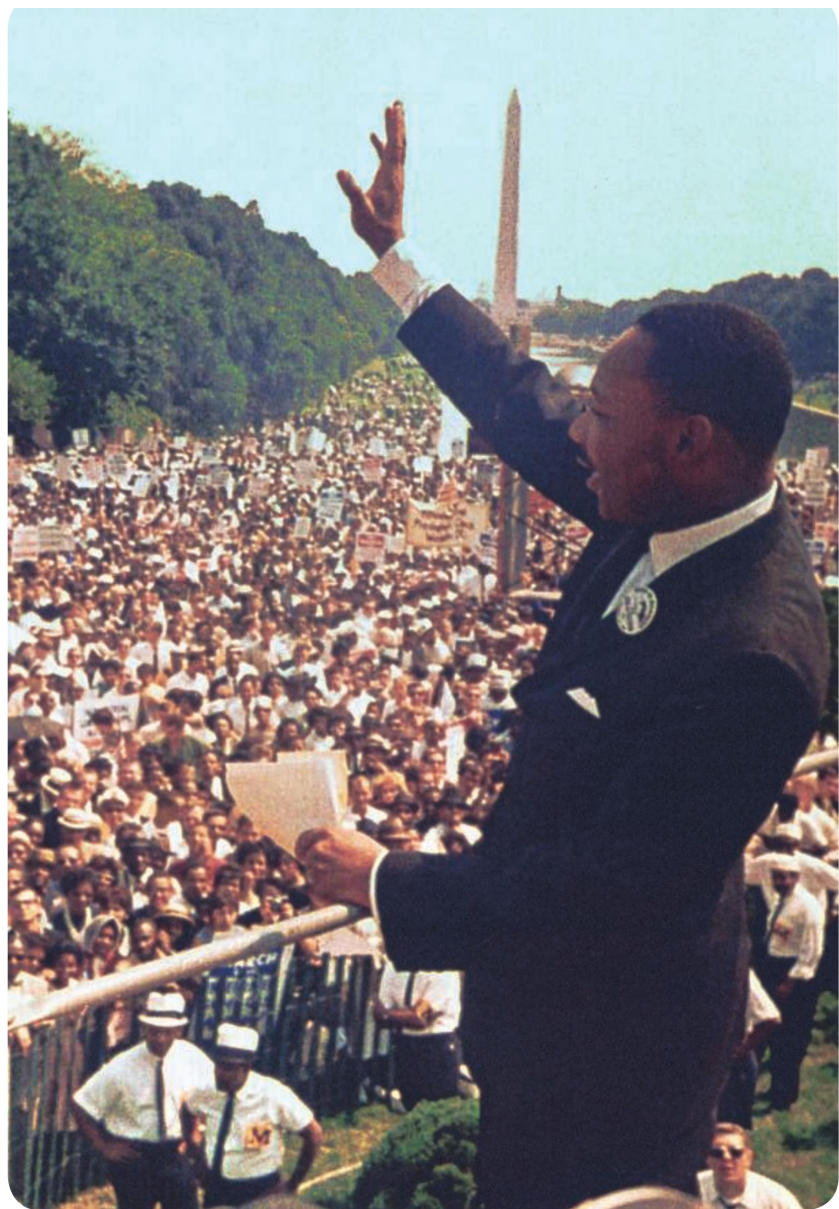


## CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF

LIBERALISM 787 demonstrators and using attack dogs, tear gas, electric cattle prods, and fire hoses-at times even against small children-as Birmingham much of the nation watched televised . reports in horror. Two months later. Governor George Wallace-who had won election in 1962 pledging staunch resistance to integration-pledged to stand in the doorway of a building at the University of Alabama to prevent the court-ordered enrollment of several black students. Only after the arrival of federal marshals and a visit from Attorney General Robert Kennedy did Wallace give way. His stand won him wide popularity among whites throughout the nation who were growing uncomfortable with the pace of integration. That same night, NAACP official Medgar Evers was murdered in Mississippi. A National Commitment public and private pressure, supporters of the measure finally mustered the two-thirds majority necessary to close debate and end a filibuster by southern senators; and the Senate passed the most comprehensive civil rights bill in the nation's history. The Battle for Voting Rights Having won a significant victory in one area, the civil rights movement shifted its focus to another: voting rights. During the summer of 1964, thousands of civil rights workers, black and white, northern and southern, spread out through the South, but primarily in Mississippi, to work on behalf of black voter registration and participation. The campaign was known as "freedom summer," and it produced a violent response from some southern whites. Three of the first freedom workers to "Freedom Summer" The events in Alabama and Mississippi were a warning to the president that he could no longer contain or avoid the issue of race. In an important television address the night of the University of Alabama confrontation and the murder of Evers, President Kennedy spoke eloquently of the "moral issue" facing the nation. "If an American," he asked, "because his skin is dark, . . . cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay?" Days later, he introduced a series of new legislative proposals prohibiting segregation in "public accommodations" (stores, restaurants, theaters, hotels), barring discrimination in employment, and increasing the power of the government to file

suits on behalf of school integration. To generate support for the legislation, and to dramatize the power of the growing movement, more than 200,000 demonstrators marched down the Mall in Washington, D.C., in August 1963 and gathered before the Lincoln Memorial for the greatest civil rights demonstration in the nation's history. President Kennedy, who had at first opposed the idea of the march, in the end gave it his open support after receiving pledges from organizers that speakers would not criticize the administration. Martin Luther King Jr., in one of the greatest speeches of his distinguished oratorical career, roused the crowd with a litany of images prefaced again and again by the phrase "I have a dream." The march was the high-water mark of the peaceful, interracial civil rights movement. The assassination of President Kennedy three months later gave new impetus to the battle for civil rights legislation. The ambitious measure that Kennedy had proposed in June 1963 had stalled in the Senate after having passed through the House of Representatives with relative ease. Early in 1964, after Johnson applied both March on Washington

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. IN WASHINGTON, D.C. Moments after completing his memorable speech during the August 1963 March on Washington, King waves to the vast and enthusiastic crowd that has gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial to demand "equality and jobs." (© AP Images)



The Civil Rights Movement and its histories of the civil rights movement rest on a heroic narrative of moral purpose and personal courage by which great men and women inspired ordinary people to rise up and struggle for their rights. This narrative generally begins with the Brown decision of 1954 and the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, continues through the civil rights campaigns of the early 1960s, and culminates in the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. Central events in this narrative are the 1963 March on Washington, with Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous "I Have a Dream" speech, and King's assassination in 1968, which has often symbolized the end of the movement and the beginning of a different, more complicated period of the black freedom struggle. The key element of these narratives is the central importance to the movement of a few great leaders, most notably King himself. Among the best examples of this kind of narrative are Taylor Branch's powerful studies of the life and struggles of King, *Parting the Waters* (1988), *Pillar of Fire* (1998), and *At Canaan's Edge* (2006), as well as David Garrow's important study, *Bearing the Cross* (1986). Few historians would deny the importance of King and other leaders to the successes of the civil rights movement. But a number of scholars have argued that the leader-centered narrative obscures the vital contributions of ordinary people in communities throughout the South, and the nation, to the struggle. John Dittmer's *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (1994) and Charles Payne's *I've Got the Light of Freedom* (1995) both examine the day-to-day work of the movement's rank and file in the early 1960s and argue that their collective efforts were at least as important as those of King and other leaders. Only by understanding the local origins of the movement, these and other scholars argue, can we understand its true character. Scholars also disagree about the time frame of the movement. Rather than beginning the story in 1954 or 1955 (as in Robert Weisbrodt's excellent 1991 synthesis *Freedom Bound* or William Chafe's important 1981 local study *Civilities and Civil Rights*, which examined the Greensboro sit-ins of 1961), a number of scholars have tried to move the story into both earlier periods and later ones. Robin Kelley's *Race Rebels* (1994) emphasizes the important contributions of working-class African Americans, who organized some of the earliest civil rights demonstrations— sit-ins, marches,

and other efforts to challenge segregation— long before the conventional dates for the beginning of the movement. Gail O'Brien's *The Color of the Law* (1999) examines a 1946 "race riot" in Columbia, Tennessee, citing it as a signal of the early growth of African American militancy. Other scholars have looked beyond the 1960s and beyond the South to incorporate events outside the orbit of the formal "movement" in the history of the civil rights struggle. A growing literature on northern, urban, and relatively radical activists emphasizes the challenges facing northern African Americans and the very different tactics and strategies that they often chose to pursue their goals. The enormous attention historians have given to the life and legacy of Malcolm X— among them Alex Haley's influential *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) and Michael Eric Dyson's *Making Malcolm* (1996)— is one example of this, as is the increasing attention scholars have given to black radicalism in the late 1960s and beyond and to such militant groups as the Black Panthers. arrive in the South—two whites, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, and one African American, James Chaney—were brutally murdered by Ku Klux Klan members with the support of local police in Neshoba County, Mississippi. The "freedom summer" also produced the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), an integrated alternative to the regular state party organization. Under the leadership of Fannie Lou Hamer and others, the MFDP challenged the regular party's right to its seats at the Democratic National Convention that summer. President Johnson, eager to avoid antagonizing anyone (even southern white Democrats who seemed likely to support his Republican opponent), enlisted King's help to broker a compromise. It permitted the MFDP to be seated as observers, with promises of party reforms later on, while the regular state party retained its official standing. Both sides grudgingly accepted the agreement. Both were embittered by it. A year later, in March 1965, King helped organize a major demonstration in Selma, Alabama, to press the demand for the right of blacks to register to vote. Selma sheriff Jim Clark led local police in a brutal attack on the demonstrators—which, as in Birmingham, received graphic television coverage and 788 • horrified many viewers across the nation. Two northern whites participating in the Selma march were murdered in the course of the effort there—one, a minister, beaten to death in the streets of the town; the other, a Detroit housewife, shot as she drove along a highway at night with a black passenger in her



Voting car- nationa^ outrage that followed the Rights Act events in Alabama helped push Lyndon . Johnson to propose and win passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, better known as the Voting Rights Act, which provided federal protection to blacks attempting to exercise their right to vote. But important as such gains were, they failed to satisfy the rapidly rising expectations of African Americans as the focus of the movement began to move from political to economic issues. The Changing Movement For decades, the nation's African American population had been undergoing a major demographic shift; and by the 1960s, the problem of racial injustice was no longer primarily southern and rural, as it had been earlier in the century. By 1966, 69 percent iiiimiimiimiiiiimm

**BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION** This photograph, taken for an Atlanta newspaper, illustrated the long and dangerous walk that Linda Brown, one of the plaintiffs in the famous desegregation case that ultimately reached the Supreme Court, had to travel each day on her way to a segregated school in Topeka, Kansas. An all-white school was located close to her home, but to reach the black school she had to attend required a long walk and a long bus ride each day. Not only does the picture illustrate the difficulties segregation created for Linda Brown, it was also a part of a broad publicity campaign launched by the supporters of the case. (Photo by Carl Iwasaki/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Even *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the great landmark of the legal challenge to segregation, has been subject to reexamination. Richard Kluger's narrative history of the Brown decision, *Simple Justice* (1975), is a classic statement of the traditional view of Brown as a triumph over injustice. But critics have been less certain of the dramatic success of the ruling. James T. Patterson's *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy* (2001) argues that the Brown decision long preceded any national consensus on the need to end segregation and that its impact was far less decisive than earlier scholars have suggested. Michael Klarman's *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights* (2004) examines the role of the Supreme Court in advancing civil rights and suggests, among other things, that the Brown decision may actually have retarded racial progress in the South for a time because of the enormous backlash it created. Charles Ogletree's *All Deliberate Speed* (2004) and Derrick Bell's *Silent Covenants* (2004) both argue that the Court's decision did not provide an effective enforcement mechanism for desegregation and in many other ways failed to support measures that would have made school desegregation a reality. They note as evidence for this view that American public schools are now more segregated— even if not forcibly by law— than they were at the time of the Brown decision. As the literature on the African American freedom struggles of the twentieth century has grown, historians have begun to speak of civil rights movements, rather than a single, cohesive movement. In this way, scholars recognize that struggles of this kind take many more forms, and endure through many more periods of history, than the traditional accounts suggest. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND

EVALUATE 1. The view of the civil rights movement established by the early histories— accounts that focused on the moral purpose and courage of a few great leaders— remains the most widely accepted view of the movement. Why is that? 2. If historians now speak of plural civil rights movements, what are these movements? 3. Why are the contributions of local grassroots workers so often overlooked, in studies of the civil rights movement as well as in accounts of other great events in American history? of American blacks were living in metropolitan areas and 45 percent outside the South. Although the economic condition of much of American society was improving, in the poor urban communities in which the black population was concentrated, things were getting significantly worse. Well over half of all American nonwhites lived in poverty at the beginning of the 1960s; black unemployment was twice that of whites. By the mid-1960s, therefore, the issue of race was moving out of the South and into the rest of the nation. The battle against school desegregation had moved beyond the initial assault on de jure segregation (segregation by law) to an attack on de facto segregation (segregation in practice, as through residential patterns), thus carrying the fight into northern cities. Many African American leaders (and their white supporters) were demanding, similarly, that the battle against job discrimination move to a new level: employers not only should abandon negative measures to deny jobs to blacks; they also should adopt positive measures to recruit minorities, thus compensating for past injustices. Lyndon Johnson gave his tentative support to the concept of "affirmative action" in 1965. Over the De jure and De facto Segregation next decade, affirmative action guidelines gradually extended to all institutions doing business with or receiving funds from the federal government (including schools and universities)-and to many others as well. A symbol of the movement's new direction, and of the problems it would cause, was a major campaign in the summer of 1966 in Chicago, in which King played a prominent role. Organizers of the Chicago campaign hoped to direct national attention to housing and employment discrimination in northern industrial cities in much the same way similar campaigns had exposed legal racism in the South. But the Chicago campaign not only evoked vicious and at times violent opposition from white residents of that city; it also failed to arouse the national conscience in the way events in the South had. Urban Violence Well before the Chicago

campaign, the problem of urban poverty was thrust into national attention when violence broke out in black neighborhoods in major cities. There were a few scattered disturbances in the summer of 1964, most notably in • 789 imiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimii

790 CHAPTER 29 Harlem. The first large race riot since the end of World War II occurred the following summer in the Watts section of Los Angeles. In the midst of a seemingly routine traffic arrest, a Watts Riot white police officer struck a protesting black bystander with his club. The incident triggered a storm of anger and a week of violence (and revealed how deeply African Americans in Los Angeles, and in other cities, resented their treatment at the hands of local police). As many as 10,000 people were estimated to have participated in the violence in Watts—attacking white motorists, burning buildings, looting stores, and sniping at policemen. Thirty-four people died during the Watts uprising, which was eventually quelled by the National Guard; twenty-eight of the dead were black. In the summer of 1966, there were forty-three additional outbreaks, the most serious of them in Chicago and Cleveland. And in the summer of 1967, there were eight major outbreaks, including the largest of them all—a racial clash in Detroit in which forty-three people (thirty-three of them black) died. Televised reports of the violence alarmed millions of Americans and created both a new sense of urgency and a growing sense of doubt among many of those whites who had embraced the cause of racial justice only a few years before. A special Commission on Civil Disorders, created by the president in response to the disturbances, issued a celebrated report in the spring of 1968 recommending massive spending to eliminate the abysmal conditions of the ghettos. "Only a commitment to national action on an unprecedented scale," the commission concluded, "can shape a future compatible with the historic ideals of American society." To many white Americans, however, the lesson of the riots was the need for stern measures to stop violence and lawlessness. Black Power Disillusioned with the ideal of peaceful change in cooperation with whites, an increasing number of African Americans were „ turning to a new approach to the racial Integration Issue: the PhillosoPhy of black power. to Racial Black power could mean many different Distinction things. But in all its forms, it suggested a I Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill II III II Mill II move away from interracial cooperation and toward increased awareness of racial distinctiveness. It was part of a long nationalist tradition among African Americans that extended back into slavery and that had its most visible "TURN LEFT OR GET

SHOT” This chilling sign, erected at an intersection in the Watts neighborhood in Los Angeles during the 1965 riot there, illustrates the escalating racial tensions that were beginning to explode in American cities in the mid-1960s. (© Bettmann/Corbis)



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twentieth-century expression in the Garvey movement of the 1920s. Perhaps the most enduring impact of the black-power ideology was a social and psychological one: instilling racial pride in African Americans, who lived in a society whose dominant culture generally portrayed African Americans as inferior to whites. It encouraged the growth of black studies in schools and universities. It helped stimulate important black literary and artistic movements. It produced a new interest among many African Americans in their African roots. It led to a rejection by some blacks of certain cultural practices borrowed from white society: "Afro" hairstyles began to replace artificially straightened hair; some blacks began to adopt African styles of dress and new, African names. But black power had political manifestations as well, most notably in creating a deep schism within the civil rights movement. Traditional black organizations that had emphasized cooperation with sympathetic whites-groups such as the NAACP, the Urban League, and King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference-now faced competition from radical groups. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality had both begun as relatively moderate, interracial organizations; SNCC was originally a student branch of the SCLC. By the mid-1960s, however, these and other groups were calling for radical and occasionally even violent action against the racism of white society and were openly rejecting the approaches of older, more established black leaders. Particularly alarming to many whites (and to some African Americans as well) were organizations that existed outside the mainstream civil rights movement. In Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party (founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale) promised to defend black rights even if that required violence. Black Panthers organized along semimilitary lines and wore weapons openly and proudly. They were, in fact, more the victims of violence from the police than they were practitioners of violence themselves. But they created an image, quite deliberately, of militant radicals willing to fight for justice, in Newton's words, "through the barrel of a gun." An Increasingly Divided Civil Rights Movement Malcolm X In Detroit, a once-obscure black nationalist group, the Nation of Islam, gained new prominence. Founded in 1931 by Elijah Poole (who converted to Islam and renamed himself

Elijah Muhammad), the movement . taught African Americans to take responsibility for their own lives, to live by strict codes of behavior, and to reject any dependence on whites. The most celebrated of the Black Muslims, as whites often termed them, was Malcolm Little, a former drug addict and pimp who had spent time in prison and had rebuilt his life after joining the movement. He adopted the name Malcolm X ("X" to denote his lost African surname). Malcolm became one of the movement's most influential spokesmen, particularly among younger blacks, as a result of his intelligence, his oratorical skills, and his harsh, uncompromising opposition to all forms of racism and oppression. He did not advocate violence, as his critics often claimed; but he insisted that black people had the right to defend themselves, violently if necessary, from those who assaulted them. Malcolm died in 1965 when black gunmen, presumably under orders from rivals within the Nation of Islam, assassinated him in New York. But Malcolm's influence did not die with him. A book he had been working on before his death with the writer Alex Haley (*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*) attracted wide attention after its publication in 1965 and spread his reputation broadly through the nation. Years after his death, he was to many African Americans as important and revered a symbol as Martin Luther King Jr. MALCOLM X Malcolm X, a leader of the militant Nation of Islam, arrives in Washington, D.C., in May 1963 to set up a headquarters for the organization there. Malcolm was hated and feared by many whites during his lifetime. After he was assassinated in 1965, he became a widely revered hero among African Americans. (© Bettmann/Corbis)





## 792 CHAPTER 29 "FLEXIBLE RESPONSE" AND THE COLD

WAR In international affairs as much as in domestic reform, the optimistic liberalism of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations dictated a more positive, more active approach to dealing with the nation's problems than in the past. And Just as the new activism in domestic reform proved more difficult and divisive than liberals had imagined, so too it created frustrations and failures in foreign policy. Diversifying Foreign Policy The Kennedy administration entered office convinced that the United States needed to be able to counter communist aggression in more-flexible ways than the atomic-weapons-oriented defense strategy of the Eisenhower years had permitted. In particular, Kennedy was unsatisfied with the nation's ability to meet communist threats in "emerging areas" of the Third World-the areas in which, Kennedy believed, the real struggle "Flexible Response"

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii against communism would be waged in the future. He gave enthusiastic support to the expansion of the Special Forces (or "Green Berets," as they were soon known)-soldiers trained specifically to fight guerrilla conflicts and other limited wars. Kennedy also favored expanding American influence through peaceful means. To repair the badly deteriorating relationship with Latin America, he proposed an "Alliance for Progress": a series of projects for peaceful development and stabilization of the nations of that region. Kennedy also inaugurated the Agency for International Development (AID) to coordinate foreign aid. And he established what became one of his most popular innovations: the Peace Corps, which sent young American volunteers abroad to work in developing areas. Among the first foreign policy ventures of the Kennedy administration was a disastrous assault on the Castro government in Cuba. The Eisenhower administration had begun the project; and by the time Kennedy took office, the CIA had been working Bay of Pigs f'r mont's t0 tra^n a small army of anti-Castro . Cuban exiles in Central America. On April 17, 1961, with the approval of the new president, 2,000 of the armed exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, expecting first American air support and then a spontaneous uprising UNITED STATES Houston .New Orleans \ & y& CUBA \ 1959 — Batista overthrown and Castro installed 1961 — Unsuccessful anti-Castro invasion backed by CJA 1 962 — U.S.

blockade of Cuba during missile crisis MEXICO PACIFIC OCEAN  
 Mexico City GUATEMALA 1954— U.S.-backed overthrow of  
 socialist government 1954-1976, 1981 — military support Gulf of  
 Mexico Veracruz Guantanamo (U.S. -leased naval base) JAMAICA  
 Caribbean HONDURAS Sea ATLANTIC OCEAN DOMINICAN  
 REPUBLIC 1 1965-1966 — Occupation by U.S. forces following  
 overthrow of Trujillo \ 1994— U.S. \ 'ntTlnu VIRGIN \ °f\be“ San  
 ISLANDS of Aristide ^Juan y' Santo PUERTO Domingo riqq HAITI  
 1986— U.S. flies Jean-Claude Duvalier into exile GRENADA 1983  
 — Invasion by U.S. and regional allies; restoration of pro-Western  
 government San' Salvador , Managua EL SALVADOR 1980 —  
 Increased military and economic support to government during civil  
 war NICARAGUA 1979 — Overthrow of Somoza followed by U.S.  
 aid to Contras 1981-1990 — U.S. military and economic support  
 for antiSandinista forces COSTA RICA U.S. military and ' economic  
 aid 1 COLOMBIA PANAMA 1978 — Canal Zone Treaty-control  
 returned to Panama. U.S. retains control Of canal operation to 1999  
 1989 — U.S. troops ensure ouster of Noriega ,Bogota i Caracas  
 VENEZUELA 1958 — Anti-Nixon riots GUYANA r s > BRAZIL THE  
 UNITED STATES IN LATIN AMERICA, 1954-1996 The Cold War  
 greatly increased the readiness of the United States to intervene in  
 the affairs of its Latin American neighbors. This map presents the  
 many times and ways in which Washington ordered interventions in  
 Central America, the Caribbean, and the northern nations of South  
 America. During much of this period, the interventions were driven  
 by Cold War concerns— by fears that communists might take over  
 nations near the United States as they had taken over Cuba in the  
 early 1960s. • What other interests motivated the United States to  
 exert influence in Latin America, even after the end of the Cold  
 War?

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by the Cuban people on their behalf. They received neither. At the last minute, as it became clear that things were going badly, Kennedy withdrew the air support, fearful of involving the United States too directly in the invasion. The expected uprising did not occur. Instead, well-armed Castro forces easily crushed the invaders, and within two days the entire mission had collapsed. Confrontations with the Soviet Union In the grim aftermath of the Bay of Pigs, Kennedy traveled to Vienna in June 1961 for his first meeting with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev. Their frosty exchange of views did little to reduce tensions between the two nations-nor did Khrushchev's veiled threat of war if the United States continued to support a noncommunist West Berlin in the heart of East Germany. Khrushchev was particularly unhappy about the mass exodus of residents of East Germany to the West through the easily traversed border in the center of Berlin. But he ultimately found a method short of war to stop it. Before dawn on August 13, 1961, the East German government, complying with directives from Moscow, began constructing a wall between East and West Berlin. Guards fired on those who continued to try to escape from East to West. For nearly thirty years, the Berlin Wall served as the most potent physical symbol of the conflict between the communist and noncommunist worlds. The rising tensions culminated the following October in the most dangerous and dramatic crisis of the Cold War. On October 14, aerial reconnaissance photos produced clear evidence that the Soviets were constructing sites in Cuba for offensive nuclear weapons. To the Soviets, placing missiles in Cuba probably seemed a reasonable-and relatively inexpensive-way to counter the presence of American missiles in Turkey (and a way to deter any future Crisis American invasion of Cuba). But to . Kennedy and most other Americans, the missile sites represented an act of aggression by the Soviets toward the United States. Almost immediately, the president decided that the weapons could not be allowed to remain. On October 22, he ordered a naval and air blockade around Cuba, a "quarantine" against all offensive weapons. Preparations were under way for an American air attack on the missile sites when, late in the evening of October 26, Kennedy received a message from Khrushchev implying that the Soviet Union would remove the missile bases in exchange

for an American pledge not to invade Cuba. Ignoring other, tougher Soviet messages, the president agreed. The crisis was over. Johnson and the World Lyndon Johnson entered the presidency lacking John Kennedy's prior, albeit limited, experience with international affairs. He was eager, therefore, not only to continue the policies of his predecessor but also to prove quickly that he too was a strong and forceful leader. An internal rebellion in the Dominican Republic gave him an early opportunity to do so. A 1961 assassination had toppled the repressive dictatorship of General Rafael Trujillo, and for the next four years various factions in the country had struggled for dominance. In the spring of 1965, a conservative military regime began to collapse in the face of a revolt by a broad range of groups on behalf of the leftwing nationalist Juan Bosch. Arguing (without any evidence) that Bosch planned to establish a pro-Castro, communist regime, Johnson dispatched 30,000 American troops to quell the disorder. Only after a conservative candidate defeated Bosch in a 1966 election were the forces withdrawn. From Johnson's first moments in office, however, his foreign policy was almost totally dominated by the bitter civil war in Vietnam and by the expanding involvement of the United States there. Intervention in THE Dominican Republic I HIM Mill II III II HIM Hill II III II llll II III II Hill I llll II III II II THE AGONY OF VIETNAM KENNEDY IN BERLIN, 1963 President John F. Kennedy looks across the Berlin Wall from a platform built to allow him to see into East Berlin. Shortly afterward he gave a powerful speech to a vast crowd of West Berliners. The speech was well received in Europe and America. But it followed another important speech in which Kennedy spoke of easing the tensions between the West and the communist world. (© Rue des Archives/The Granger Collection, New York) George Kennan, who helped devise the containment doctrine that drew America into war in Vietnam, once called the conflict "the most disastrous of all America's undertakings over



The Vietnam Commitment m1965, the Department of Defense released a film intended for American soldiers about to embark for service in Vietnam and designed to explain why the United States had found it necessary to commit so many lives and resources to the defense of a small and distant land. The film was titled *Why Vietnam?*— a question many Americans have pondered and debated in the decades (© AFP/Getty Images) since. The debate has centered on two questions. One is an effort to assess the broad objectives Americans believed they were pursuing in Vietnam. The other is an effort to explain how and why policymakers made the specific decisions that led to the American commitment. The Defense Department film offered one answer to the question of America's broad objectives: the United States was fighting in Vietnam to defend freedom and stop aggression and to prevent the spread of communism. This explanation continued to attract support well after the war ended. Political scientist Guenter Lewy contended, in *America in Vietnam* (1978), that the United States entered Vietnam to help an ally combat "foreign aggression." Historian Ernest R. May stated: "The paradox is that the Vietnam War, so often condemned by its opponents as hideously immoral, may well have been the most moral or at least the most selfless war in all of American history. For the impulse guiding it was not to defeat an enemy or to serve a national interest; it was simply not to abandon friends." Other scholars have taken a starkly different view. They see America's intervention in Vietnam as a form of imperialism— part of a larger effort by the United States after World War II to impose a particular political and economic order on the world. "The Vietnam War," historian Gabriel Kolko wrote in *Anatomy of a War* (1985), "was for the United States the culmination of its frustrating postwar effort to merge its arms and politics to halt and reverse the emergence of states and the whole 200 years of its history." Yet at first, the Vietnam War seemed simply one more Third World struggle on the periphery of the Cold War, a struggle in which the United States would try to tip the balance against communism without becoming too deeply or directly engaged. No single president really "decided" to go to war in Vietnam. Rather, the American involvement there emerged from years of gradually increasing commitments that slowly and almost imperceptibly expanded. The First Indochina War Vietnam had a

long history both as an independent kingdom and a major power in its region, and as a subjugated province of China. In the mid-nineteenth century, Vietnam became a colony of France. And like other European possessions in Asia, it fell under the control of Japan during World War II. After the defeat of Japan, the question arose of what was to happen to Vietnam in the postwar world. There were two opposing forces attempting 794 • to answer that question, both of them appealing to the United States for help. The French wanted to reassert their colonial control over Vietnam. Challenging them was a powerful nationalist movement within Vietnam committed to . . . creating an independent country. The nationalists were organized into a political party, the Vietminh, which had been created in 1941 and led ever since by Ho Chi Minh, a communist educated in Paris and Moscow, and a fervent Vietnamese nationalist. In the fall of 1945, after the collapse of Japan and before the Western powers had time to return, the Vietminh declared Vietnam an independent nation and set up a nationalist government under Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi. President Truman was under heavy pressure from both the British and the French to support France in its effort to reassert its control over Vietnam. The French argued that without Vietnam, their domestic economy would collapse. And since the economic revival of Western Europe was quickly becoming one of the Truman administration's top priorities, the iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii





social systems opposed to the international order Washington sought to establish." Marilyn Young, in *The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990* (1991), argued that the United States intervened in Vietnam as part of a broad and continuing effort to organize the post-World War II world along lines compatible with American interests and ideals. Those who looked less at the nation's broad objectives than at the internal workings of the policymaking process likewise produced competing explanations. Journalist David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest* [ 1972) argued that policymakers deluded themselves into thinking they could achieve their goals in Vietnam by ignoring, suppressing, or dismissing the information that might have suggested otherwise. The foreign policy leaders of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were so committed to the idea of American activism and success that they refused to consider the possibility of failure; the Vietnam disaster was thus, at least in part, a result of the arrogance of the nation's leaders. Larry Berman offered a somewhat different view in *Planning a Tragedy* (1982) and *Lyndon Johnson's War* (1989). Berman argued that Johnson committed American troops to the war in Vietnam in 1965 not because he expected to win (in fact, he never believed that a real victory was within sight), but because he feared that allowing Vietnam to fall would ruin him politically. To do otherwise, Johnson feared, would destroy his hopes for winning approval of his Great Society legislation at home. Leslie H. Gelb and Richard K. Betts saw the roots of the involvement in the larger imperatives of the American foreign policy system. In *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* (1979), they argued that intervention in Vietnam was the logical, perhaps even inevitable, result of a political and bureaucratic order shaped by the doctrine of containment. American foreign policy operated in response to a single, overriding imperative: the need to prevent the expansion of communism. Only when the national and international political situation had shifted to the point where it was possible for American policymakers to reassess the costs of the commitment (a shift that began to occur in the early 1970s) was it possible for the United States to begin disengaging. More-recent studies have questioned the idea that intervention was inevitable or that there were no viable alternatives. David Kaiser, in *American Tragedy* (2000), argues that John Kennedy was not a hawkish supporter of

escalation. Rather, his skepticism about the judgment of his military advisers had led him to believe that the United States should find a negotiated settlement to the war. His successor, Lyndon Johnson, harbored no such skepticism and sided with those who favored a military solution. The death of John Kennedy, therefore, becomes a vital event in the history of America in Vietnam. Fredrik Logevall, in *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of the War in Vietnam* (1999), argues that there were significant opportunities for a negotiated settlement of the war in the early 1960s, but that American leaders (including both Kennedy and Johnson) chose a military response instead— in part to protect themselves politically from charges of weakness. That the debate over the Vietnam War has been so continuous over the past few decades is a reflection of the enormous role the U.S. failure there has played in shaping the way Americans have thought about politics and policy ever since. Because the "lessons of Vietnam" remain a subject of intense popular concern, the debate over the history of Vietnam is likely to continue. • (© Leif Skoogfors/Corbis)

**UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE**

1. What was the official government explanation for U.S. involvement in Vietnam?
2. Some scholars offer explanations that differ significantly from the government view. According to these scholars, why was the United States fighting in Vietnam?
3. What are the "lessons of Vietnam"? How have U.S. foreign affairs since Vietnam observed— or ignored — these lessons? United States did nothing to stop the French as they moved back into Vietnam in 1946 and began a struggle with the Vietminh to reestablish control over the country. For the next four years, during what has become known as the First Indochina War, Truman and then Eisenhower supported the French military campaign against the Vietminh; by 1954, by some calculations, the United States was paying 80 percent of France's war costs. But the war went badly for the French in spite of the American support. Finally, late in 1953, Vietminh forces engaged the French in a major battle in the far northwest corner of the country, at Dien Bien Phu, an isolated and almost indefensible site. The French were surrounded, and the battle turned into a prolonged and horrible siege, with the French position steadily deteriorating. It was at this point that the Eisenhower administration decided not to intervene to save the French (see p. 776). The defense of Dien Bien Phu collapsed and the French government decided the time had come to

get out. The First Indochina War had come to an end. Geneva and the Two Vietnams An international conference at Geneva, planned many months before to settle the Korean dispute and other controversies, now \_ took up the fate of Vietnam as well. The Geneva Conference Geneva Conference produced an agreement to end the Vietnam conflict without American participation. There would be an immediate cease-fire in the war; Vietnam would be temporarily partitioned along the 17th parallel, with the Vietminh in control of North Vietnam and a pro-Western regime in control of the South. In 1956, elections would be held to reunite the country under a single government. America and Diem As soon as the Geneva accords established the partition, the French finally left Vietnam. The United States almost immediately stepped into the vacuum and became the principal 795 iiimiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimii

796 CHAPTER 29 benefactor of the new government in the South, led by Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem was an aristocratic Catholic from central Vietnam, an outsider in the South. But he Ngo Dinh , , Diem was a so a natlona`lsb uncontammated by . collaboration with the French. And he was, for a time, successful. With the help of the American CIA, Diem waged an effective campaign against some of the powerful religious sects and the South Vietnamese mafia, which had challenged the authority of the central government. As a result, the United States came to regard Diem as a powerful and impressive alternative to Ho Chi Minh. Lyndon Johnson once called him the "Churchill of Southeast Asia." The U.S. government supported South Vietnamese President Diem's refusal in 1956 to permit the elections called for by the Geneva accords (see above), reasoning, correctly, that Ho Chi Minh would easily win any such election. Ho could count on almost 100 percent of the vote in the north, with its much larger population, and at least some support in the south. In the meantime, the United States poured military and economic aid into South Vietnam. By 1956, it was the second largest recipient of American military aid in the world, after Korea. Diem's early successes in suppressing the sects in Vietnam led him in 1959 to begin a similar campaign to eliminate the Vietminh supporters who had stayed behind in the south after the partition. He was quite successful for a time, so successful. The NLF ^ct' r^at North Vietnamese found it . necessary to respond. Ho Chi Minh resumed his armed struggle for national unification. In 1959, the Vietminh cadres in the south created the National Liberation Front (NLF), known to many Americans as the Viet Cong-an organization closely allied with the North Vietnamese government. It was committed to overthrowing the "puppet regime" of Diem and reuniting the nation. In 1960, under orders from Hanoi, and with both material and manpower support from North Vietnam, the NLF began military operations in the South. By 1961, NLF forces were very successfully destabilizing the Diem regime. They were killing more than 4,000 government officials a year (mostly village leaders) and establishing effective control over many areas of the countryside. Diem was also by now losing the support of many other groups in South Vietnam, and he was even losing support within his own military. In 1963, the Diem regime precipitated a major crisis by trying to discipline and repress the

South Vietnamese Buddhists in an effort to make Catholicism the dominant religion of the country. The Buddhists began to stage enormous antigovernment demonstrations. Several Buddhist monks doused themselves with gasoline, sat cross-legged in the streets of downtown Saigon, and set themselves on fire-in view of photographers and television cameras. The Buddhist crisis caused the U.S. government to reconsider its commitment to Diem-although not to the survival of Diem South Vietnam. American officials pressured Overthrown Diem to reform his government, but Diem made no significant concessions. In the fall of 1963, Kennedy gave his tacit approval to a plot by a group of South Vietnamese generals to topple Diem. In early November 1963, the generals staged the coup, assassinated Diem and his brother and principal adviser, Ngo Dinh Nhu (murders the United States had not wanted or expected), and established the first of a series of new governments, which were, for over three years, even less stable than the one they had overthrown. A few weeks after the coup, John Kennedy too was dead. From Aid to Intervention Lyndon Johnson thus inherited what was already a substantial American commitment to the survival of an anticommunist South Vietnam. During his first two years in office, he expanded that commitment into a full-scale American war. Why he did so has long been a subject of debate (see "Debating the Past," pp. 794-795). Many factors played a role in Johnson's decision. But the most obvious explanation is that the new president faced many pressures to expand the American involvement and very few to limit it. As the untested successor to a revered and martyred president, he felt obliged to prove his worthiness for the office „ by continuing the policies of his predecessor.

PRESSURE FOR T1 | c i .

American sor- I<sup>o</sup>™son a^so ^ir necessary to retain m Intervention his administration many of the important . figures of the Kennedy years. In doing so, he surrounded himself with a group of foreign policy advisers: Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, and others-who firmly believed that the United States had an obligation to resist communism in Vietnam. Congress raised little protest to, and indeed at one point openly endorsed, Johnson's use of executive powers to lead the nation into war. Above all, intervention in South Vietnam was fully consistent with nearly twenty years of American foreign policy. An anticommunist ally

was appealing to the United States for assistance; all the assumptions of the containment doctrine, as it had come to be defined by the 1960s, seemed to require the nation to intervene. Vietnam, Johnson believed, was a test of American willingness to fight communist aggression, a test he was determined not to fail. During his first months in office, Johnson expanded the American involvement in Vietnam only slightly, sending an additional 5,000 military advisers there and preparing to send 5,000 more. Then, early in August 1964, the president announced that American destroyers on patrol in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin had been attacked by North Tonkin Vietnamese torpedo boats. Later information Resolution raised doubts as to whether the administration reported the attacks accurately. At the time, however, virtually no one questioned Johnson's portrayal of the incident as a serious act of aggression, or his insistence that the United States must respond. By a vote of 416 to 0 in the House and 88 to 2 in the Senate, Congress hurriedly passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized the president to "take all necessary measures" to protect American forces and "prevent further aggression" in Southeast Asia. The resolution became, in Johnson's view at least, an open-ended legal authorization for escalation of the conflict.

CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF  
 LIBERALISM 797 BURMA Thanh Hoa ^ientiam Udon Rarchathani  
 Ratchasima ^angkak NORTH VIETNAM .DienBienPhu 'Thai Nguyen  
 .Hanoi Luang PLAIN Prabang OF JARS LAOS Gulf of Tonkin Hainan  
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 Sanl Takhli ■ Don Muang Da Nang Hoi An Partition Line 1954  
 DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) ■ #Chulai • My Lai South China Sea  
 CAMBODIA Barrambang Kompong Cham 'Dak To Quan9 N9ai \*Kon  
 Turn. , , Pleiku CENTRAL HIGHLANDS SOUTH VIETNAM Gulf of  
 Thailand Phnom Penh 1970— U.S. and South Vietnam troops  
 entered Viet Cong strongholds inside Cambodia It ^ Slhanoukville T  
 | Bo Due S ^i»TayNinh ■ Song Be Saigon Da • Nha Trang a"camranh  
 Bay .Phanrang Can Tho Cantho 200 mi = 1 IVlekong River Delta  
 U.S. bases U.S. and South Vietnam invasion of Cambodia Ho Chi  
 Minh Trail (communist supply route) THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND  
 INDOCHINA, 1964-1975 Much of the Vietnam War was fought in  
 small engagements in widely scattered areas and did not conform to  
 traditional notions of combat. But as this map shows, there were  
 traditional battles and invasions and supply routes as well. The red  
 arrows in the middle of the map show the general path of the Ho  
 Chi Minh Trail, the main supply route by which North Vietnam  
 supplied its troops and allies in the South. The blue arrow in  
 southern South Vietnam indicates the point at which American  
 troops invaded Cambodia in 1970. • What is there in the geography  
 of Indochina, as presented on this map, that helps to explain the  
 great difficulty the American military had in securing South  
 Vietnam against communist attacks? With the South Vietnamese  
 leadership still in disarray, more and more of the burden of  
 opposition to the Viet Cong fell on the United States. In February  
 1965, seven marines died when communist forces attacked an  
 American military base at Pleiku. Johnson retaliated by ordering  
 the first American bombings of the north since the 1964 Tonkin  
 crisis in an attempt to destroy the depots and transportation lines  
 responsible for the flow of North Vietnamese soldiers and supplies  
 into South Vietnam. The bombing continued intermittently until  
 1972. A month later, in March 1965, two battalions of American  
 marines landed at Da Nang in South Vietnam. There were now  
 more than 100,000 American troops in Vietnam. Four months later,  
 the president finally admitted that the character of the war had



changed. American soldiers would now, he announced, begin playing an active combat role in the conflict. By the end of the year, there were more than 180,000 American combat troops in Vietnam; in 1966, that number doubled; and by the end of 1967, over 500,000 American soldiers were there-along with a considerable number of civilian personnel working in various capacities. In the meantime, the air war intensified; ultimately the tonnage of bombs dropped on North Vietnam would exceed that in all theaters during World War II. And American casualties were mounting. In 1961, 14

Mounting Casualties I III 1 1 HIM II III II Mill llllllll III 1 1 III 1 1 III  
1 1 II Mill llllllll III 1 1 II



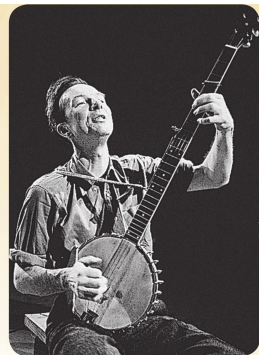
The Folk-Music Revival in TAT impulses of the 1960s—the renewed interest among young people in the politics of the left, and the search for an "authentic" alternative to what many considered the artificial, consumerist culture of modern America—helped produce the revived popularity of folk music in that turbulent era. Although the harder, harsher, and more sensual music of rock 'n' roll was more visible and more popular in the 1960s, folk music more clearly expressed many of the political ideas and aspirations that were welling up in the youth culture of the time. The folk-music tradition, like most American musical traditions, had many roots. It drew from some of the black musical traditions of the South, and from the white country music of Appalachia. And it drew most immediately from a style of music developed by musicians associated with the Communist Party's Popular Front in the 1930s. Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, the Weavers, and others whose music would become popular again in the 1960s began their careers singing in Popular Front and union rallies during the Great Depression. Their music, like the Popular Front itself, set out to seem entirely American, rooted in the nation's folk traditions. Folk music remained alive in the 1940s and 1950s, but it had only a modest popular following. Pete Seeger and the Weavers continued to perform and to attract attention on college campuses. Flarry Belafonte and the Kingston Trio recorded slick, pop versions of folk songs in an effort to bring them to mass audiences. In 1952, Folkway Records released the *Anthology of American Folk Music*, a collection of eighty-four performances recorded in the 1920s and 1930s that became an inspiration and an important source of material to many younger folk musicians. Folk-music festivals—at Berkeley, Newport, and Chicago—began to proliferate beginning in 1959. And an important community of folk musicians lived and performed together in the 1950s and early 1960s in New York City's Greenwich Village. As the politics of the 1960s became more heated, and as young people in particular became politically aroused, it was folk music that most directly reflected their new values and concerns. Peter, Paul, and Mary—although only intermittently political—became icons to much of the New Left, beginning with their 1962 recording of "If I Had a Hammer," a song first performed at Communist Party rallies in the 1940s by Pete Seeger and the Weavers. Bob Dylan, whose own

politics were never wholly clear to the public, had a large impact on the 1960s left, even inadvertently providing a name to the most radical offshoot of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Weathermen, who named themselves after a line from one of his songs: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows."\* Joan Baez, whose politics were no secret to anyone, was actively engaged in the antiwar movement and was arrested several times for participating in militant protests. RALLYING AGAIN The music of Woody Guthrie and other musicians of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s inspired a revival of popular music sympathetic to the protesting generation of the 1960s. (© Everett Collection Inc./Alamy) But it was not just the overt political messages of folk musicians that made them so important to young Americans in the 1960s. In addition, folk was a kind of music that seemed to reflect the "authenticity" the youth culture was attempting to find. In truth, neither the musicians themselves nor the young Americans attracted to them had much real connection with the traditions they were trying to evoke. The audiences for folk Americans had died in Vietnam. By the spring of 1966, more than 4,000 Americans had been killed. The United States finally succeeded in 1965 in creating a reasonably stable government in the south under General Nguyen Van Thieu. But the new regime was hardly less corrupt or brutal than its predecessors, and no more able than they to establish its authority in its own countryside. The Viet Cong, not the Thieu regime, controlled the majority of South Vietnam's villages and hamlets. The Quagmire Central to the American war effort was a commitment to what the military called "attrition," a strategy premised on the belief that the United States could inflict so many casualties and so much damage on  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii the enemy that eventually they would be unable and unwilling to continue the struggle. But the attrition strategy failed because the North Vietnamese proved willing to commit many more soldiers to the conflict than the United States had expected. The United States relied heavily on its bombing of the north to eliminate the communists' war-making capacity. By the end of 1967, most of the identifiable targets of any strategic importance in North Vietnam had been destroyed. But the bombing had produced none of the effects that the United States had expected. North Vietnam was not a modern, industrial society; it had few of the sorts of targets

against which bombing is effective. The North Vietnamese responded to the air raids with ingenuity: They created a great network of underground tunnels, shops, and factories. They also secured increased aid from the Soviet Union and China. Infiltration of the south was unaffected; the North Vietnamese kept moving the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the routes by which North Vietnam soldiers infiltrated the South. 798 • iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

**COFFEEHOUSE MUSIC** The Feejon Coffee House in Manhattan was popular among young writers, poets, and others in the late 1950s, in part because it was a gathering place for folk musicians, two of whom are shown here performing at right. (© John Orris/Getty images) music— a product of rural and working-class traditions— were overwhelmingly urban, middle-class people. But the message of folk music— that there is a "real" America rooted in values of sharing and community, hidden beneath the crass commercialism of modern culture— resonated with the yearnings of many people in the 1960s (and beyond) for an alternative to their own troubled world. When young audiences responded to Woody Guthrie's famous ballad "This Land Is Your Land," they were expressing a hope for a different America— more democratic, more honest, and more natural than the land they knew. • \*Bob Dylan, "Subterranean Homesick Blues." Copyright © 1965 by Warner Bros. Music. Copyright renewed 1993 by Special Rider Music. All rights reserved. International copyright secured. Reprinted by permission. **PETE SEEGER** Pete Seeger was one of several folk musicians who provided a link between the Popular Front labor movement folk music of the 1930s and the folk revival of the 1960s. He is shown here in concert in 1966. (© Archive Photos/Getty Images) **UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE**

1. What did folk music, with roots in the musical traditions of blacks, rural folk, and working-class people, offer that made it so appealing to and popular with urban, middle-class audiences? 2. What similarities between the 1930s and the 1960s might help explain the popularity of folk music during both those decades? 3. What musical style or form today continues the folk music tradition of expressing a political message and reflecting the search for "authenticity"? Another crucial part of the American strategy was the "pacification" program, which was intended to push the Viet Cong from areas chosen by the United States and then "Hearts and Minds" pacify those regions by winning the hearts . and minds" of the people. But American forces were not adept at establishing the kind of rapport with provincial Vietnamese that the Viet Cong had created. Gradually, the pacification program gave way to a heavyhanded relocation strategy, through which American troops uprooted villagers from their homes, sent them fleeing to refugee camps or into the cities (producing by 1967 more than 3 million



800 CHAPTER 29 SEARCH AND DESTROY U.S. troops in Vietnam, often unable to distinguish enemy forces from the civilian population, increasingly sought to destroy places they considered possible enemy sanctuaries. Here an American soldier watches the burning of a village, one of many that U.S. troops destroyed. (© Topham/The Image Works) the war. By the end of 1967, American students opposed to the war had become a significant political force. Enormous peace \_ marches in New York, Washington, D.C., and Growing Opposition to other cities drew broad public attention to the War the antiwar movement. Opposition to the war became a central issue in left-wing politics and in the culture of colleges and universities. It had penetrated popular cultures as well-most visibly in the rising popularity of folk musicians, many of whom used their songs to express opposition to the war. In the meantime, a growing number of journalists, particularly reporters who had spent time in Vietnam, helped sustain the antiwar movement with their frank revelations about the brutality and apparent futility of the war. The growing chorus of popular protest soon began to stimulate opposition to the war from within the government. Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, turned against the war and in January 1966 began to stage highly publicized congressional hearings to air criticisms of it. Distinguished figures such as George F. Kennan and retired general James Gavin testified against the conflict, giving opposition to the war greater respectability. Other members of Congress Joined Fulbright in opposing Johnson's policies-including, in 1967, Robert F. Kennedy, brother of the slain president and now a senator from New York. Even within the administration, the consensus seemed to be crumbling. Robert McNamara, who had done much to help extend the American involvement in Vietnam, quietly left the government, disillusioned, in 1968. His successor as secretary of defense, Clark Clifford, became a quiet but powerful voice within the administration on behalf of a cautious scaling down of the commitment in troops and funding. In the meantime, the American economy was beginning to suffer. Johnson's commitment to fighting the war while continuing his Great Society reforms-his promise of "guns and \_ butter"-proved impossible to maintain. War-Induced ^ ^ f. , , , , Inflation The 1 ^ m atlon rate > which had remained at 2 . percent through most of



the early 1960s, rose to 3 percent in 1967, 4 percent in 1968, and 6 percent in 1969. In August 1967, Johnson asked Congress for a tax increase-a 10 percent surcharge that was widely labeled a Avar tax"-which he knew was necessary if the nation was to avoid even more ruinous inflation. In return, congressional conservatives demanded and received a \$6 billion reduction in the funding for Great Society programs.



**CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERALISM** 801 **THE TRAUMAS OF 1968** By the end of 1967, the twin crises of the war in Vietnam and the deteriorating racial situation at home—crises that fed upon and inflamed each other—had produced profound social and political tensions. In the course of 1968, those tensions seemed suddenly to burst to the surface and to threaten the nation with genuine chaos. The Tet Offensive On January 31, 1968, the first day of the Vietnamese New Year (Tet), communist forces launched an enormous, concerted attack on American strongholds throughout South Vietnam. A few cities fell to the communists. During their occupation of the provincial capital, Hue, the communist forces rounded up supporters of the Saigon regime and massacred them. Other cities suffered major disruptions. Americans saw vivid reports on television of communist forces in the heart of Saigon, setting off bombs, shooting South Vietnamese officials and troops, and holding down fortified areas (including, briefly, the grounds of the American embassy). Such images shocked many Americans and proved devastating to popular support for the war. The Tet offensive also suggested to the American public something of the brutality of the struggle in Vietnam. In the midst of the fighting, television cameras recorded the sight of a captured Viet Cong soldier being led up to a South Vietnamese officer in the streets of Saigon. Without a word, the officer pulled out his pistol and shot the young man in the head, leaving him lying dead in the street. Few single events did more to galvanize support for the war in the United States. American forces soon dislodged the Viet Cong from most of the positions they had seized, and the Tet offensive in the end cost the communists such appalling casualties that they were „ significantly weakened for months to Political and Psychological come- Tiie Tet defeats permanently Defeat depleted the ranks of the NLF and forced North Vietnamese troops to take on a much larger share of the subsequent fighting. Tet may have been a military victory for the United States, but it was a political defeat for the administration. **MY LAI MASSACRE** On March 16, 1968 U.S. Army soldiers killed between 347 and 504 unarmed men, women, and children in South Vietnam. Twenty-six soldiers were charged with criminal offenses. Only Lieutenant William Calley, Jr., a platoon leader, was convicted. The incident increased domestic opposition to the war when its horrific

scope and the initial attempt by the army to cover it up were exposed. (© Image Asset Management Ltd./Alamy)



AMERICA IN THE WORLD 1968 |T| fj year 1968 was one of the most turbulent in the postwar history of the United States. 1 FI C Much of what caused these upheavals was specifically American events—the growing controversy over the war in Vietnam, the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy, racial unrest in the nation's cities, student protests on campuses throughout America. But the turmoil of 1968 was not confined to the United States. There were tremendous upheavals in many parts of the world that year. PRAGUE SPRING Czech demonstrators march through Wenceslas Square in Prague following a radio address by their reform president, Alexander Dubcek, in August 1968. By this time, the great hopes awakened by Dubcek's reforms during the "Prague Spring" of several months ago had been crushed by Soviet pressure, including the arrival of Soviet tanks in the streets of Prague. These demonstrators are demanding the "brutal truth" from their leaders about the price Czechoslovakia paid to keep Dubcek in power. (© Bettmann/Corbis) The most common form of turbulence around the world in 1968 was student unrest. A student uprising in France in May 1968 far exceeded in size and ferocity anything that occurred in the United States. It attracted the support of French workers, briefly paralyzed Paris and other cities, and contributed to the downfall of the government of Charles de Gaulle a year later. In England, Ireland, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Mexico, Canada, Japan, and South Korea, students and other young people also demonstrated in great numbers, sometimes violently, against governments and universities and other structures of authority. In Czechoslovakia, hundreds of thousands of citizens took to the streets in support of what became known as "Prague Spring"—a demand for greater democracy and a repudiation of many of the oppressive rules and structures imposed on the nation by its Sovietdominated communist regimes—until Russian tanks rolled into the city to crush the uprising. One factor that contributed to the worldwide turbulence of 1968 was simple numbers. The postwar baby boom, which occurred in many nations, had created a very large age cohort that by the late 1960s was reaching adulthood. The sheer size of the new generation produced a tripling of the number of people attending colleges and universities, and a heightened sense of the power of youth. The long period of postwar prosperity and relative peace in which this

generation had grown up contributed to heightened expectations of what the world should offer them— and a greater level of impatience than previous generations had demonstrated with the obstacles that stood in the way of their hopes. A new global youth culture emerged that was in many ways at odds with the dominant culture of older generations. It valued nonconformity, personal freedom, and even rebellion. A second force contributing to the widespread turbulence of 1968 was the power of global media. Satellite technology introduced in the early 1960s made it possible for the following weeks, opposition to the war grew substantially. Leading newspapers and magazines, television commentators, and mainstream politicians began taking public stands in favor of de-escalation of the conflict. Within weeks of the Tet offensive, public opposition to the war had almost doubled. And Johnson's personal popularity rating had slid to 35 percent, the lowest of any president since Harry Truman. The Political Challenge Beginning in the summer of 1967, dissident Democrats (led by the activist Allard Lowenstein) tried to mobilize support behind an antiwar candidate who would challenge Lyndon Johnson in the 1968 primaries. When Robert Kennedy declined their invitation, they turned to Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota. A brilliantly orchestrated campaign by Lowenstein and thousands of young volunteers in the New Hampshire primary produced a startling showing by McCarthy in March; he nearly defeated the president. A few days later, Robert Kennedy entered the campaign, embittering many McCarthy supporters, but bringing his own substantial strength among African Americans, the poor, and workers to the antiwar cause. Polls showed the president trailing badly in the next scheduled primary, in Wisconsin. Indeed, iiii



possible to transmit live news instantly across the world. Videotape technology and the creation of lightweight portable television cameras enabled media organizations to respond to events much more quickly and flexibly than in the past. And the audience for these televised images was by now global and enormous, particularly in industrial nations but even in the poorest areas of the world. Protests in one country were suddenly capable of inspiring protests in others. Demonstrators in Paris, for example, spoke openly of how campus protests in the United States in 1968—for example, the student uprising at Columbia University in New York City—had helped motivate French students to rise up as well. Just as American students were protesting against what they considered the antiquated paternalistic features of their universities, French students demanded an end to the rigid, autocratic character of their own academic world. In most parts of the world, the 1968 uprisings came and went without fundamentally altering the institutions and systems they were attacking. But many changes came in the wake of these protests. Universities around the globe undertook significant reforms. Religious observance in mainstream churches and synagogues in the West declined dramatically after 1968. New concepts of personal freedom gained legitimacy, helping to inspire new social movements in the years that followed—among them the dramatic growth of feminism in many parts of the world. The events of 1968 did not produce a revolution, in the United States or in most of the rest of the world, but they did help launch a period of dramatic social, cultural, and political change that affected the peoples of many nations. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What factors combined to produce the turbulence that resulted in the uprisings of 1968? 2. Did the demonstrators of 1968 succeed or fail to achieve their objectives? What were the long-term effects of the 1968 uprisings? 3. Has there been a year or period since 1968 in which similar worldwide protests and uprisings have occurred? If so, what events triggered these later demonstrations? Robert Kennedy public animosity toward the president was now so intense that Johnson did not even dare leave the White House to campaign. On March 31, Johnson went on television to announce a limited halt in the bombing of North Vietnam—his first major concession to the antiwar forces—and, more surprising, his withdrawal from the presidential contest.

Robert Kennedy quickly established himself as the champion of the Democratic primaries. In the meantime, however, Vice President Hubert Humphrey, with the support of President Johnson, entered the contest and began to attract the support of party leaders and of the many delegations that were selected CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERALISM 803 not by popular primaries but by state party organizations. He soon appeared to be the front-runner in the race. The King and Kennedy Assassinations In the midst of this bitter political battle, in which the war had been the dominant issue, attention suddenly turned back to the nation's bitter racial conflicts. On April 4, Martin Luther King Jr., who had traveled to Memphis, Tennessee, to lend his support to striking black sanitation workers in the city, was shot and killed while standing on the balcony of his motel. The presumed assassin, James Earl Ray, who was captured days later in London and eventually convicted, had no apparent motive. Later evidence suggested that he had been hired by others to do the killing, but he never revealed the identity of his employers. King's tragic death produced an outpouring of grief matched in recent memory only by the reaction to the death of John Riots Kennedy. Among African Americans, it also . produced anger. In the days after the assassination, major riots broke out in more than sixty American cities. Forty-three people died; more than 3,000 suffered injuries; as many as 27,000 people were arrested. For two months following the death of King, Robert Kennedy continued his campaign for the presidential nomination. Late on the night of June 6, he appeared in the ballroom of a Los Angeles hotel to acknowledge his victory in that day's California primary. As he left the ballroom after his victory statement, Sirhan Sirhan, a young Palestinian apparently enraged by pro-Israeli remarks Kennedy had recently made, emerged from a crowd and shot him in the head. Early the next morning, Kennedy died. By the time of his death, Robert Kennedy-who earlier in his career had been widely considered a cold, ruthless agent of his more appealing brother-had emerged J. HE IvENNEDY Legacy" as a ~ure °f enormous popular appeal. . More than John Kennedy, Robert identified his hopes with the American "underclass"-with blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, the poor. Indeed, Robert Kennedy, much more than John, shaped what some would later call the "Kennedy legacy," a set of ideas that would for a time become central to American liberalism: the fervent commitment to using



government to help the powerless. The passions Kennedy aroused made his violent death a particularly shattering experience for many Americans. The presidential campaign continued gloomily during the last weeks before the convention. Hubert Humphrey, who had seemed likely to win the nomination even before Robert Kennedy's death, now faced only minor opposition. The approaching Democratic National Convention, therefore, began to take on the appearance of an exercise in futility; and antiwar activists, despairing of winning any victories within the convention, began to plan major demonstrations outside it. When the Democrats finally gathered in Chicago in August, even the most optimistic observers were predicting a turbulent convention. Inside the hall, delegates bitterly debated an

804 CHAPTER 29 Democratic antiwar plank in the party platform that National both Kennedy and McCarthy supporters . S2 —I— . favored. Miles away, in a downtown park, thousands of antiwar protesters were staging demonstrations. On the third night of the convention, as the delegates were beginning their balloting on the now inevitable nomination of Hubert Humphrey, demonstrators and police clashed in a bloody riot in the streets of Chicago. Hundreds of protesters were injured as police attempted to disperse them with tear gas and billy clubs. Aware that the violence was being televised, the demonstrators taunted the authorities with the chant, "The whole world is watching!" And Hubert Humphrey, who had spent years dreaming of becoming his party's candidate for president, received a nomination that appeared at the time to be almost worthless. The Conservative Response The turbulent events of 1968 persuaded many observers that American society was in the throes of revolutionary change. In CHICAGO, 1968 Demonstrators climb on a statue in a Chicago park during the 1968 Democratic National Convention, protesting both the Vietnam War and the harsh treatment they had received from Mayor Richard Daley's Chicago police. (© Dennis Brack/Black Star) fact, however, the response of most Americans to the turmoil was a conservative one. The most visible sign of the conservative backlash was the surprising success of the campaign of the segregationist Alabama governor George Wallace for the presidency. In 1964, he had run in a few Democratic presidential primaries and had done surprisingly well, even in several states outside the South. In 1968, he became a third-party candidate for president, basing his campaign on a host of conservative grievances, not all of them connected to Wallace race' denounced the forced busing of . students, the proliferation of government regulations and social programs, and the permissiveness of authorities toward race riots and antiwar demonstrations. There was never any serious chance that Wallace would win the election; but his standing in the polls at times rose to over 20 percent. A more effective effort to mobilize the "silent majority" in favor of order and stability was under way within the Republican Party. Richard Nixon, whose political career had seemed at an end after his losses in the presidential race of 1960 and a California gubernatorial campaign two years later. Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%) ■ Richard M. Nixon

(Republican) Hubert H. Humphrey (Democratic) George C. Wallace  
I (American Independence) Other candidates (Prohibition; Socialist  
Labor; D. Gregory; Socialist Workers; Peace and Freedom;  
McCarthy) 60.6% of electorate voting 301 191 46 31,770,237  
(43.4) 31,270,533 (42.3) 9,906,141 (12.9) 218,347 THE ELECTION  
OF 1968 The 1968 presidential election, which Richard Nixon won,  
was almost as close as the election of 1960, which he had lost.  
Nixon might have won a more substantial victory had it not been  
for the independent candidacy of Governor George C. Wallace, who  
attracted many of the same conservative voters to whom Nixon  
appealed. • How does the distribution of Democratic and  
Republican strength in this election compare to that in 1960?



reemerged as the preeminent spokesman for what he called "Middle America." Nixon recognized that many Americans were tired of hearing about their obligations to the poor tired of hearing about the sacrifices necessary to achieve racial justice, tired of judicial reforms that seemed designed to help criminals. By offering a vision of stability, law and order, government retrenchment, and "peace with honor" in Vietnam, he easily captured the Republican presidential nomination. And after the spectacle of the Democratic National Convention, he enjoyed a commanding lead in the polls as the November election approached. That lead diminished greatly in the last weeks before the voting. Old doubts about Nixon's character continued to haunt the Republican candidate. A skillful last-minute surge by Hubert Humphrey, who managed to restore a tenuous unity to CIVIL RIGHTS, VIETNAM, AND THE ORDEAL OF LIBERALISM 805

the Democratic Party, narrowed the gap further. And the Wallace campaign appeared to be hurting the Republicans more than the Democrats. In the end, however, Nixon eked out a victory almost as narrow as his defeat in 1960. He received 43.4 percent of the popular vote to Humphrey's 42.3 percent (a margin of only about 800,000 votes), and 301 electoral votes to Humphrey's 191. George Wallace, who like most third-party candidates faded in the last weeks of the Nixon vs. Humphrey campaign, still managed to poll 12.9 percent of the popular vote and to carry five southern states with a total of 46 electoral ballots-the best showing by a third-party candidate since the 1920s. Nixon had not won a decisive personal mandate. But the election made clear that a majority of the American electorate was more interested in restoring stability than in promoting social change.

LOOKING BACK No decade of the twentieth century created more powerful and enduring images than the 1960s. It began with the election-and then the traumatic assassination-of an attractive and energetic young president, John Kennedy, who captured the imagination of millions and seemed to symbolize the rising idealism of the time. It produced a dramatic period of political innovation, christened the "Great Society" by President Lyndon Johnson, which greatly expanded the size and functions of the federal government and its responsibility for the welfare of the nation's citizens. It saw the emergence of a sustained

and enormously powerful civil rights movement that won a series of important legal victories, including two civil rights acts that dismantled the Jim Crow system constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The very spirit of dynamism and optimism that shaped the early 1960s also helped bring to the surface problems and grievances that had no easy solutions. The civil rights movement ended legalized segregation and disenfranchisement, but it also awakened expectations of social and economic equality that laws alone could not provide. The peaceful, interracial crusade of the early 1960s gradually turned into a much more militant, confrontational, and increasingly separatist movement toward the decade's end. The idealism among white youths that began the 1960s, and played an important role in the political success of John Kennedy, evolved into an angry rebellion against many aspects of American culture and politics. It produced a large upsurge of student protest that rocked the nation at the decade's end. Perhaps most of all, a small and largely unnoticed Cold War commitment to defend South Vietnam against communist aggression from the north led to a large and disastrous American military commitment that destroyed the presidency of Lyndon Johnson, shook the faith of millions in their leaders and their political system, sent thousands of young American men to their deaths, and showed no signs of producing a victory. A decade that began with high hopes and soaring ideals ended with ugly and at times violent division, and deep disillusionment.

Key Terms/  
People/ Places/Events Bay of Pigs 792 Black Power 790 Community Action Program 784 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 786 Cuban missile crisis 793 Dien Bien Phu 795 Freedom rides 786 Freedom summer 787 George Wallace 787 Great Society 784 Gulf of Tonkin resolution 796 Ho Chi Minh 794 Ho Chi Minh trail 798 Immigration Act of 1965 785 John Kennedy 782 Malcolm X 791 March on Washington 787 Medicaid 784 Medicare 784 New Frontier 782 Ngo Dinh Diem 796 Richard Nixon 804 Robert Kennedy 802 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) 786 Tet offensive 801 Viet Cong 796

806 CHAPTER 29 RECALL AND REFLECT SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1. What were the political effects of JFK's assassination?
2. How did increasing radicalism affect the successes and the setbacks of the civil rights movement?
3. What was the military strategy of the United States in Vietnam? What were the U.S. aims in that conflict? Why did the United States ultimately fail in Vietnam?
4. What accounted for growing opposition to the war in Vietnam?
5. What events made 1968 such a turbulent year, both in the United States and elsewhere in the world? How did these events affect U.S. politics?

1960 John F. Kennedy elected president  
Greensboro sit-ins  
1962 Cuban missile crisis  
1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed  
Johnson elected president by record margin  
Johnson launches war on poverty  
"Freedom summer" campaign in Mississippi  
Congress passes Civil Rights Act  
1966 Medicaid enacted  
King leads Chicago campaign  
1968 Viet Cong launch Tet offensive  
Johnson withdraws from presidential contest  
Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated  
Racial violence breaks out in American cities  
Robert Kennedy assassinated  
Demonstrators clash with police at Democratic National Convention  
George Wallace launches third-party presidential campaign  
Richard M. Nixon elected president  
1961 Freedom rides  
United States supports failed invasion of Bay of Pigs  
Berlin Wall erected  
1963 Test ban treaty signed  
Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson becomes president  
March on Washington; King gives "I Have a Dream" speech  
1965 American combat troops sent to Vietnam  
Medicare enacted  
Race riot breaks out in Watts, Los Angeles  
Malcolm X assassinated  
Congress passes Voting Rights Act  
Immigration Reform Act passed  
1967 Race riot breaks out in Detroit

THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY SOME MEN SEE THINGS AS  
 THEY ARE AND SAY WHY, I DREAM THINGS THAT NEVER WERE  
 AND SAY WHY NOT ROBERT KENNEDY THE ICON This photo and  
 statement from Robert Kennedy date from 1968, the year of his  
 presidential campaign and assassination. Almost immediately after  
 his death, Kennedy became a symbol of a lost era— and he remains  
 a powerful image into our own time. In 2008, the Triborough  
 Bridge in New York City was renamed the RFK Bridge. (© Henry  
 Diltz/Corbis). LOOKING AHEAD

1. What were some of the characteristics of the social and cultural revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s? 2. How did the U.S. strategy in Vietnam change under Nixon? What was the result of the change in strategy? 3. What was the Watergate scandal and how did it affect the presidency?





"SOME MEN SEE  
THINGS AS THEY ARE  
AND SAY WHY, I  
DREAM THINGS THAT  
NEVER WERE AND SAY  
WHY NOT"

SETTING THE STAGE THROUGHOUT THE LATE 1960S AND EARLY 1970S, new movements and interest groups were mobilizing to demand protections and benefits. New values and assumptions were emerging to challenge traditional patterns of thought and behavior. Some Americans welcomed the changes. But others feared them, viewing the new movements as a dangerous assault on the foundations of their society and culture. They looked for a restoration of stability and a relegitimization of traditional centers of authority. In Richard Nixon they found a man who seemed to match their mood. A product of a hardworking, middleclass family, he projected an image of stern dedication to traditional values. Yet the presidency of Richard Nixon, far from returning calm and stability to American politics, coincided with, and helped to produce, more years of crisis. Several crises were not wholly of Nixon's making. He had inherited both an unpopular war in Vietnam and an economy that was beginning to weaken. By the beginning of his second term, the economy was reeling under rapidly rising energy prices and growing inflation. One crisis, at least, was directly attributable to Nixon and the people in his administration. An obscure breakin at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington, D.C., in June 1972, hardly noticed at the time, gradually expanded to create one of the most serious crises in the history of the presidency— and the first such crisis to drive a president from office. Having won election by railing against crises of authority that threatened social stability, Nixon left office having created a major crisis of authority himself.

THE YOUTH CULTURE Perhaps most alarming to conservative Americans in the 1960s and 1970s was a pattern of social and cultural protest that was emerging from younger Americans, who were giving vent to two related impulses. One was the impulse, originating with the political left, to create a great new community of "the people," which would rise up to break the power of elites and force the nation to end the war, pursue racial and economic justice, and transform its political life. The other, equally powerful, impulse was the vision of "liberation." It found expression through the efforts of particular groups-African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, women, gays and lesbians, and others-to define and assert themselves and make demands on the larger society. It also found expression through the efforts of individuals to

create a new culture that would allow them to escape from what they considered the dehumanizing pressures of what some called the modern "technocracy." "Liberation" "The New Left" In retrospect, it seems unsurprising that young Americans became so assertive and powerful in American culture and politics in the 1960s. The postwar baby-boom generation-the unprecedented number of people born in a few years just after World War II-was growing up. By 1970, more than half the American population was under thirty years old; more than 8 million Americans-eight times the number in 1950- were attending college. This was the largest generation of youth in American history, and it was coming to maturity in a time of unprecedented affluence, opportunity, and-for many-frustration. One of the most visible results of the increasingly assertive youth movement was a radicalization of many American college and university students, who in the 1960s formed what became known as the New Left-a large, diverse group of men and women energized by the polarizing Sources of developments of their time. The New Left embraced the cause of African the New Left Americans and other minorities, but its own ranks consisted overwhelmingly . of white people. Blacks and minorities formed political movements of their own. Some members of the New Left were the children of radical parents (members of the so-called Old Left of the 1930s and 1940s). 808

## THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 809 CHE ERNESTO "Che"

Guevara was an Argentine Marxist revolutionary who played a significant role in the Cuban Revolution. His stylized portrait remains a major symbol of countercultural rebellion the world over. (Axiom Photographic/© Design Pics/SuperStock) The New Left drew from the writings of some of the important social critics of the 1950s-among them C. Wright Mills, a sociologist at Columbia University who wrote a series of scathing and brilliant critiques of modern bureaucracies. Relatively few members of the New Left were communists, but many were drawn to the writings of Karl Marx and of contemporary Marxist theorists. Some came to revere Third World Marxists such as Che Guevara, the South American revolutionary and guerrilla leader; Mao Zedong; and Ho Chi Minh. But the New Left drew its inspiration above all from the civil rights movement, in which many idealistic young white Americans had become involved in the early 1960s. In 1962, a group of students, most of them from prestigious universities, gathered in Michigan to form an organization to SDS give voice to their demands: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Their declaration of beliefs, the Port Huron Statement, expressed their Free Speech Movement disillusionment with the society they had inherited and their determination to build a new politics. Some members of SDS moved into inner-city neighborhoods and tried for a time, without great success, to mobilize poor, working-class people politically. But most members of the New Left were students, and their radicalism centered in part on issues related to the modern university. A 1964 dispute at the University of California at Berkeley over the rights of students to engage in political activities on campus gained national attention. The Free Speech Movement, as it called itself, created turmoil at Berkeley as students challenged campus police, occupied administrative offices, and produced a strike in which nearly three-quarters of the Berkeley students participated. The immediate issue was the right of students to pass out literature and recruit volunteers for political causes on campus. But the protest quickly became as well an expression of a basic critique of the university and the society it seemed to represent. The revolt at Berkeley was the first outburst of what was to be nearly a decade of campus turmoil. Students at Berkeley and elsewhere protested the impersonal character of the modern university, and they denounced

the role of educational institutions in sustaining what they considered corrupt or immoral public policies. The antiwar movement greatly inflamed the challenge and expanded it to the universities; and beginning in 1968, campus demonstrations, riots, and building seizures became almost commonplace. At Columbia University in New York City, students seized several buildings, including the offices of the president, and occupied them for days until local police forcibly and violently ejected them. Harvard University had a similar, and even more violent, experience a year later. Also in 1969, Berkeley became the scene of perhaps the most prolonged and traumatic conflict of any American college campus in the 1960s: a battle over the efforts of a few students to build a "People's Park" on a vacant lot the university planned to use to build a parking garage. This seemingly minor event precipitated weeks of impassioned and often violent conflicts between the university administration, which sought to evict the intruders from the land, and the students, many of whom supported the advocates of the park and who saw the university's efforts to close it as a symbol of the struggle between liberation and oppression. By the end of the People's Park battle, which lasted for over a week, the Berkeley campus was completely polarized; even students who had not initially supported or even noticed the People's Park (the great majority) were, by the end, committed to its defense; 85 percent of the 15,000 students voted in a referendum to leave the park alone. Student radicals were, for the first time, winning large audiences for their extravagant rhetoric linking university administrators, the police, and the larger political and economic system, describing them all as part of one united, oppressive force. Most campus radicals were rarely if ever violent (except at times in their rhetoric). But the popular image of student People's Park



Rock Music in the Sixties THE rock music of the late 1960s and 1970s, even more than the rock 'n' roll of the 1950s and early 1960s, emphasized release. It gave vent to impulse and instinct, to physical and emotional urges. That was one reason it was so enormously popular among young people in an age of cultural and sexual revolution. It was also why it seemed so menacing and dangerous to many WOODSTOCK MUSIC & ART FAIR conservative Americans seeking to defend traditional values and behavior. presents AN AQUARIAN EXPOSITION in WHITE LAKE, N.Y.' Joan Baez Afro Guthrie Tim Hardin Richie Havens Incredible String Band Ravi Shankar Sly And The Family Stone Bert Sommer Sweetwater WITH Keel Hartley Canned Heat Creedence Clearwater Grateful Dead Janis Joplin Jefferson Airplane Mountain Quill Santana The Who The Band Jeff Beck Group Blood, Sweat & Tears Joe Cocker Crosby, Stills and Nash Jimi Hendrix Iron Butterfly Ten Years After Johnny Winter Rock in the late 1960s seemed simultaneously subversive and liberating. That was partly because of the behavior and lifestyles of rock musicians, whose appearance and behavior were often deliberately outrageous. Rock musicians were connected at times to the drug culture of the 1960s (especially through the so-called psychedelic-rock groups inspired by experiences with the hallucinogen LSD). They had links to mystical Eastern religions (most notably the Beatles, who had spent time in India studying Transcendental Meditation and who, beginning in 1967 with their album Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, incorporated those themes into their music). And they often reveled in flouting social conventions, beginning with the Rolling Stones and culminating, perhaps, in the extreme and self-destructive behavior of Jimi Hendrix, Jim Morrison, and Janis Joplin, all of whom died very young of drug-related causes. Late-sixties rock was among many expressions of the impulses that came to be known as the counterculture; and like the counterculture, it inspired widely varying reactions. To its ADVERTISING WOODSTOCK Even before the thousands of spectators gathered for the famous rock FRI. SAT. SUN. AUG. 15 AUG. 16 AUG. 17 All programs subject to change without notice •White Lake, Town of Bethel, Sullivan County, N. Y. concert at Woodstock in 1969, organizers envisioned it as something more than a performance. It would, this poster claims, be a search for peace as well as for music. (© Hulton Archive/Getty

Images) m SUNDAYS NEWS \*F. 1 1 \_ NEW YORK'S PICTURE  
NEWSPAPER 6 I I NIPPIES MIRED IN SEN OF MUD REPORTING  
WOODSTOCK The New York Daily News, whose largely working-  
class readership was not notably sympathetic toward the young  
people at Woodstock, ran this slightly derisive front-page story on  
the concert as heavy rains turned the concert site into a sea of mud.  
["They Don't Melt," the caption said.] (© New York Daily News/  
Getty Images) defenders, the new rock, with its emphasis on  
emotional release, was a healthy rebuke to the repressive norms of  
mainstream culture. To them, its virtues were symbolized by the  
great rock festival at Woodstock, New York, in August 1969, where  
over 400,000 young people gathered on a remote piece of farmland  
for several days to hear performances by such artists as the Who,  
Jimi Hendrix, the Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin, Joe Cocker, the  
Jefferson Airplane, and many others. The festival was radicalism in  
mainstream culture was one of chaos and disorder, based in part on  
the disruptive actions of small groups of militants, among them the  
"Weathermen," a violent offshoot of SDS. The Weathermen were  
responsible for several cases of arson and bombing that destroyed  
campus buildings and claimed several lives. Not many people, not  
even many students, ever accepted the most radical political views  
that lay at the heart of the New Left. But many supported the  
position of SDS and other groups on particular issues and, above all,  
on the Vietnam War. Student activists tried to drive out training  
programs for military officers (ROTC) and bar military 810 •  
recruiters from college campuses. They attacked the laboratories  
and corporations that were producing weapons for the war. And  
between 1967 and 1969, they organized some of the largest  
political demonstrations in American history. The October 1967  
march on the Pentagon, where demonstrators were met by a solid  
line of armed troops; the "spring mobilization" of April 1968, which  
attracted hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in cities around  
the country; the Vietnam "moratorium" of the fall of 1969, during  
which millions of opponents of the war gathered in major rallies  
across the nation; and countless other demonstrations, large and  
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ALTAMONT Hell's Angels "security guards" club a spectator near the stage during the rock concert at Altamont as other concertgoers— some curious, some aghast— watch. One spectator died as a result of the beatings. (© Photofest) marred by heavy rains that produced a sea of mud and by supplies and facilities completely inadequate for the unexpectedly large crowd. Drugs were everywhere in evidence, as was a kind of open sexual freedom that a decade earlier would have seemed unthinkable to all but a few Americans. But Woodstock remained peaceful, friendly, and harmonious. There was rhapsodic talk at the time of how Woodstock represented the birth of a new youth culture, the "Woodstock nation." Critics of the new rock, and the counterculture, were not impressed with the idea of the "Woodstock nation." To them, the essence of the counterculture was a kind of numbing hopelessness and despair, with a menacing and violent underside. To them, the appropriate symbol was not Woodstock, but another great rock concert, which more than 300,000 people attended only four months after Woodstock, at the Altamont Speedway east of San Francisco. The concert featured many of the groups that had been at Woodstock, but the Rolling Stones, who had organized the event, were the main attraction. As at Woodstock, drugs were plentiful and sexual exhibitionism was frequent. But unlike Woodstock, Altamont was far from peaceful. Instead, it became ugly, brutal, and violent, and resulted in the deaths of four people. Several of them died accidentally, one, for example, from a bad drug trip, during which he fell into a stream and drowned. But numerous people were brutally beaten by members of the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang, who had been hired by the Rolling Stones as security guards. One man was beaten and stabbed to death in front of the stage while the Stones were playing "Sympathy for the Devil." Woodstock and Altamont, then, became symbols of two aspects of the counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and of the rock music that created its anthems. The beat poet Allen Ginsberg wrote an ecstatic poem proclaiming that at Woodstock "a new kind of man has come to his bliss / to end the cold war he has borne / against his own kind of flesh." The festival and its music, many claimed, had shown the path to an age of love and peace and justice. Altamont, however, suggested a dark underside of the rock culture, its potential for destruction and violence. "As far as I was

concerned," one participant said, "Altamont was the death knell of all those things that we thought would last forever. I personally felt like the sixties had been an extravagant stage show and I had been a spectator in the audience. Altamont had rung down the curtain to no applause.""" • "Allen Ginsberg's estate is affiliated with the Naropa Institute, Boulder, CO. UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How does rock music of the 1960s differ from rock 'n' roll of the 1950s? What accounts for these differences? 2. What two characteristics of the counterculture are represented by Woodstock and Altamont? Was there an "Altamont" nation, just as there was a "Woodstock" nation? 3. Does popular music today challenge the prevailing culture, as rock music of the 1960s challenged the culture of that era? What lasting effects, if any, did 1960s rock have on U.S. society and culture? small-all helped thrust the issue of the war into the center of American politics. Closely related to opposition to the war was opposition to the military draft. The gradual abolition of many traditional deferments-for graduate students, teachers, husbands, fathers, and others-swelled the ranks of those faced with conscription (and thus of those likely to oppose it). Some draft- age Americans simply refused induction, accepting what occasionally were long terms in jail as a result. Others fled to Canada, Sweden, and elsewhere (where they were joined by deserters from the armed forces) to escape conscription. Not until 1977, when President Jimmy Carter issued a general pardon to draft resisters and a limited amnesty for deserters, did the Vietnam exiles begin to return to the country in substantial numbers. The Counterculture Closely related to the New Left was a new youth culture openly scornful of the values and conventions of middle-class society. As if to display their contempt for conventional standards, young Americans flaunted long hair, shabby . or flamboyant clothing, and a rebellious . 811 iiiiiiimiiiiimiiiiim

812 CHAPTER 30 BERKELEY, 1969 The People's Park controversy at the University of California at Berkeley turned the campus and the town into something close to a war zone. In this photograph, National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets stand in the way of a planned march to protest the closing of People's Park on May 30, 1969, more than two weeks after they first arrived to keep peace in Berkeley. (© AP Images)

disdain for traditional speech and decorum. Also central to the counterculture, as it became known, were drugs: marijuanawhich after 1966 became almost as common a youthful diversion as beer-and the less widespread but still substantial use of other, more potent hallucinogens, such as LSD. There was also a new, more permissive view of sexual behavior-the beginnings of what came to be known as a "sexual revolution." To some degree, the emergence of relaxed approaches to sexuality was a result less of the counterculture than of the new accessibility of effective contraceptives, most notably the birth-control pill and, after 1973, legalized abortion. But the new sexuality also reflected the counterculture's belief that individuals should strive for release from inhibitions and give vent to their instincts and desires. The counterculture challenged the structure of modern American society, attacking its banality, hollowness, artificiality, materialism, and isolation from nature. The most committed Haight adherents of the counterculture-the hipAshbury pies, w^ came t0 dominate the Haight. Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco and other places, and the social dropouts, some of whom retreated to rural communes-rejected modern society and attempted to find refuge in a simpler, more "natural" existence. The effects of the counterculture reached out to the larger society and helped create a new set of social norms that many young people (and some adults) chose to imitate. Long hair and freakish clothing became the badge not only of hippies and radicals but of an entire generation as well. The use of marijuana, the freer attitudes toward sex, the iconoclastic (and sometimes obscene) language-all spread far beyond the realm of the true devotees of the counterculture. Perhaps the most pervasive element of the new youth society was one that even the least radical members of the generation embraced: rock music. Rock 'n' roll, drawn in part from African American music, first achieved wide popularity in the 1950s, on the strength of such early performers as Buddy Holly and, above all,

Elvis Presley. Early in the 1960s, its influence spread, largely as a result of the phenomenal popularity of the Beatles, the English group whose first visit to the United States in 1964 created a Influence of Rock \*n\* Roll remarkable sensation, "Beatlemania." For a . time, most rock musicians-like most popular musicians before them-concentrated largely on uncontroversial, romantic themes. By the late 1960s, however, rock had begun to reflect many of the new iconoclastic values of its time. The Beatles, for example, abandoned their once simple and seemingly innocent style for a new, experimental, even mystical approach that reflected the growing popular fascination with drugs and Eastern religions. Other groups, such as the Rolling Stones, turned even more openly to themes of anger, frustration, and rebelliousness. Rock's driving rhythms, its sensuality, its often harsh and angry tone-all made it an



**THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 813 WOODSTOCK** In the summer of 1969, more than 400,000 people gathered for a rock concert on a farm near Woodstock, New York. Despite mostly terrible weather, the gathering was remarkably peaceful— sparking talk among some enthusiasts of the new youth culture about the "Woodstock nation." (© Shelly Rustin/Black Star) appropriate vehicle for expressing the themes of the social and political unrest of the late 1960s. A powerful symbol of the fusion of rock music and the counterculture was the great music festival at Woodstock, New York, in the summer of 1969. (See "Patterns of Popular Culture," pp. 810-811.)

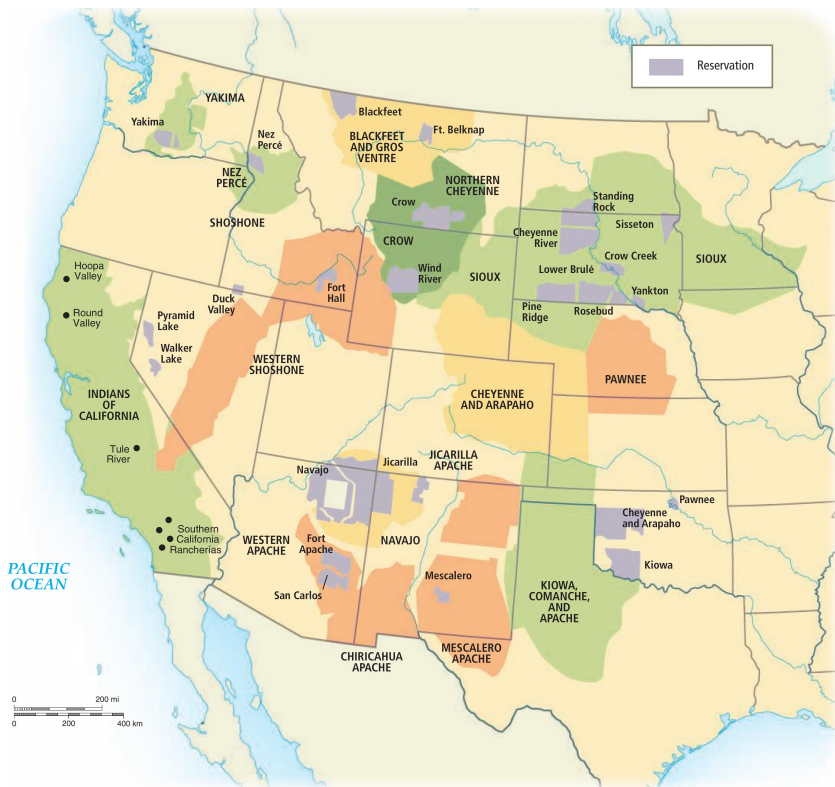
**THE MOBILIZATION OF MINORITIES** The growth of African American protest, the New Left, and the counterculture encouraged other minorities to assert themselves and demand redress of their grievances. For Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, gay men and women, and minorities, the late 1960s and the 1970s were a time of growing self-expression and political activism. Seeds of Indian Militancy Few minorities had deeper or more Justifiable grievances against the prevailing culture than American Indians-or Native Americans, as some began to call themselves in the 1960s. Indians were the least prosperous, least healthy, and least stable group in the nation. They were also one of the smallest. Native constituting less than 1 percent of the popAmerican ulation. Average annual family income for Grievances Indians was \$ 1,000 less than that for blacks. The Native American unemployment rate was ten times the national rate. Joblessness was particularly high on the reservations, where nearly half the Indians lived. But even most Indians living in cities suffered from their limited education and training and could find only menial Jobs. Life expectancy among Indians was some twenty years less than the national average. Suicides among Indian youths were a hundred times more frequent than among white youths. And while black Americans attracted the attention (for good or for ill) of many whites, Indians for many years remained largely ignored. For much of the postwar era, particularly after the resignation of John Collier as commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1946, federal policy toward the tribes moved toward incorporating Indians into mainstream American society. (This policy was similar to failed "assimilation" efforts in the late nineteenth century.) Two laws passed in 1953 established what became known as "termination." Through

termination.



814 CHAPTER 30 YAKIMA Blackfeet Yakima Ft. Belknap  
 BLACKFEET AND GROS VENTRE NORTHERN CHEYENNE Standing  
 Rock Sisseton Cheyenne River CROW SIOUX Lower Brule SIOUX  
 Yankton Rosebud Round Valley Pyramid Lake Walker Lake  
 WESTERN SHOSHONE PAWNEE INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA  
 CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHO JICARILLA Jicarilla APACHE • Southern  
 • California • Rancheras WESTERN Fort APACHE Apache NAVAJO  
 Kiowa Mescalero KIOWA, COMANCHE, AND APACHE San Carlos  
 Mescalero APACHE CHIRICAHUA APACHE PACIFIC OCEAN ■

Pawnee Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation ABORIGINAL  
 TERRITORIES AND MODERN RESERVATIONS OF WESTERN  
 INDIAN TRIBES This map shows the rough distribution of the  
 Native American population in the western United States before the  
 establishment of reservations by the federal government in the  
 nineteenth century. The large shaded regions in colors other than  
 purple represent the areas in which the various tribes were  
 dominant a century and more ago. The purple shaded areas show  
 the much smaller areas set aside for them as reservations after the  
 Indian wars of the late nineteenth century. • What impact did life on  
 the reservations have on the rise of Indian activism in the 1960s  
 and 1970s? the federal government withdrew all official recognition  
 of the tribes as legal entities, administratively separate from state  
 governments, and made them subject to the same local Jurisdictions  
 as white residents. At the same time, the government encouraged  
 Indians to assimilate into the larger society and worked to funnel  
 Native Americans into cities, where, presumably, they would adapt  
 to the white world and lose their cultural distinctiveness. To some  
 degree, the termination and assimilation policies achieved their  
 objectives. The tribes grew weaker, and many Native Americans  
 adapted to life in the cities became less able to fend off white  
 influence. On the whole, however, the new Failure of policies were  
 a disaster for the tribes and a "Termination" failure for the  
 reformers who had promoted . them. Termination led to widespread  
 corruption and abuse. And Indians fought so bitterly against it

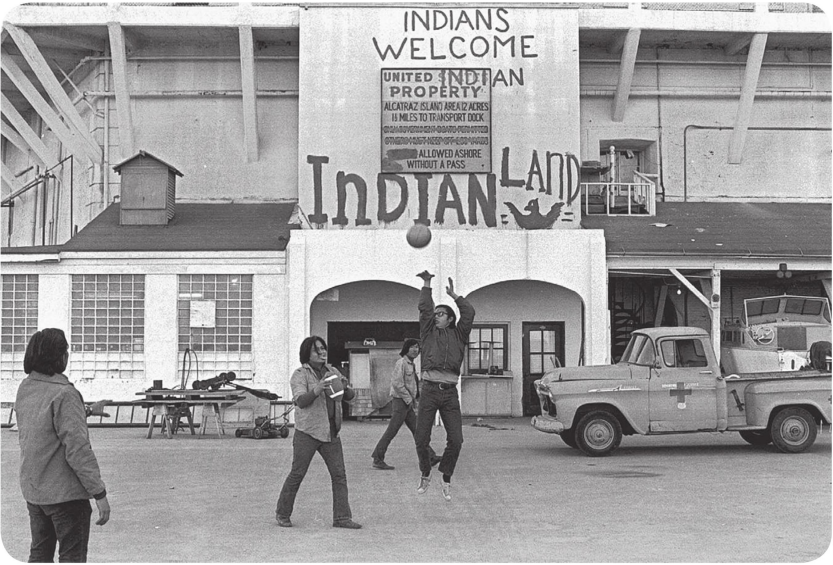




## THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 815 THE OCCUPATION OF

ALCATRAZ Alcatraz, an island in San Francisco Bay, once housed a large federal prison that by the late 1960s had been abandoned. In 1969, a group of Indian activists occupied the island and claimed it as Indian land— precipitating a long standoff with authorities. (© AP Images) that in 1958 the Eisenhower administration barred further "terminations" without the consent of the affected tribes. In the meantime, the struggle against termination had mobilized a new generation of Indian militants and had breathed life into the principal Native American organization, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), created in 1944. The new militancy also benefited from the rapid increase in the Indian population, which was growing much faster than that of the rest of the nation (nearly doubling between 1950 and 1970, to a total of about 800,000). The Indian Civil Rights Movement In 1961, more than 400 members of 67 tribes gathered in Chicago to discuss ways of bringing all Indians together in an effort to redress common wrongs. The manifesto they issued, the Declaration of Indian Purpose, stressed the "right to choose our own way of life." One result of the movement was a gradual change in the way popular culture depicted Indians. By the 1970s, almost no films or television westerns any longer portrayed Indians as brutal savages attacking peaceful white people. And Indian activists even persuaded some white institutions to abandon what they considered demeaning references to them; Dartmouth College, for example, ceased referring to its athletic teams as the "Indians." In 1968, a group of militant Indians established the . American Indian Movement (AIM), which drew its greatest support from those Indians who lived in urban areas but soon established a significant presence on the reservations as well. The new activism had some immediate political results. In 1968, Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act, which recognized the legitimacy of tribal laws within the reservations. But leaders of AIM and other insurgent groups were not satisfied and turned increasingly to direct action. In 1968, Indian fishermen clashed with Washington State officials on the Columbia River and in Puget Sound, where Indians claimed that treaties gave them the exclusive right to fish. The following year, members of several tribes made a symbolic protest by occupying the abandoned federal prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and claiming the site "by right

of discovery.” In response to the growing pressure, the Nixon administration appointed a Mohawk-Sioux to the position of commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1969; and in 1970, the president promised both increased tribal self-determination and an increase in federal aid. But the protests continued. In November 1972, nearly a thousand demonstrators, most of them Sioux, forcibly occupied the building of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., for six days. A more celebrated protest occurred in February 1973 at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the site of the 1890 massacre of ^ Sioux by federal troops. Members of AIM Occupation of Wounded seized and occupied the town of Wounded Knee for two months, demanding radical . changes in the administration of the reservation and insisting that the government honor its long-forgotten treaty obligations. A brief clash between the occupiers and federal forces left one Indian dead and another wounded. More immediately effective than these militant protests were the victories that various tribes were achieving in the federal courts. In *United States v. Wheeler* (1978), the Supreme Court confirmed that tribes had independent legal standing and could not be "terminated" by Congress. Other decisions ratified the authority of tribes to impose taxes on businesses within their reservations and to perform other sovereign functions. In 1985, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *County of Oneida v. Oneida Indian Nation* , supported Indian claims to 100,000 acres in upstate New York that the Oneida tribe claimed by virtue of treaty rights long forgotten by whites.





substantial Mexican American neighborhoods (barrios) in American cities from El Paso to Detroit. The largest (with more than 500,000 people, according to census figures) was in Los Angeles, which had a bigger Mexican population than any other place except Mexico City. But the greatest expansion in the Mexican American population was yet to come. In 1960, the census reported slightly more than 3 million . . . Latinos living in the United States (the great majority of them Mexican Americans). By 1970, that number had grown to 9 million, and by 2009 to 48 million. Since there was also an uncounted but very large number of illegal immigrants in those years, the real number was undoubtedly larger. By the late 1960s, Mexican Americans were one of the largest population groups in the West—outnumbering African Americans—and had established communities in most other parts of the nation as well. They were also among the most urbanized groups in the population; almost 90 percent lived and worked in cities. Many of them (particularly members of the older and more assimilated families of Mexican descent) were affluent and successful. Wealthy Cubans in Miami filled influential positions in the professions and local government; in the Southwest, Mexican Americans elected their own leaders to seats in Congress and to governorships. But most newly arrived Mexican Americans and other Hispanics were less well educated than either "Anglo" or African Americans and hence less well prepared for high-paying jobs. Some of them found good industrial jobs in unionized industries, and some Mexican Americans became important labor organizers in the AFL-CIO. But many more (including most illegal immigrants) worked in low-paying service jobs, with few if any benefits and no job security. Partly because of language barriers, partly because the family-centered culture of many Latino communities discouraged effective organization, and partly because of discrimination, Mexican Americans and other Hispanic Americans were slower to develop political influence than other minorities. But some did respond to the highly charged climate of the 1960s by strengthening their ethnic identification and organizing for political and economic power. Young Mexican American activists began to call themselves "Chicanos" (once a term of derision used by whites) as a way of emphasizing the shared culture of Spanish-speaking Americans. Some Chicanos advocated a form of nationalism not unlike the ideas of black power advocates. The Texas leaders of La Raza

Unida, a Chicano political party in the Southwest, called for the creation of an autonomous Mexican American state within a state; it demonstrated significant strength at the polls in the 1970s. One of the most visible efforts to organize Mexican Americans occurred in California, where an Arizona-born Latino farmworker, Cesar Chavez, created an effective union of itinerant farmworkers. In 1965, his United Farm Workers (UFW), a largely Mexican American organization, launched Cesar Chavez a Prolonged strike against growers to demand recognition of their union and increased wages and benefits. When employers resisted, Chavez enlisted the cooperation of college students, churches, and civil rights groups (including CORE and SNCC) and organized a nationwide boycott, first of table grapes and then of lettuce. In 1968, Chavez campaigned openly for Robert Kennedy. Two years later, he won a substantial victory when the growers of half of California's table grapes signed contracts with his union.

## THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 817 KENNEDY AND CHAVEZ

Cesar Chavez, the magnetic leader of the largely Mexican American United Farm Workers, a union that represented mostly migrant workers, staged a hunger strike in 1968 to demand that its members receive better treatment by growers. Robert F. Kennedy, just beginning his campaign for the presidency, paid him a visit in Delano, California, to show his support. Chavez, who had by then been fasting for many weeks, looks visibly weak here. Kennedy's visit helped persuade him to end the fast. (Photo by Michael Rougier/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Latino Americans were at the center of another controversy of the 1970s and beyond: the issue of bilingualism. It was a question that aroused the opposition not only of many whites but of some Hispanics as well. Supporters of bilingualism in education argued that non-English-speaking Americans were entitled to schooling in their own language, that otherwise they would be at a grave disadvantage in comparison with native English speakers. The U.S. Supreme Court confirmed the right of non-English-speaking students to schooling in their native language in 1974. Opponents cited not only the cost and difficulty of bilingualism but also the dangers it posed to students' ability to assimilate into the mainstream of American culture.

Gay Liberation Another important liberation movement that made gains in the 1960s was the effort by homosexuals to win political and economic rights and, equally important, social acceptance. Homosexuality and lesbianism had been unacknowledged realities throughout American history; not until many years after their deaths did many Americans know, for example, that revered cultural figures such as Walt Whitman and Horatio Alger were homosexuals. But by the late 1960s, the liberating impulses that had affected other groups helped mobilize gay men and lesbians to fight for their own rights. On June 27, 1969, police officers raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City's Greenwich Village, and began arresting patrons simply for frequenting the place. The raid was not unusual; police had been harassing gay bars (and "Stonewall homosexual men and women") for years. Riot" The accumulated resentment of this long . history of assaults and humiliations caused the extraordinary response that summer night. Gay onlookers taunted the police, then attacked them. Someone started a blaze in the Stonewall Inn, almost

trapping the policemen inside. Rioting continued throughout Greenwich Village (a center of New York's gay community) through much of the night. The "Stonewall Riot" helped make the gay liberation movement-a movement that had been gaining strength since





818 CHAPTER 30 THE QUILT In the early years of gay liberation, the movement focused mostly on ending discrimination and harassment. By the 1990s, however, with the AIDS epidemic affecting large numbers of gay men, activists shifted much of their attention to pressing for a cure and to remembering those who had died. One of the most remarkable results of that effort was the AIDS Quilt. Friends and relatives of victims of the disease made individual patches in memory of those they had lost. Then, in many different cities, thousands of quilters would join their pieces to create a vast testament to bereavement and memory. The enormity of the project was most visible in October 1996, when hundreds of thousands of pieces of the quilt were laid out on the Mall in Washington, stretching from the Washington Monument to the Capitol. (© Ron Edmunds/AP Images) at least the 1950s-a significant and highly public force. New organizations sprang up around the country. Public discussion and media coverage of homosexuality, long subject to an unofficial taboo, quickly and dramatically increased. Gay and lesbian activists had some success in challenging the longstanding assumption that homosexuality was "aberrant" behavior. They argued that no sexual preference was any more "normal" than another. Most of all, however, the gay liberation movement transformed the outlook of gay men and lesbians themselves. It helped them to "come out," to express Impact of the their preferences openly and unapologetically, and to demand from society a recognition that gay relationships could be as significant and worthy of respect as heterosexual ones. Even the ravages of the AIDS epidemic, which affected the gay community more disastrously than it affected any other group, failed to halt the growth of gay liberation. In many ways, it strengthened it. By the early 1990s, gay men and lesbians were achieving some of the same milestones that other oppressed minorities had attained in earlier decades. Some openly gay politicians won election to public office. Universities were establishing gay and lesbian studies programs. And laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual preference were making slow, halting progress at the local level. But gay liberation also produced a powerful backlash. This became especially evident in 1993, when President Bill Clinton's effort to lift the ban on gays and lesbians serving in the military met a storm of criticism from members of Congress and from within the military

itself. The backlash proved so strong that the administration retreated from its position and settled for a weak compromise ("Don't ask, don't tell") by which the military would not ask recruits about their sexual preferences, while those who enlisted in the military were expected not to reveal them. A decade later, issues involving gays and lesbians reached a high level of intensity again, sparked in part by the efforts of several cities and states to legalize same-sex marriage. President George W. Bush proposed a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage, and the issue became a major element of Republican election campaigns. Many states put referenda on their ballots banning gay marriage, and most such referenda were decisively approved by the voters. By 2014, the federal government, 17 states, and the District of Columbia authorized same-sex marriage. In 2013, the Supreme Court bolstered the rights of same-sex couples when it ruled, in *United States v. Windsor*, that restricting the definition of marriage to include only heterosexual couples was unconstitutional. The ruling extended on the federal level the same rights enjoyed by married heterosexuals to same-sex couples. The ruling left intact any state laws prohibiting same-sex marriage. Also in 2013, Congress passed the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act, making it possible for gay people to serve openly in the military.

THE NEW FEMINISM

Gay Liberation Movement

American women constitute a slight majority of the population. But during the 1960s and 1970s, many women began to identify with minority groups and to demand a liberation of their own. As a result, the role of women in American life changed more dramatically than that of any other group in the nation.



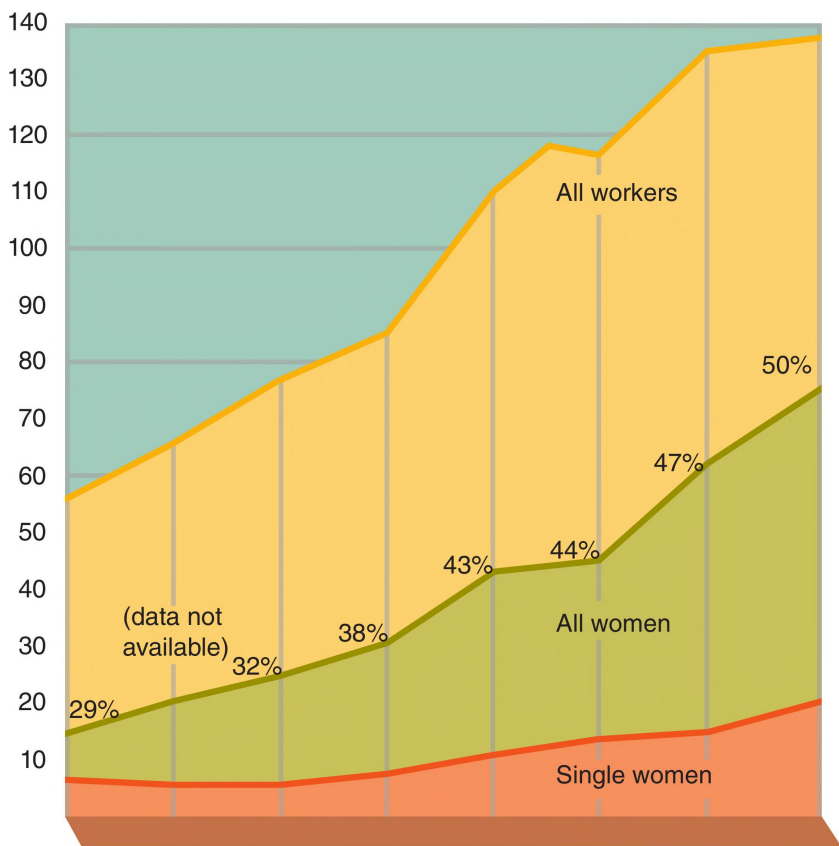
## THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 819 The Rebirth The

Feminine Mystique Feminism had been a weak and often-embattled force in American life for more than forty years after the adoption of the woman suffrage amendment in 1920. Yet in the 1960s and 1970s, it evolved very quickly from relative obscurity to one of the most powerful social movements in American history. The 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* is often cited as an important early event of contemporary women's liberation. Friedan, a magazine journalist, had traveled around the country interviewing the women who had graduated with her from Smith College in 1942. Most of these women were living out the dream that postwar American society had created for them: they were affluent wives and mothers living in comfortable suburbs. And yet many of them were deeply frustrated and unhappy. The suburbs, Friedan claimed, had become a "comfortable concentration camp," providing the women who inhabited them with no outlets for their intelligence, talent, and education. The "feminine mystique," she wrote, was responsible for "burying millions of women alive." By chronicling their unhappiness and frustration, Friedan did not so much cause Workforce (in millions) 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010

| WOMEN IN THE PAID WORKFORCE, 1940-2010 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|----------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1940                                   | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 |

The number of women working for wages steadily expanded from 1940 on, to the point that in 2010, they constituted half the total workforce. • What role did this growing participation in the paid workforce have on the rise of feminism in the 1960s and beyond? the revival of feminism as help give voice to a movement that was already stirring. By the time *The Feminine Mystique* appeared, John Kennedy had established the President's Commission on the Status of Women; it brought national attention to sexual discrimination and helped create important networks of feminist activists who would lobby for legislative redress. Also in 1963, the Kennedy administration helped win passage of the Equal Pay Act, which barred the pervasive practice of paying women less than men for equal work. A year later, Congress incorporated into the Civil Rights Act of 1964 an amendment-Title VII that extended to women many of the same legal protections against discrimination that were being extended to African Americans. The events of the early 1960s helped expose a contradiction that had been developing for decades between the image of happy domesticity, what Friedan had called

the "feminine mystique," and the reality of women's roles in America. The reality was that increasing numbers of women (including, by 1963, over a third of all married women) had already entered the workplace and were encountering widespread discrimination there; and that many other women were finding their domestic lives suffocating and frustrating. In 1966, Friedan joined with other feminists to create the NOW National Organization for Women (NOW), Founded which soon became the nation's largest . and most influential feminist organization. Like other movements for liberation, feminism drew much of its inspiration from the black struggle for freedom. The new organization responded to the complaints of the women Friedan's book had examined-affluent suburbanites with no outlet for their interests-by demanding greater educational opportunities for women and denouncing the domestic ideal and the traditional concept of marriage. But the heart of the movement, at least in the beginning, was directed toward the needs of women already in the workplace. NOW denounced the exclusion of women from professions, from politics, and from countless other areas of American life. It decried legal and economic discrimination, including the practice of paying women less than men for equal work (a practice the Equal Pay Act had not effectively eliminated). The organization called for "a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part of the worldwide revolution of human rights." Women's Liberation By the late 1960s, new and more radical feminist demands were also attracting a large following. The new feminists were mostly younger, the vanguard of the baby-boom generation. Many of them drew inspiration New Directions in the Women's Movement from the New Left and the counterculture. Some were involved in the civil rights movement, others in the antiwar crusade. Many had found that even



820 CHAPTER 30 within those movements, they faced discrimination and exclusion or subordination to male leaders. By the early 1970s, a significant change was visible in the tone and direction of the women's movement. New books by younger feminists expressed a harsher critique of American society than Friedan had offered. Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1969) signaled the new direction by arguing that "every avenue of power within the society is entirely within male hands." The answer to women's problems, in other words, was not, as Friedan had suggested, for individual women to search for greater personal fulfillment; it was for women to band together to assault the male power structure. Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* (1970) was subtitled "The Case for Feminist Revolution." By the early 1970s, large numbers of women were coming to see themselves as an exploited group organizing against oppression and developing a culture and communities of their own. Expanding Achievements By the early 1970s, the public and private achievements of the women's movement were already substantial. In 1971, the government extended its affirmative action guidelines to include women-linking sexism with racism as an officially acknowledged social problem. In the meantime, women were making rapid progress in their efforts to move into the economic and political mainstream. The nation's major all-male educational institutions began to open their doors to women. (Princeton and Yale did so in 1969, and most other all-male colleges and universities soon followed.) Some women's colleges, in the meantime, began accepting male students. Women were also becoming an important force in business and the professions. Nearly half of all married women held jobs by the mid-1970s, and almost 90 percent Economic \*\* a women Wlth college degrees worked. Success (By 2010, women constituted half the total . workforce.) The two-career family, in which both husband and wife maintained active professional lives, was becoming a widely accepted norm; many women were postponing marriage or motherhood for the sake of their careers. There were also important symbolic changes, such as the refusal of many women to adopt their husbands' names when they married and the use of the term "Ms." in place of MARCHING FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS By the end of the 1960s, the struggle for individual rights—which the African American civil rights movement had helped push

to the center of national consciousness— had inspired a broad range of movements. Perhaps the most important in the long run was the drive for women's rights, which was already formidable in the summer of 1970, when thousands of women joined this march through New York City. (© Werner Wolff/Black Star)





THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 821 "Mrs." or "Miss" to denote the irrelevance of a woman's marital status in the public world. In politics, women were beginning to compete effectively with men for both elected and appointive positions. By 2010, considerable numbers of women were serving in both houses of Congress (including a Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi), in numerous federal cabinet positions (including three secretaries of state), as governors, and in many other positions. Ronald Reagan appointed the first female Supreme Court justice, Sandra Day O'Connor, in 1981; in 1993, Bill Clinton appointed the second, Ruth Bader Ginsburg; and Barack Obama appointed two women justices, Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan in 2009 and 2010, respectively. In 1984, the Democratic Party chose Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York as its vice presidential candidate, and in 2008, Hillary Clinton became a formidable candidate in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination. In academia, women were expanding their presence in traditional scholarly fields; they were also creating a field of their own-women's studies, which in the 1980s and early 1990s was among the fastest-growing areas of American scholarship. In professional athletics, women were beginning to compete with men both for attention and for an equal share of prize money. By the late 1970s, the federal government was pressuring colleges and universities to provide women with athletic programs equal to those available to men. In 1972, Congress approved the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which some feminists had been promoting since the 1920s, and sent it to the states. For a while, ratification seemed almost certain. By the late 1970s, however, the momentum behind the amendment had died. The ERA was in trouble not because of indifference but because of a rising chorus of objections to it from people (including many antifeminist women) who feared it would disrupt traditional social patterns. In 1982, the amendment died when the time allotted for its ratification expired. Failure of ERA

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii The Abortion Controversy A vital element of American feminism since the 1920s has been women's effort to win greater control of their own sexual and reproductive lives. In its least controversial form, this impulse helped produce an increasing awareness in the 1960s and 1970s of the problems of rape, sexual abuse, and wife beating. There

continued to be some controversy over the dissemination of contraceptives and birth-control information; but that issue, at least, seemed to have lost much of the explosive character it had had in the 1920s. A related issue, however, stimulated as much popular passion as any question of its time: abortion. Abortion had once been legal in much of the United States, but by the beginning of the twentieth century it was banned by statute in most of the country and remained so into the Roe v Wade 1960s (although many abortions continued . . . to be performed quietly, and often dangerously, out of sight of the law). But the women's movement created strong new pressures on behalf of legalizing abortion. Several states had abandoned restrictions on abortion by the end of the 1960s. And in 1973, the Supreme Court's decision in Roe v. Wade, based on a relatively new theory of a constitutional "right to privacy," first recognized by the Court only a few years earlier in Griswold v. Connecticut (1965), invalidated all laws prohibiting abortion during the "first trimester" the first three months of pregnancy. The decision would become the most controversial ruling of the century.

ENVIRONMENTALISM IN A TURBULENT SOCIETY

Like feminism, environmentalism entered the 1960s with a long history and little public support. Also like feminism, environmentalism both profited from and transcended the turbulence of the era and emerged by the 1970s as a powerful and enduring force in American and global life. The rise of this new movement was in part a result of the environmental degradation that had become increasingly evident in the advanced industrial society of the late twentieth century. It was a result, too, of the growth of the science of ecology, which provided environmentalists with new and powerful arguments. And it was a product of some of the countercultural movements of the time: movements that rejected aspects of the modern, industrial, consumer society and called for a return to a more "natural" existence. The New Science of Ecology

Until the mid-twentieth century, most people who considered themselves environmentalists (or, to use the traditional term, conservationists) based their commitment on aesthetic or moral grounds: they wanted to preserve nature because it was too beautiful to despoil, or because it was a mark of divinity on the world. In the course of the twentieth century, however, scientists in

the United States and other nations-drawing from earlier, relatively obscure scientific writings-began to create a new rationale for environmentalism. They called it "ecology." Ecology is the science of the interrelatedness of the natural world. It rests on an assumption-as the American zoologist Stephen A. Forbes wrote as early as 1880-Idea OF AN Interrelated r^at \*Primeval nature . . . presents a settled World harmony of interaction among organic groups, and that this harmony is in strong contrast with the many serious maladjustments of plants and animals found in countries occupied by man." Such problems as air and water pollution, the destruction of forests, the extinction of species, and toxic wastes are not, ecology teaches, separate, isolated problems. All elements of the earth's environment are intimately and delicately linked. Damaging any one of those elements, therefore, risks damaging all the others. A number of American scientists built on Forbes's ideas in the early twentieth century, but perhaps the greatest early

RACHEL CARSON Rachel Carson, who began her career as a marine biologist, wrote the world's best-selling book about the ocean environment in the 1950s. Carson's abiding love for the creatures of shore and surf led to her concern about the harm pesticides might do them. (© Bettmann/Corbis) contribution to popular knowledge of ecology came not from a scientist, but from the writer and naturalist Aldo Leopold. During a career in forest management, Leopold sought to apply the new scientific findings on ecology to his interactions with the natural world. And in 1949, he published a classic of environmental literature. The Sand County Almanac, in which he argued that humans have a responsibility to understand and maintain the balance of nature, that they should behave in the natural world according to a code that he called the "land ethic." By then, the science of ecology was spreading widely in the scientific community. Among the findings of ecologists were such now-common ideas as the "food chain," the "ecosystem," "biodiversity," and "endangered species." The influence of these emerging ideas of ecology could be seen especially clearly in the sensational 1962 book by Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*. Carson was a marine biologist who had become a successful science writer. In 1957, she received a letter from a friend reporting the deaths of songbirds in her yard after the area had been sprayed with the insecticide DDT-the chemical developed in the 1930s to kill mosquitoes. Carson began investigating the impact of DDT and discovered growing signs of danger. DDT was slowly being absorbed into the food chain through water and plants, and the animals who ate and drank them. It was killing some animals (especially birds and fish) and inhibiting the ability of others to reproduce. Carson wrote eloquently about the growing danger of a "silent spring," in which birds would no longer sing and in which sickness and death would soon threaten large numbers of animals and, perhaps, people. *Silent Spring* was an enormously influential book and had a direct, if delayed, influence on the decision to ban DDT in the United States in 1972. It was evidence of the growing power of environmentalism, and of the science of ecology, on public policy and national culture. But *Silent Spring* was also a very controversial book that enraged the chemical industry. Critics of Carson attempted to suppress the book and,

when that effort failed, to discredit its findings. Between 1945 and 1960, the number of ecologists in the United States grew rapidly, and that number doubled again between 1960 and 1970. Funded by government agencies, by universities, by foundations, and eventually even by some corporations, ecological science gradually established itself as a significant field of its own. By the early twenty-first century, there were programs in and departments of ecological science in major universities throughout the United States and in many other nations. Much more than other scientists, however, ecologists tend to fuse their commitment to research with a commitment to publicizing their work and promoting responsible public action to deal with environmental crises.

**Environmental Advocacy** Among the most important environmental organizations of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries were the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club, the National Audubon Society, the Nature Conservancy, the National Wildlife Federation, and the National Parks and Conservation Association. All of these organizations predated the rise of modern ecological science, but all of them entered the twenty-first century reenergized and committed to the new concepts of environmentalism. They found allies among other not-for-profit organizations that had no previous experience with environmentalism but now chose to join the battle among them such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union, the League of Women Voters, the National Council of Churches, and even the AFL-CIO. Out of these organizations emerged a new generation of professional environmental activists able to contribute to the legal and political battles of the movement. Scientists provided the necessary data. Lawyers fought battles with government agencies and in the Environmental courts. Lobbyists used traditional techniques of political persuasion with legislators and other officials-knowing that many corporations and other opponents of environmental efforts would be doing the same in opposition to their goals. Perhaps most of all, these organizations learned how to mobilize public opinion on their behalf.

**Environmental Degradation** Perhaps the greatest force behind environmentalism was the condition of the environment itself. By the 1960s, the damage



THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 823

to the natural world from the dramatic economic growth of the postwar era was becoming impossible to ignore. Water pollution-which had been a problem in some areas of the ¥17 country for many decades-was becoming WATER AND Air Pollution so widespread that almost every major city . was dealing with the unpleasant sight and odor, as well as the very real health risks, of polluted rivers and lakes. In Cleveland, Ohio, for example, the Cuyahoga River burst into flame from time to time beginning in the 1950s from the petroleum waste being dumped into it. Perhaps more alarming was the growing awareness that the air itself was becoming unhealthy, that toxic fumes from factories and power plants and, most of all, automobiles were poisoning the atmosphere. Weather forecasts and official atmospheric information began to refer to "smog" levels-using a new word formed from a combination of "smoke" and "fog." In some large cities-Los Angeles and Denver among them-smog became a perpetual fact of life, rising steadily through the day, blotting out the sun, and creating respiratory difficulties for many citizens. Environmentalists also brought to public attention some longer-term dangers of unchecked industrial development: the rapid depletion of oil and other irreplaceable fossil fuels; the destruction of lakes and forests as a result of "acid rain" (rainfall polluted by chemical contaminants); the rapid destruction of vast rain forests, in Brazil and elsewhere, which limited the earth's capacity to replenish its oxygen supply; the depletion of the ozone layer as a result of the release of chlorofluorocarbons into the atmosphere, which threatened to limit the earth's protection from dangerous ultraviolet rays from the sun; and most alarming, global warming, which if unchecked would create dramatic changes in the earth's climate and would threaten existing cities and settlements in coastal areas all over the world by causing a rise in ocean levels. Many of these claims became controversial, with skeptics arguing that environmentalists had not conclusively proven their cases. But most environmentalists-and many scientists-came to believe that the problems were real and deserving of immediate, urgent attention. Earth Day and Beyond On April 22, 1970, people all over the United States gathered in schools and universities, in churches and clubs, in The First Par's and auditoriums, for the first "Earth "Earth Day" Day." Originally proposed by Wisconsin . senator Gaylord

Nelson as a series of teach-ins on college campuses. Earth Day gradually took on a much larger life. Carefully managed by people who wanted to avoid associations with the radical left, it had an unthreatening quality that appealed to many people for whom antiwar demonstrations and civil rights rallies seemed threatening. According to some estimates, over 20 million Americans participated in some part of the Earth Day observances, which may have made it the largest single demonstration in the nation's history. EARTH DAY, 1970 The first "Earth Day," April 22, 1970, was an important event in the development of the environmental movement. Conceived by Wisconsin senator Gaylord Nelson, Earth Day quickly gathered support in many areas of the United States and produced large demonstrations such as this one in New York City, where crowds surround a large banner portraying the earth crying out for help. (© Hulton Archive/Getty Images) The cautious, centrist character of Earth Day and related efforts to popularize environmentalism helped create a movement that had little of the divisiveness of other, more controversial causes. Gradually, environmentalism became more than simply a series of demonstrations and protests. It became part of the consciousness of the vast majority of Americans absorbed into popular culture, built into primary and secondary education, endorsed by almost all politicians (even if many of them opposed some environmental goals). It also became part of the fabric of public policy. In 1970, Congress passed and President Nixon signed the National Environmental Protection Act, which created a new agency—the Environmental Protection Agency—to enforce anti-pollution standards on businesses and consumers. The Clean Air Act, also passed in 1970, and the Clean Water Act, passed in 1972, added tools to the government's arsenal of weapons against environmental degradation. EPA Established





AMERICA IN THE WORLD The End of Colonialism f t m¥

July 4, 1946, less than a year after the close of World War II, the United States voluntarily ended its five-decade-old colonial control of the Philippines, which it had acquired as part of the spoils from the 1898 Spanish-American War. Philippine independence was only a small part of a dramatic change in the political structure of the world. The close of World War II marked not only the defeat of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan, but also the beginning of the end of the formal system of imperialism that European powers had maintained for centuries. Like most fundamental geopolitical changes, the drive for colonial independence was turbulent and often violent. Although its divestiture of the Philippines was relatively peaceful, the United States was not quite as ready to cede its military and economic presence in the region as it was to give up political responsibility over the islands. Philippine independence came with important caveats: the United States maintained control of its military bases there, forbade the Philippines to engage in any direct economic competition with the United States, and required the new Philippine government to revise its constitution to allow American interests free access to the nation's natural resources. In fact, many Filipinos argue that their nation only achieved full independence in 1991, after the Philippine Senate refused to ratify a treaty that would have extended the American lease on the Subic Bay Naval Base. A year later, the United States closed the base and left, marking the first time in 400 years that the Philippines (once a Spanish possession) were not home to a foreign military power. Britain, whose imperial holdings were the vastest in the world, withdrew from most of its colonies after World War II—beginning in 1947 with India, its largest and most important colony. As often happened when colonial rule ended, suppressed conflicts in the native population quickly emerged—in the case of India, between Hindus and Muslims. The price of Indian independence was the partition of the country into India and Pakistan (and, several decades later, Bangladesh). A year later, Britain gave up its World War I mandate of Palestine, ceding the territory to the United Nations (and allowing for the creation of Israel), as well as many of its holdings in Southeast Asia. In 1982, Britain passed the Canada Act, effectively severing Canada from the United Kingdom and

culminating a move toward full Canadian self-government. Finally, in 1997, Britain returned Hong Kong to the control of China, effectively bringing an end to the era of the British Empire. The dissolution of the British Empire did not always proceed smoothly. The Suez Crisis of 1956 dealt a decisive blow to Britain's status as a major power in the Middle East. The efforts of Britain, France, and Israel to prevent Egypt from seizing the British-controlled Suez Canal, which ran through Egyptian territory, ended in a humiliating defeat. In 1982, a dispute over the tiny Falkland Islands (just off the coast of Argentina) soon erupted into war between Britain and Argentina, which claimed the islands as its own. After the deaths of 258 British and 649 Argentine soldiers, Britain maintained its control of the Falklands, although Argentina continues to assert its right to the islands. Despite these controversies, the dissolution of the British Empire proceeded relatively smoothly compared to the experience of the French. In late 1946, Vietnamese nationalists rose up against the French colonial government that controlled the region. The French effort to return to Vietnam culminated ultimately in the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and their subsequent withdrawal from Indochina. France also became embroiled in—and tried to suppress by force—other violent colonial uprisings, in Madagascar, Cameroon, and most notably Algeria. The Algerian War (1954-1962) was a particularly bloody and costly conflict, involving guerrilla warfare, torture, acts of terrorism, and, eventually, the collapse of the French Fourth Republic in 1958. Algeria ultimately won its independence, but the scars created by the long and ugly war were slow to heal. The end of the colonial system had its greatest impact on Africa. European powers had carved up almost all of sub-Saharan Africa in the nineteenth century. But in the decades after World War II, almost all the African colonies won their independence even if not always easily. African nationalism, however, was troubled for decades by political instability and, in some countries, extreme poverty. Africa is currently home to 34 of the 48 poorest and 24 of the 32 least developed NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE WAR Richard Nixon assumed office in 1969 committed not only to restoring stability at home but also to creating a new and more stable order in the world. Central to his hopes was a resolution of the stalemate in Vietnam. Yet the new president felt no freer than his predecessor to abandon the American commitment there. He realized that the war was

threatening both the nation's domestic stability and its position in the world. But he feared that a precipitous retreat would destroy American honor and "credibility." American involvement in Indochina continued for four more years, during which the war expanded in its geographic scope and its bloodiness.

**VIETNAMIZATION** Despite Nixon's own passionate interest in international affairs, he brought with him into government a man who ultimately seemed to overshadow him in the conduct of diplomacy: Henry Kissinger, a Harvard professor whom the president appointed as his national security adviser. Kissinger quickly established dominance over the secretary of state, William Rogers, and the secretary of defense, Melvin Laird, who were both more experienced in public life than Kissinger was. That was in part a result of Nixon's passion for concentrating decision making in the White House. But Kissinger's keen intelligence, bureaucratic skills, and success in handling the press were at least equally important. Together, Nixon and Kissinger set out to find an acceptable solution to the stalemate in Vietnam. 824 •

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THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 825 countries in the world, in no small part a result of the lingering shadow cast by centuries of colonial exploitation of the continent. The most recent epicenter of independence movements has been in the lands that used to comprise the former Soviet Union. A long and costly war in Afghanistan began in the 1970s as the Soviet Union struggled to retain control of the nation in the face of powerful local insurgencies. The war was one of the principal factors in the unraveling of the Soviet Empire that began in 1991. Many of the former Soviet republics—which considered themselves colonies of Russia—soon separated from Russia and became independent nations in their own right. Even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia continues to deal with the problems of empire. A vicious conflict with Chechnya, an Islamic area of Russia insisting on independence, has created terror and instability for years. In 2014, Russia reclaimed Crimea, which since the collapse of the Soviet Union had been a part of Ukraine. This action threatened to heighten tensions between Russia and the West to levels not seen since the Cold War. The end of colonialism marked the end to an imperial system that was based on the assumption of European (and American) superiority over non-Western peoples. But if formal colonialism came to an end in the post-World War II era, other aspects of imperialism did not. Many former colonies still struggle with the indirect exercise of power, especially economic power, that wealthy Western nations continue to exert over much of the nonindustrialized world.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. How did the experience of World War II contribute to the end of colonialism? 2. Why was the end of colonialism so often accompanied by violence? 3. What have been the effects of colonialism—and the end of colonialism—on Africa? Why have the effects been so pronounced on that continent, more so than in other areas of the world? The new Vietnam policy moved along several fronts. One was an effort to limit domestic opposition to the war. Aware that the military draft was one of the most visible targets of dissent, the administration devised a new "Tottery" system, through which only a limited group—those nineteen-year-olds with low lottery numbers—would be subject to conscription. Later, the president urged the creation of an all-volunteer army. By 1973, the Selective Service System was on its way to at least

temporary extinction. More important in stifling dissent, however, was the new policy of "Vietnamization" of the war-the training and equipping of the South Vietnamese military to take over the burden of combat from American forces. In the fall of 1969, Nixon announced reduction of American ground troops from Vietnam by 60,000, the first reduction in U.S. troop strength. Consequences of "VIETNAMIZATION" since the beginning of the war. The reductions continued steadily for more than three years. From a peak of more than 540,000 American troops in 1969, the number had dwindled to about 60,000 by 1972. Vietnamization helped quiet domestic opposition to the war. But it did nothing to break the stalemate in the negotiations with the North Vietnamese in Paris. The new administration quickly decided that new military pressures would be necessary to do that. Escalation By the end of their first year in office, Nixon and Kissinger had concluded that the most effective way to tip the military balance in America's favor was to destroy the bases in Cambodia from which, the American military believed, the North Vietnamese were launching many of their attacks. Very early in his presidency, Nixon ordered the air force to begin bombing Cambodian territory to destroy the enemy sanctuaries. He kept the raids secret from Congress and the public. In the spring of 1970, possibly with U.S. encouragement and support, conservative military leaders overthrew the neutral government of Cambodia and established a new, pro-American regime under General Lon Nol. Lon Nol quickly gave his approval to American incursions into his territory; and on April 30, Nixon went on television to announce that he was ordering American troops across the border into Cambodia to "clean out" the bases that the enemy had been using for its "increased military aggression." Almost overnight, the Cambodian invasion restored the dwindling antiwar movement to vigorous life. The first days of May saw the most widespread and vocal antiwar demonstrations since the beginning of the war. Hundreds of thousands of protesters gathered in Washington, D.C., to denounce the president's policies. Millions, perhaps, participated in other demonstrations on campuses nationwide. The mood of crisis intensified greatly on May 4, when four college students were killed and nine others injured when members of the National Guard opened fire on antiwar demonstrators at Kent State University in Ohio. Ten days later, police killed two black students at Jackson State University in

Mississippi during a demonstration there. The clamor against the war quickly spread into the government and the press. Congress angrily repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in December, stripping the president of what had long served as the legal basis for the war. Nixon ignored the action. Then, in June 1971, first the New York Times and later other newspapers began publishing excerpts from a secret study of the war prepared by the Defense Department during the Johnson administration. What came to be known as the Pentagon Papers, leaked to the press by former Defense Department official Daniel Ellsberg, provided evidence of what many critics of the war had long believed: that the government had been dishonest, both in reporting the military progress of the war and in explaining

its own motives for American involvement. The administration went to court to suppress the documents, but the Supreme Court finally ruled that the press had the right to publish them. Morale and discipline were rapidly deteriorating among U.S. troops in Vietnam, who had been fighting a savage and inconclusive war for more than five years. The trial and conviction in 1971 of Lieutenant William Calley, who was charged with overseeing a massacre of more than 300 unarmed South Vietnamese civilians, attracted wide public attention. Many Americans believed that the My Lai tragedy was not an isolated incident. Less publicized were other, more widespread problems among American troops in Vietnam: desertion, drug addiction, racial hostilities, refusal to obey orders, even the occasional killing of unpopular officers by enlisted men. By 1971, nearly two-thirds of those interviewed in public opinion polls were urging American withdrawal from Vietnam, including many conservatives, who considered Nixon's policies as too timid. If the war was not designed for victory, they believed, it should not be fought. In March 1972, the North Vietnamese mounted the biggest offensive since 1968 (the so-called Easter offensive). American and South Vietnamese forces managed to halt the North Vietnam advance, but it was clear that without Easter American support the offensive would have succeeded. At the same time, Nixon ordered American planes to bomb targets near Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam, and Haiphong, its principal port, and called for the mining of seven North Vietnamese harbors to stop the flow of supplies from China and the Soviet Union. "Peace with Honor" As the 1972 presidential election approached, the administration stepped up its efforts to produce a breakthrough in negotiations with the North Vietnamese. In April 1972, the president dropped his longtime insistence on a removal of North Vietnamese troops from the south before any American withdrawal. Meanwhile, Henry Kissinger was meeting privately in Paris with the North Vietnamese foreign secretary, Le Due Tho, to work out terms for a cease-fire. On October 26, only days before the presidential election, Kissinger announced that "peace is at hand." But several weeks later (after the election), negotiations broke down once again. The American and the North Vietnamese governments appeared ready to accept the



Kissinger-Tho plan for a cease-fire, but the regime of General Nguyen Van Thieu balked, still insisting on a full withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces from the south. Kissinger tried to win additional concessions from the communists to meet Thieu's objections, but on December 16 talks broke off. The next day, December 17, American B-52s began the heaviest and most destructive air raids of the entire war on Hanoi, Haiphong, and other North Vietnamese targets. Civilian casualties were high, and fifteen American B-52s were shot down by the North Vietnamese; in the entire war to that point, the United States had lost only one of the giant bombers. On December 30, Nixon terminated "Christmas i 1 1 1 . Bombing" the "Christmas bombing." The United . States and the North Vietnamese soon returned to the conference table. And on January 27, 1973, they signed an "agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam." Nixon claimed that the Christmas bombing had forced the North Vietnamese to relent. At least equally important, however, was the enormous American pressure on Thieu to accept the cease-fire. The terms of the Paris accords were little different from those Kissinger and Tho had accepted in principle a few months before. There would be an immediate cease-fire. The North Vietnamese would release several hundred American prisoners of war. The Thieu regime would survive for the moment—the principal North Vietnamese concession to the United States—but North Vietnamese forces already in the south would remain there. An undefined committee would work out a permanent settlement.

Fall of Saigon Defeat in Indochina American forces were hardly out of Indochina before the Paris accords collapsed. During the first year after the ceasefire, the contending Vietnamese armies suffered greater battle losses than the Americans had absorbed during ten years of fighting. Finally, in March 1975, the North Vietnamese launched a full-scale offensive against the now greatly weakened forces of the south. Thieu appealed to Washington for assistance; the president (now Gerald Ford; Nixon had resigned in 1974) appealed to Congress for additional funding; Congress refused. Late in April 1975, communist forces marched into Saigon, shortly after officials of the Thieu regime and the staff of the American embassy had fled the country in humiliating disarray. Communist forces quickly occupied the capital, renamed it Ho Chi Minh City, and began the process of reuniting Vietnam under the Hanoi government. At about the same time, the Lon Nol regime in

Cambodia fell to the murderous communists of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge-whose genocidal policies led to the deaths of more than a third of the country's people over the next several years. That was the grim end of over a decade of direct American military involvement in Vietnam. More than 1.2 million Vietnamese soldiers had died in combat, along with countless civilians throughout the region. The United States paid a heavy price as well. The war had cost the nation almost \$150 billion in direct costs and much more indirectly. It had resulted in the deaths of over 55,000 young Americans and the injury of 300,000 more. And the nation had suffered a heavy blow to its confidence and self-esteem.

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 The continuing war in Vietnam provided a dismal backdrop to what Nixon considered his larger mission in world affairs: the construction of a new international order. The president had become convinced that old assumptions of a "bipolar" world in which the United States and the Soviet Union were the only truly great powers—were now obsolete. Instead, America must adapt to the new "multipolar" international structure, in which China, Japan, and Western Europe would become major, independent forces. "It will be a safer world and a better world," he said in 1971, "if we have a strong, healthy United States, Europe, Soviet Union, Toward a China, Japan—each balancing the other, not playing one against the other, an even balance." ""MULTIPOLAR"" World China and the Soviet Union For more than twenty years, ever since the fall of Chiang Kaishek in 1949, the United States had treated China, the second-largest nation on earth, as if it did not exist. Instead, America recognized the regime-in-exile on the island of Taiwan as the legitimate government of mainland China. Nixon and Kissinger wanted to forge a new relationship with the Chinese communists—in part to strengthen them as a counterbalance to the Soviet Union. The Chinese, for their part, were eager to forestall what they feared was the possibility of a Soviet-American alliance against China and to end China's own isolation from the international Nixon's China Visit

In July 1971, Nixon sent Henry Kissinger on a secret mission to Beijing. When Kissinger returned, the president made the startling announcement that he would visit China within the next few months. That fall, with American approval, the United Nations admitted the communist government of China and expelled the representatives of the Taiwan regime. Finally, in February 1972, Nixon paid a formal visit to China, which erased much of the deep American animosity toward the Chinese communists. The initiatives in China coincided with (and probably assisted) an effort by the Nixon administration to improve relations with the Soviet Union. In 1969, American and

Soviet diplomats met in Helsinki, Finland, to begin talks on limiting nuclear weapons. In 1972, they produced the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which froze the nuclear missiles (ICBMs) of both sides at present levels. The Problems of Multipolarity

### THE EVACUATION OF SAIGON

A harried U.S. official struggles to keep panicking Vietnamese from boarding an already-overburdened helicopter on the roof of the American embassy in Saigon. The hurried evacuation of Americans took place only hours before the arrival of North Vietnamese troops, signaling the final defeat of South Vietnam. (© AP Images)

Nixon and Kissinger believed that great-power relationships could not alone ensure international stability, for the "Third World" remained the most volatile and dangerous source of international tension. Central to the Nixon-Kissinger policy toward the Third World was the effort to maintain a stable status quo without involving the United States too deeply in local disputes. In 1969 and 1970, the president described what became known as the Nixon Doctrine, by which the United States would "participate in the defense and development of allies and friends" but would leave the "basic



Nixon's 1972 visit to China was an important step in normalizing relations between the US and the People's Republic of China. Here Nixon toasts the developing relationship with Prime Minister Zhou Enlai. (© Universal Images Group/Getty Images) "Six-Day War" responsibility" for the future of those "friends" to the nations themselves. In the Middle East, conditions grew more volatile in the aftermath of the 1967 "Six-Day War," in which Israel routed Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian forces, gained control of the whole of the long-divided city of Jerusalem, and occupied substantial new territories: on the west bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and elsewhere. The war also increased the number of refugee Palestinians-Arabs who claimed the lands now controlled by Israel and who, dislodged from their homes, became a source of considerable instability in Jordan, Lebanon, and the other surrounding countries into which they now moved. In October 1973, on the Jewish High Holy Day of Yom Kippur, Egyptian and Syrian forces again attacked Israel. For ten days, the Israelis struggled to recover from the surprise attack; finally, they launched an effective counteroffensive against Egyptian forces in the Sinai. At that point, the United States intervened, placing heavy pressure on Israel to accept a cease-fire rather than press its advantage. The imposed settlement of the Yom Kippur War demonstrated the growing dependence of the United States and its allies on Arab oil. Permitting Israel to continue its drive into Egypt Arab Oil might have Jeopardized the ability of the Embargo United States to purchase needed petroleum from the Arab states. A brief but painful embargo by the Arab governments on the sale of oil to supporters of Israel (including America) in 1973 provided an ominous warning of the costs of losing access to the region's resources.

**POLITICS AND ECONOMICS UNDER NIXON** The Nixon administration described its policies as an attempt to restore balance: between the needs of the poor and the desires of the middle class, between the power of the federal government and the interests of states and local communities. In the end, however, economic and political crises—some beyond the administration's control, some of its own making—sharply limited Nixon's ability to fulfill his domestic goals. Domestic Initiatives Many of Nixon's domestic policies were a response to

what he believed to be the demands of his own constituency-conservative, middle-class people whom he liked to call the "silent majority" and who wanted to dismantle the Great Society and reduce federal interference in local affairs. Nixon tried, unsuccessfully, to persuade Congress to pass legislation prohibiting the use of forced busing to achieve school desegregation. He blocked the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from cutting off federal funds from school districts that had failed to comply with court orders to integrate. At the same time, he began to reduce or dismantle many of the social programs of the Great Society and the New Frontier. In 1973, for example, he abolished the Office of Economic Opportunity, the centerpiece of the antipoverty program of the Johnson years. Yet Nixon's domestic efforts were not entirely conservative. One of the administration's boldest efforts was an attempt to overhaul the nation's enormous welfare system. Nixon proposed replacing the existing system, which almost everyone agreed was cumbersome, expensive, and inefficient, with what he called the Family Assistance Plan (FAP). It would in effect have created a guaranteed annual income for all Americans: \$1,600 in federal grants, which could be supplemented by outside earnings up to \$4,000. Even many liberals applauded the proposal as an important step toward expanding federal responsibility for the poor. Nixon, however, presented the plan in conservative terms: as something that would reduce the role of government and transfer to welfare recipients themselves daily responsibility for their own lives. Although the FAP won approval in the House in 1970, concerted attacks by welfare recipients (who considered the benefits inadequate), members of the welfare bureaucracy (whose own influence stood to be sharply diminished by the bill), and conservatives (who opposed a guaranteed income on principle) helped kill it in the Senate. From the Warren Court to the Nixon Court Of all the liberal institutions that had aroused the enmity of the "silent majority" in the 1950s and 1960s, none had evoked more anger and bitterness than the Supreme Court. Not only had its rulings on racial matters disrupted traditional social patterns, but its staunch defense of civil liberties had, in the opinions of many Americans, contributed to the increase in crime, disorder, and moral decay. In *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), the Court ruled that prayers in public schools

THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 829 violated the constitutional separation of church and state, sparking outrage among religious fundamentalists and others. In *Roth v. United States* (1957), the Court had sharply limited the authority of local governments to curb pornography. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the Court ruled that every felony defendant was entitled to a lawyer regardless of his or her ability to pay. In *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964), it ruled that a defendant must be allowed access to a lawyer before questioning by police. In *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), the Court confirmed the obligation of authorities to inform a criminal suspect of his or her rights. By 1968, the Warren Court had become the target of Americans of all kinds who felt the balance of power in the United States had shifted too far toward the poor and dispossessed at the expense of the middle class, and toward criminals at the expense of law-abiding citizens. One of the most important decisions of the Warren Court in the 1960s was *Baker v. Carr* (1962), which required state legislatures to apportion electoral districts so that all citizens' votes would have equal weight. In dozens of states, systems of legislative districting had given disproportionate representation to sparsely populated rural areas, hence diminishing the voting power of urban residents. The reapportionment that the decision required greatly strengthened the voting power of African Americans, Hispanics, and other groups concentrated in cities. Nixon was determined to use his judicial appointments to give the Court a more conservative cast. His first opportunity came almost as soon as he entered office. When Chief Justice Earl Warren resigned early in 1969, Nixon replaced him with a federal appeals court judge of conservative leanings, Warren Burger. A few months later, Associate Justice Abe Fortas resigned after allegations of financial improprieties. To replace him, Nixon named Clement F. Haynsworth, a respected federal circuit court judge from South Carolina. But Haynsworth came under fire from Senate liberals, black organizations, and labor unions for his conservative record on civil rights and for what some critics claimed was a conflict of interest in several of the cases on which he had sat. The Senate rejected him. Nixon's next choice was G. Harrold Carswell, a judge of the Florida federal appeals court of little distinction and widely considered unfit for the Supreme Court. The Senate rejected his nomination too. Nixon was careful



thereafter to choose justices of standing within the legal community to fill vacancies on the Supreme Court: Harry Blackmun, a moderate jurist from Minnesota; Lewis F. Powell Jr., a respected judge from Virginia; and William Rehnquist, a member of the Nixon Justice Department. The new Court, however, fell short of what many conservatives had expected. Rather than retreating from its commitment to social reform, the Court in many areas became more committed. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), it ruled in favor of the use of forced busing to achieve racial balance in schools. In *Furman v. Georgia* (1972), the Court overturned existing capital punishment statutes and established strict new guidelines for such laws in the future. In *Roe v. Wade* (1973), it struck down laws forbidding abortions. In other decisions, however, the Burger „ „ Court was more moderate. Although *Bakke v. Board . . . & . of Regents of the* Justices approved busing as a tool California for achieving integration, they rejected, in *Miliken v. Bradley* (1974), a plan to transfer students across district lines (in this case, between Detroit and its suburbs) to achieve racial balance. While the Court upheld the principle of affirmative action in its celebrated 1978 decision *Bakke v. Board of Regents of California*, it established restrictive new guidelines for such programs in the future. The Election of 1972 Nixon entered the presidential race in 1972 with a substantial reserve of strength. He had made significant achievements in foreign policy and in the de-escalation of the Vietnam War. His energetic reelection committee collected enormous sums of money to support the campaign. The president himself used the powers of incumbency with great effect, refraining from campaigning and concentrating on highly publicized international decisions and state visits. Agencies of the federal government dispensed funds and favors to strengthen Nixon's political standing in critical areas. Nixon was most fortunate in 1972, however, in his opposition. The return of George Wallace to the presidential fray caused some early concern. Nixon was delighted to see Wallace run in the Democratic primaries and quietly encouraged him to do so. But he feared that Wallace would again launch a third-party campaign. The possibility of such a campaign vanished in May, when a would-be assassin shot the Alabama governor during a campaign rally in Maryland. Paralyzed from the waist down, Wallace was unable to continue campaigning. The Democrats, in the meantime, were making their own George

contributions to the Nixon cause by nominating for president a representative of their most liberal wing: Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota. An outspoken critic of the war, a forceful advocate of advanced liberal positions on most social and economic issues, McGovern seemed to embody many aspects of the turbulent 1960s that middle-class Americans were most eager to reject. McGovern profited greatly from party reforms (which he had helped to draft) that reduced the power of party leaders and gave increased influence to inexperienced delegates in the selection of the Democratic ticket. But those same reforms helped make the Democratic Convention of 1972 an unappealing spectacle to much of the public. On election day, Nixon won reelection Landslide by one of the largest margins in history: 60.7 percent of the popular vote compared with 37.5 percent for the forlorn McGovern, and an electoral margin of 520 to 17.

DEBATING THE PAST ar Watergate t% np A O after Watergate— one of the most famous political scandals in U u kj f \ D u O American history— historians and others continue to argue about its causes and significance. Their interpretations fall into several broad categories. One argument emphasizes the evolution of the institution of the presidency over time and sees Watergate as the result of a much larger pattern of presidential usurpations of power that stretched back at least several decades. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. helped develop this argument in his 1973 book, *The Imperial Presidency*, which argues that ever since World War II, Americans have believed that the nation was in a state of permanent crisis, threatened from abroad by the menace of communism, threatened from within by the danger of insufficient will. The belief of a succession of presidents in the urgency of this crisis, and in their duty to take whatever measures might be necessary to combat it, led them gradually to usurp more and more power from Congress, the courts, and the public. Initially, this expansion of presidential power came in the realm of international affairs: covert and at times illegal activities overseas. But in the postwar world, domestic politics began to seem inseparable from international politics. Gradually, presidents began to look for ways to circumvent constraints in domestic matters as well. Nixon's actions in the Watergate crisis were, in other words, a culmination of this long and steady expansion of covert presidential power. Jonathan Schell, in *The Time of Illusion* (1975), offers a variation of this argument, tying the crisis of the presidency to the pressure that nuclear weapons place on presidents to protect the nation's— and their own— "credibility." Other commentators (but few serious historical studies) go even further and argue that what happened to produce the Watergate scandals was not substantively different from the normal patterns of presidential behavior, that Nixon simply got caught where other presidents had not, and that a long-standing liberal hostility toward Nixon ensured that he would pay a higher price for his behavior than other presidents would. A second explanation of Watergate emphasizes the difficult social and political environment of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Nixon entered office, according to this view, facing an unprecedentedly radical opposition that would stop at nothing to discredit the war and destroy his authority. He found himself, therefore, drawn into

taking similarly desperate measures of his own to defend himself from these extraordinary challenges. Nixon made this argument in his own 1975 memoirs: It was this epidemic of unprecedented domestic terrorism that prompted our efforts to discover the best means by which to deal with this new phenomenon of highly organized and highly skilled revolutionaries

**The Troubled Economy**

For three decades, the American economy had been the envy of the world. It had produced as much as a third of the world's industrial goods and had dominated international trade. The American dollar had been the strongest currency in the world, and the American standard of living had risen steadily from its already substantial heights. Many Americans assumed that this remarkable prosperity was the normal condition of their society. In fact, however, it rested in part on several advantages that were rapidly disappearing by the late 1960s: above all, the absence of significant foreign competition and easy access to raw materials in the Third World. Inflation, which had been creeping upward for several years when Richard Nixon took office, soon began to soar; it would be the most disturbing economic problem of the 1970s. Its most visible cause was a significant increase in federal deficit spending that began in the 1960s, when the Johnson administration tried to fund the war in Vietnam and its ambitious social programs without raising taxes. But there were other, equally important causes. No longer did the United States have exclusive access to cheap raw materials around the globe; not only were other industrial nations now competing for increasingly scarce raw materials, but Third World suppliers of those materials were beginning to realize their value and to demand higher prices for them. Annual percentage change in Consumer Price Index

**INFLATION, 1960-2010**

Inflation was the biggest economic worry of most Americans in the 1970s and early 1980s, and this chart shows why. Having remained very low through the early 1960s, inflation rose slowly in the second half of the decade and then dramatically in the mid- and late 1970s, before beginning a long and steady decline in the early 1980s. • What caused the great spike in inflation in the 1970s?

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Nixon Rv sign) n° dedicated to the violent destruction of our democratic system \* The historian Herbert Parmet echoes parts of this argument in *Richard Nixon and His America* (1990). Stephen Ambrose offers a more muted version of the same view in *Richard Nixon* (1989). Most of those who have written about Watergate, however, search for the explanation not in institutional or social forces, but in the personalities of the people involved and, most notably, in the personality of Richard Nixon. Even many of those who have developed structural explanations (Schlesinger, Schell, and Ambrose, for example) return eventually to Nixon himself as the most important explanation for Watergate. Others begin there, perhaps most notably Stanley I. Kutler, in *The Wars of Watergate* (1990) and, later, *Abuse of Power* (1997), in which he presents extensive excerpts from conversations about Watergate taped in the Nixon White House. Kutler emphasizes Nixon's lifelong resort to vicious political tactics and his long-standing belief that he was a special target of unscrupulous enemies and had to "get" them before they got him. Watergate was rooted, Kutler argues, "in the personality and history of Nixon himself." A "corrosive hatred," he claims, "decisively shaped Nixon's own behavior, his career, and eventually his historical standing." • \rv Ji NIXON QUITTS Tourists outside the White House learn that Nixon will likely resign the presidency the next day: August 9, 1974. (© Bettmann/ Corbis)

UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. For scholars who cite social and institutional forces as explanations for Watergate, what are these forces? How did they contribute to the Watergate scandal? 2. Many scholars see Nixon as the party most responsible for Watergate. How did Nixon's personality contribute to both his rise to power as president and his downfall as a result of Watergate? Did Nixon's resignation permanently damage the public's trust in the presidency? 3. What have been the lasting effects of Watergate on people's perception of the presidency and the government? Trom RN: *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978). Copyright © 1978 by Richard Nixon. The greatest immediate blow to the American economy was the increasing cost of energy. More than any nation on earth, the United States based its economy on the easy availability of cheap and plentiful fossil fuels. Domestic petroleum reserves were no longer sufficient to meet this demand,

and the nation was heavily dependent on imports from the Middle East and Africa. For many years, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had operated as an informal bargaining unit OPEC for r<sup>e</sup> sa<sup>e</sup> ky Third World nations, . but had seldom managed to exercise any real strength. But in the early 1970s, OPEC began to use its oil as both an economic tool and a political weapon. In 1973, in the midst of the Yom Kippur War, Arab members of OPEC announced that they would no longer ship petroleum to nations supporting Israel-which meant the United States and its allies in Western Europe. At about the same time, the OPEC nations agreed to raise their prices by 400 percent. These twin shocks produced momentary economic chaos in the West. The United States suffered its first fuel shortage since World War II. And although the boycott ended a few months later, the price of energy continued to skyrocket both because of OPEC's new militant policies and because of the weakening competitive position of the dollar in world markets. But inflation was only one of the new problems facing the U.S. economy. Another was the decline of the nation's manufacturing sector. American industry had flourished in the aftermath of World War II. By the 1970s, however, the climate for American manufacturing had changed significantly. Many of the great industrial plants were now many decades old, much less efficient than the newer plants that Japan and European industrial nations had constructed after the war. In some industries (notably steel and automobiles), management had become complacent and bureaucratic. Most important, American manufacturing now faced major competition from abroad-not only in world trade (which still constituted only a small part of the U.S. economy) but also at home. Automobiles, steel, and many other manufactured goods from Japan and Europe established major footholds in the U.S. markets. Some of America's new competitors benefited from lower labor costs than their U.S. counterparts. Thus the 1970s marked the beginning of a long, painful process of deindustrialization, during which thousands of Deindustrialization factories across the countrV closed . their gates and millions of workers lost their Jobs. New employment opportunities were becoming available in other, growing areas of the economy: technology, information systems, and many other "knowledge-based" . 831 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

832 CHAPTER 30 industries that would ultimately drive an extraordinary (if unbalanced) economic revival in the 1980s and 1990s. But many industrial workers were poorly equipped to move into those jobs. The result was a growing pool of unemployed and underemployed workers; the virtual disappearance of industrial jobs from many inner cities, where large numbers of minorities lived; and the impoverishment of communities dependent on particular industries. Some of the nation's manufacturing sectors ultimately revived, but few regained the size and dominance they had enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s. Inequality Inequality in income and wealth is a characteristic of every nation; but in the last four decades, that inequality has become dramatically more unequal in the United States. From the end of World War II to the middle of the 1970s, increases in incomes (and, to a lesser extent, increases in total wealth) grew at about the same rate across the range of incomes. People in the bottom 20 percent of the income scale saw their incomes increase at about the same rate that people in the top 20 percent of the income scale did. But beginning in about 1973, that pattern began to change dramatically. The top 20 percent of earners saw their incomes rise at a much higher rate than did the earners below them. The top 5 percent did even better. And the top 1 percent did far better still—earning 24 percent of total income. At the same time, people in the bottom 20 percent saw their incomes slowly decrease, while the middle-class earners saw their earnings remain relatively stagnant, with incomes rising at about the same rate as inflation. There are many explanations for this growing inequality. The decline of industry in the United States has pushed many once-well-paid workers into much-lower-paid nonunion jobs. Income tax reductions have increased the incomes of the wealthiest Americans much more rapidly than they have increased the incomes of lower-income people. The growth of the financial sector, and the extraordinary wealth that many financiers have accumulated in recent decades, has helped concentrate income and wealth at the top in unprecedented ways. Whether this inequality is a danger to American democracy, as many people believe, or a product of economic success that has improved, or will improve, the lot of everyone, as many others believe, it is nevertheless the case that the incomes in the United States are far more unequal today than they were a generation or more ago. The Nixon

Response The Nixon administration responded to these mounting economic problems by focusing on the one thing it thought it could control: inflation. Placing conservative economists at the head of the Federal Reserve Board, he ensured sharply higher interest rates and a contraction of the money supply. But the tight money policy did little to curb inflation: the cost of living rose a cumulative 15 percent during Nixon's first two and a half years in office. Economic growth, in the mean "Stagflation" time' declined- The United States was . encountering a new and puzzling dilemma: "stagflation," a combination of rising prices and general economic stagnation. In the summer of 1971, Nixon imposed a ninety-day freeze on all wages and prices at their existing levels. Then, in November, he launched what he called Phase II of his economic plan: mandatory guidelines for wage and price increases, to be administered by a federal agency. Inflation subsided temporarily, but the recession continued. Fearful that the recession would be more damaging than inflation in an election year, the administration reversed itself late in 1971: interest rates were allowed to drop sharply, and government spending grew. The new tactics helped revive the economy in the short term, but inflation rose substantially particularly after the administration abandoned the strict Phase II controls. In 1973, prices rose 9 percent; in 1974, after the Arab oil embargo and the OPEC price increases, they rose 12 percent the highest rate since the relaxation of price controls shortly after World War II. The value of the dollar continued to slide, and the nation's international trade continued to decline. THE WATERGATE CRISIS Although economic problems greatly concerned the American people in the 1970s, another stunning development almost entirely preoccupied the nation beginning early in 1973: the fall of Richard Nixon. The Scandals Nixon's crisis was in part a result of long-term changes in the presidency. Public expectations of the president had increased dramatically in the years since World War Changing ^ yet r'e constraints placed on the author Presidency ity of the office had grown as well. In response, a succession of presidents had sought new methods for the exercise of power, often stretching the law, occasionally breaking it. Nixon greatly accelerated these trends. Facing a Democratic Congress hostile to his goals, he attempted to find ways to circumvent the legislature whenever possible. Saddled with a federal bureaucracy unresponsive to his wishes, he constructed a hierarchy in which



virtually all executive power became concentrated in the White House. Operating within a rigid, even autocratic staff structure, the president became a solitary, at times brooding figure. Unknown to all but a few intimates, he also became mired in a pattern of illegalities and abuses of power that in late 1972 began to break through to the surface. Early on the morning of June 17, 1972, police arrested five men who had broken into the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate office building in

## THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 833 The Washington, D.C.

Two others were seized Watergate a short time later and charged with super. ESSiSfi . vising the break-in. When reporters for the Washington Post began researching the backgrounds of the culprits, they discovered that among those involved in the burglary were former employees of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. One of them had worked in the White House. Moreover, they had been paid to execute the break-in from a secret fund of the reelection committee, a fund controlled by members of the White House staff. Public interest in the disclosures grew slowly in the last months of 1972. Early in 1973, however, the Watergate burglars went on trial; and under relentless prodding from federal judge John J. Sirica, one of the defendants, James W. McCord, agreed to cooperate both with the grand jury and with a special Senate investigating committee. McCord's testimony opened a floodgate of confessions, and for months a parade of White House and campaign officials exposed one illegality after another. Foremost among them was a member of the inner circle of the White House, counsel to the president John Dean, who leveled allegations against Nixon himself. Two different sets of scandals emerged from the investigations. One was a general pattern of abuses of power involving both the White House and the Nixon campaign committee, "Cover-Up" which included, but was not limited to, . the Watergate break-in. The other scandal, and the one that became the major focus of public attention for nearly two years, was the way in which the administration tried to manage the investigations of the Watergate break-in and other abuses-a pattern of behavior that became known as the "cover-up." There was never any conclusive evidence that the president had planned or approved the Watergate burglary in advance. But there was evidence that he had been involved in illegal efforts to obstruct investigations and withhold information. Testimony before the Senate provided evidence of the complicity of Dean, Attorney General John Mitchell, top White House assistants H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, and others. As interest in the case grew to something approaching a national obsession, the investigation focused increasingly on a single question: in the words of Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee, "What did the President know and when did he know it?" Nixon accepted the departure of those members of his administration implicated in the scandals. But

he continued to insist that he himself was innocent. There the matter might have rested, had it not been for the disclosure during the Senate hearings of a White House taping system that had recorded virtually every conversation in the president's office during the period in question. All the groups investigating the scandals sought access to the tapes; Nixon, pleading "executive privilege," refused to release them. A special prosecutor appointed by the president to handle the Watergate cases. Harvard law professor Archibald Cox, took Nixon to court in October 1973 in an effort to force him to relinquish the recordings. Nixon fired Cox and suffered the humiliation of watching both Attorney General Elliot Richardson and his deputy resign in protest. This "Saturday night massacre" made the president's predicament infinitely worse. Not only did public pressure force him to appoint a new special prosecutor, Texas attorney Leon Jaworski, who "proved just as determined as Cox to subpoena the tapes; but the episode also precipitated an investigation by the House of Representatives into the possibility of impeachment. The Fall of Richard Nixon Nixon's situation deteriorated further in the following months. Late in 1973, Vice President Spiro Agnew became embroiled in a scandal of his own when evidence surfaced that he had accepted bribes and kickbacks while serving as governor of Maryland and even as vice president. In return for a Justice Department agreement not to press the case, Agnew pleaded no contest to a lesser charge of income-tax evasion and resigned from the government. With the controversial Agnew no longer in line to succeed to the presidency, the prospect of removing Nixon from the White House became less worrisome to his opponents. The new vice president (the first appointed under the terms of the Twenty-Fifth Amendment, which had been adopted in 1967) was House Minority Leader Gerald Ford, an amiable and popular Michigan congressman. In April 1974, in an effort to head off further subpoenas of the tapes, the president released transcripts of a number of relevant conversations, claiming that they proved his innocence. But even these edited tapes seemed to suggest Nixon's U.S. complicity in the cover-up. In July, the crisis reached a climax. First the Supreme Court ruled unanimously, in *United States v. Richard M. Nixon*, that the president must relinquish the tapes to Special Prosecutor Jaworski. Days later, the House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend

three articles of impeachment, charging that Nixon had, first, obstructed justice in the Watergate cover-up; second, misused federal agencies to violate the rights of citizens; and third, defied the authority of Congress by refusing to deliver tapes and other materials subpoenaed by the committee. Even without additional evidence, Nixon might well have been impeached by the full House and convicted by the Senate. Early in August, however, he provided at last what many wavering members of Congress had begun to call the "smoking gun." Among the tapes that the Supreme Court compelled Nixon to relinquish were several that offered apparently incontrovertible evidence of his involvement in the Watergate cover-up. Only days after the burglary, the recordings disclosed, the president had ordered the FBI to stop investigating the break-in. Impeachment and conviction now seemed inevitable. For several days, Nixon brooded in the White House. Finally, on August 8, 1974, he announced his resignation-the first president in American history ever to Nixon Resigns a \* , \_ , u . , XT.

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii do so. At noon the next day, while Nixon

834 CHAPTER 30 NIXON'S FAREWELL Only moments before, Nixon had been in tears saying good-bye to his staff in the East Room of the White House. But as he boarded a helicopter to begin his trip home to California shortly after resigning as president, he flashed his trademark "victory" sign to the crowd on the White House lawn. (© Bettmann/Corbis) and his family were flying west to their home in California, Gerald Ford took the oath of office as president. Many Americans expressed relief and exhilaration that, as the new president put it, "Our long national nightmare is over." But the wave of good feeling could not obscure the deeper and more lasting damage of the Watergate crisis. In a society in which distrust of leaders and institutions of authority was already widespread, the fall of Richard Nixon seemed to confirm the most cynical assumptions about the character of American public life.

LOOKING BACK The victory of Richard Nixon in the 1968 presidential election represented a popular repudiation of turbulence and radicalism. It was a call for a restoration of order and stability. But order and stability were not the dominant characteristics of Nixon's troubled years in office. He entered office, rather, when the forces of the left and the counterculture were approaching the peak of their influence. American culture and society in the late 1960s and early 1970s were shaped decisively by, and were deeply divided over, the challenges of young people to the norms by which most Americans had lived. Also in those years, a host of new liberation movements joined the drive for racial equality, and women mobilized effectively and powerfully to demand changes in the way their society treated gender differences. Nixon had run for office attacking the failure of his predecessor to end the war in Vietnam. But during the first four years of his presidency, the war and the protests against it continued and even in some respects escalated. The division of opinion over the war was as deep as any of the many other divisions in national life. It continued to poison the nation's politics and social fabric until the American role in the conflict finally shuddered to a close in 1973.



THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 835 But much of the controversy and division in the 1970s was a product of the Nixon presidency itself. Nixon was in many ways a dynamic and even visionary leader, who proposed (but rarely succeeded in enacting) some important domestic reforms and who made important changes in American foreign policy, most notably making overtures to communist China and forging detente with the Soviet Union. He was also, however, a devious and secretive man whose White House staff became engaged in a series of covert activities many of them connected with the president's reelection campaign in 1972-that produced the most dramatic political scandal in American history. Watergate, as it was called, preoccupied much of the nation for nearly two years beginning in 1972; and ultimately, in the summer of 1974, the scandal forced Richard Nixon-who had been reelected to office only two years before by one of the largest majorities in modern history-to become the first president in American history to resign. He was a victim in part of the passions and divisions of his time and of the Vietnam War, which he had inherited but had not been able to end quickly. He was a victim as well of his own insecurities and resentments. Whatever the causes of his fall, however, the greatest cost of Watergate was not what it did to Nixon himself, but how it damaged the faith of the American people in their leaders and their government. That faith would remain weak through the remainder of the century and beyond.

Key Terms/People/Places/Events American Indian Movement (AIM) 815 Betty Friedan 819 Cesar Chavez 816 Counterculture 811 "Don't ask, don't tell" 818 Free Speech Movement 809 George McGovern 829 Gerald Ford 833 Henry Kissinger 824 National Organization for Women (NOW) 819 New Left 808 Nixon Doctrine 827 OPEC 831 Rachel Carson 822 Roe v. Wade 821 "Silent majority" 828 Spiro Agnew 833 "Stagflation" 832 Stonewall riot 817 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) 809 V IETNAMIZATION 824 Watergate 832 Weathermen 810 Wounded Knee 815 RECALL AND REFLECT

1. What was the New Left? How was it related to the counterculture?
2. How did ethnic minorities, especially Native Americans and Latinos, challenge the status quo in the 1970s?
3. What were the objectives of the new feminism of the 1970s? What gains did women achieve in this era? What setbacks did the feminist movement experience?
4. What was the Nixon Doctrine?

How did this doctrine play out in foreign policy? 5. What was the effect of Nixon's policies on the U.S. economy? What was Nixon's response to escalating economic difficulties?



836 CHAPTER 30 SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1962 Students for a Democratic Society formed at Port Huron, Michigan 1964 Free Speech Movement begins at UC Berkeley 1967 Antiwar protesters march on Pentagon 1969 Antiwar movement stages Vietnam "moratorium" "Stonewall Riot" in New York City launches gay liberation movement 400,000 people attend rock concert in Woodstock, N.Y. 1970 Students killed at Kent State and Jackson State Universities - 1963 • . . . Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique* ^ 1966 O National Organization for Women (NOW) formed o ^ 1968 O Campus riots break out at Columbia University and elsewhere American Indian Movement m (AIM) launched 1973 Paris accords produce cease-fire; the United States withdraws from Vietnam Arab oil embargo produces first American energy crisis Supreme Court decides *Roe v. Wade* Indians demonstrate at Wounded Knee 1975 South Vietnam falls 1978 Supreme Court hands down *Bakke* decision 1972 Nixon visits China SALT I signed Burglary interrupted in Watergate office building Nixon reelected president 1974 Impeachment proceedings begin against Nixon Vice President Spiro Agnew resigns; Gerald Ford appointed to replace him Nixon resigns; Ford becomes president 1977 President Carter pardons Vietnam draft resisters 1982 Equal Rights Amendment fails to be ratified O o 1971 Pentagon Papers published Nixon imposes wage-price freeze and controls

**RONALD AND NANCY REAGAN** The president and the first lady greet guests at a White House social event. Nancy Reagan was most visible in her efforts to make the White House, and her husband's presidency, seem more glamorous than those of most recent administrations. But she also played an important, if quiet, policy role in the administration. (Photo by Dirck Halstead/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) **LOOKING AHEAD**

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1. What economic and energy problems plagued the presidencies of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter? How did Ford and Carter attempt to deal with these problems? 2. What was the "New Right," and what effect did its rise have on American politics? 3. What was Reaganomics, and how did this policy affect the national economy?



**SETTING THE STAGE THE FRUSTRATIONS OF THE EARLY 1970S-THE DEFEAT IN VIETNAM,** the Watergate crisis, economic difficulties— seriously damaged the confident nationalism and liberalism that had characterized so much of the postwar era. Many Americans began to wonder whether the age of a growing economy and growing expectations was giving way to a new "age of limits," in which America would have to learn to survive with less of everything— money, energy, opportunities, global power— and thus would have to accept constricted expectations. At the end of the decade, however, the idea of an "age of limits" met a powerful and ultimately decisive challenge that combined a conservative rejection of some of the heady visions of the 1960s with a reinforced commitment to economic growth, international power, and American virtue. Throughout the 1970s, a powerful, grassroots conservative movement grew rapidly in many parts of the United States, bringing together those who wanted a more conservative economic policy and those who were concerned about such cultural questions as religion and sexuality. The most potent symbol of this growing movement was Ronald Reagan, who was elected president in 1980 and who, for the next eight years, became a symbol of a new kind of confident conservatism that would soon have enormous influence in the United States and in many other parts of the world. Reagan's personal popularity was an important part of his success, but so was an impressive economic revival that helped win support for his ideas. **POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY AFTER WATERGATE**

absolute pardon” for any crimes he may have committed during his . presidency. Much of the public suspected a secret deal with the former president. The pardon caused a decline in Ford’s popularity from which he never fully recovered. The Ford administration enjoyed less success in its effort to solve the problems of the American economy. In his efforts to curb inflation, the president rejected the idea of wage and price controls and called instead for largely ineffective voluntary efforts. Ford had to deal with a serious recession in 1974 and 1975-a task made more difficult by the continuing energy crisis. In the aftermath of the Arab oil embargo of 1973, the OPEC cartel began to raise the price of oil-by 400 percent in 1974 alone, one of the principal reasons why inflation reached 11 percent in 1976. Ford retained Henry Kissinger as secretary of state and continued the policies of the Nixon Ford’s years. Late in 1 974, Ford met with Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev at Vladivostok Diplomatic in Siberia and signed an arms control accord that was to serve as the basis for Successes SALT II, thus achieving a goal the Nixon administration had long sought.

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii Meanwhile, in the Middle East, Henry Kissinger helped produce a new accord, by which Israel agreed to return large portions of the occupied Sinai to Egypt. Ford’s policies came under attack from both the right and the left. In the 1976 Republican primary campaign. Ford faced a powerful challenge from former California governor Ronald Reagan, leader of the party’s conservative wing. He spoke for many on the right who were unhappy with any conciliation of communists. The president only barely survived the assault to win his party’s 838

| Candidate (Party)                               | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote (%) |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Jimmy Carter (Democratic)                       | 297            | 50.0             |
| Gerald R. Ford (Republican)                     | 240            | 47.9             |
| Ronald Reagan (Independent Republican)          | 1              | 1.1              |
| Other candidates (McCarthy [Ind.], Libertarian) | 1              | 0.9              |

53.5% of electorate voting 297 240 1 40,828,587 (50.0) 39,147,613 (47.9) 1,575,459 (2.1)

### THE ELECTION OF 1976

Jimmy Carter, a former governor of Georgia, swept the South in the 1976 election and carried enough of the industrial states of the Northeast and Midwest to win a narrow victory over President Gerald R. Ford. His showing indicated the importance to the Democratic Party of having a candidate capable of attracting support in the South, which was becoming increasingly Republican by the 1970s.

• What drove so many southerners into the Republican Party? nomination. The Democrats, in the meantime, were gradually uniting behind a new and, before 1976, little-known candidate: Jimmy Carter, a former governor of Georgia who organized a brilliant primary campaign by offering honesty, piety, and an outsider's skepticism of the federal government. And while Carter's mammoth lead in opinion polls dwindled by election day, unhappiness with the economy and a general disenchantment with Ford enabled the Democrat to hold on for a narrow victory. Carter emerged with 50 percent of the popular vote to Ford's 47.9 percent and 297 electoral votes to Ford's 240.

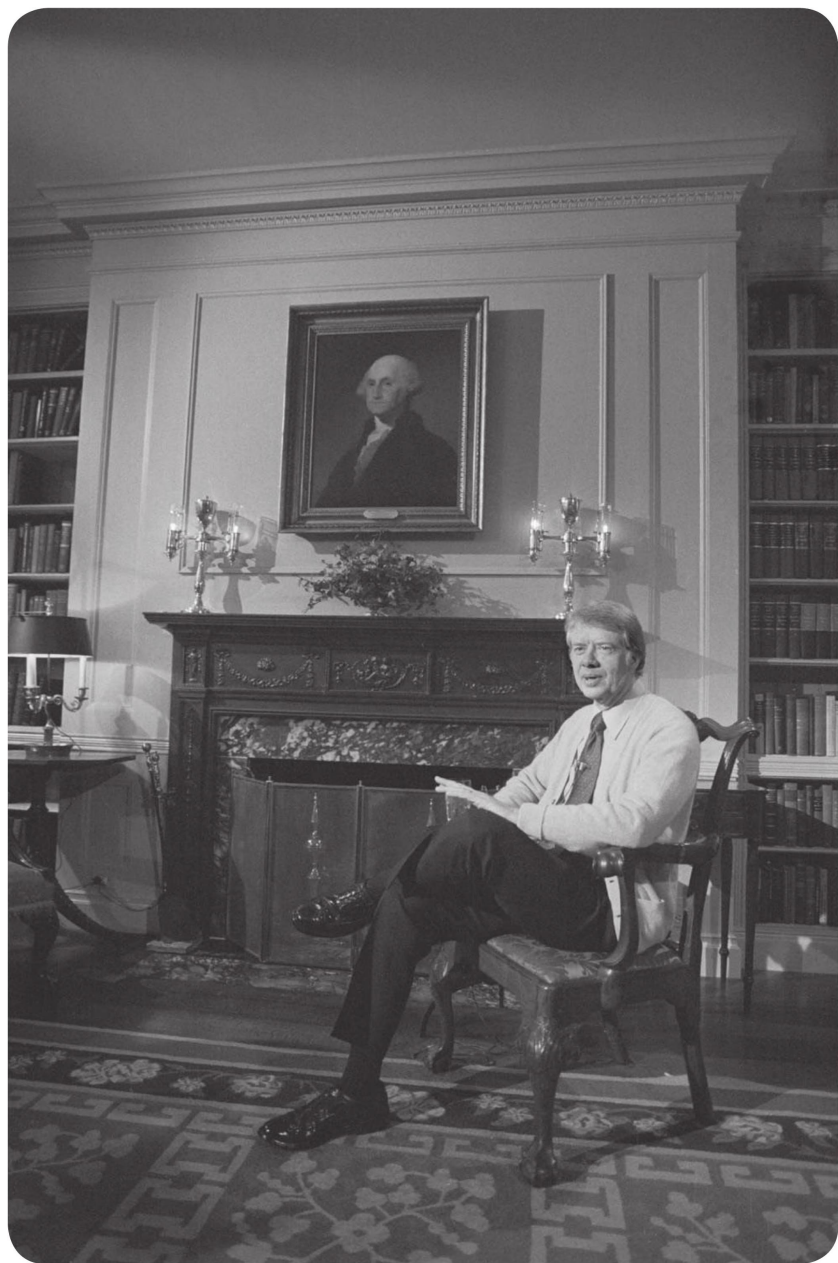
### THE TRIALS OF JIMMY CARTER

Like Ford, Jimmy Carter assumed the presidency at a moment when the nation faced problems of staggering complexity and difficulty. Carter had campaigned for the presidency as an "outsider," representing Americans suspicious of entrenched bureaucracies and complacent public officials. He surrounded himself in the White House with a Carter's Lack of Direction group of close-knit associates from Georgia.

### FROM THE "AGE OF LIMITS" TO THE AGE OF REAGAN

839 Carter was exceptionally intelligent, but his critics charged that he provided no overall vision or direction to his government. His ambitious legislative agenda included major reforms of the tax and welfare systems; Congress passed virtually none of it. Carter devoted much of his time to the problems of energy and the economy. Entering office in the midst of a recession, he moved first to reduce unemployment by raising public spending and cutting federal taxes. Unemployment declined, but inflation soared—largely because of the continuing increases in energy prices imposed on the West by OPEC. During Carter's High Interest ^ast

two Years office, oil prices rose at well Rates over a 10 percent annual rate. Like Nixon and Ford before him. Carter responded with a combination of tight money and calls for voluntary restraint. By 1980, interest rates had risen to the highest levels in American history; at times, they exceeded 20 percent. CARTER IN THE WHITE HOUSE Jimmy Carter made a strenuous effort to bring a sense of informality to the presidency, in contrast to the "imperial" style many people had complained about during the Nixon years. He began on his inauguration day, when he and his family walked down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House instead of riding in the traditional limousines. Here, Carter sits in a room in the White House preparing for a television address. He is sitting in front of a fire wearing a cardigan sweater, with his notes in his lap rather than on a desk. (© Bettmann/Corbis)





## 840 CHAPTER 31 SIGNING THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

Jimmy Carter experienced many frustrations during his presidency, but his successful efforts in 1978 to negotiate a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was his finest hour. Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin join Carter here in the East Room of the White House in March 1979 to sign the accords. (© D.B. Owen/Black Star) In the summer of 1979, instability in the Middle East produced a second major fuel shortage in the United States. OPEC announced another major price increase. Faced with increasing pressure to act (and with a dismal approval rating of 26 percent), Carter retreated to Camp David, the presidential retreat in the Maryland mountains. Ten days later, he emerged to deliver a remarkable television address. It included a series of proposals for resolving the energy crisis. But it was most notable for Carter's bleak assessment of the national condition. Speaking with unusual fervor, he complained of a "crisis of confidence" that had struck "at the very heart and soul of our national will." The address became known as the "malaise" speech (although Carter himself had never used that word), and it helped fuel charges that the president was trying to blame his inability to deal with the nation's problems on the American people. Human Rights and National Interests Among Carter's most frequent campaign promises was a pledge to build a new basis for American foreign policy, one in which the defense of "human rights" would replace the pursuit of "selfish interests." Carter spoke out sharply and often about violations of human rights in many countries (including, most prominently, the Soviet Union). Beyond that general commitment, the Carter administration focused on several more traditional concerns. Carter completed negotiations begun several years earlier on a pair of treaties to turn over control of the Panama Canal to the government of Panama. After an acrimonious debate, the Senate ratified the treaties by 68 to 32, only one vote more than the necessary two-thirds majority. Carter's greatest achievement was his success in arranging a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Middle East negotiations between Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin had begun in 1977. When those talks stalled, Carter invited Sadat and Begin to a summit conference at Camp David in September 1978, and persuaded them to remain there for two weeks while he

and others helped Camp David mediate the disputes between them. On September 17, Carter announced agreement on a framework for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. On March 26, 1979, Begin and Sadat returned together to the White House to sign a formal peace treaty-known as the Camp David accords-between their two nations. In the meantime, Carter tried to improve relations with China and the Soviet Union and to complete a new arms agreement. He responded eagerly to the overtures of Deng Xiaoping, the new Chinese leader who was attempting to open his nation to the outside world. On December 15, 1978, Washington and Beijing announced the resumption of formal diplomatic relations. A few months later, Carter traveled to Vienna to meet with the aging Brezhnev to finish drafting the new SALT II arms control agreement. The treaty set limits on the number of long-range missiles, bombers, and nuclear warheads for both the United States and the USSR. Almost immediately, however, SALT II met with fierce conservative opposition in the United States. The Year of the Hostages Ever since the early 1950s, the United States had provided political support and military assistance to the government of the shah of Iran, hoping to make his nation a bulwark against Soviet expansion in the Middle East. By 1979, however, many Iranians had come to resent his autocratic rule. At the Iranian Revolution same time, Islamic clerics (and much of the fiercely religious populace) opposed his efforts to modernize and Westernize a fundamentalist society. That produced a powerful revolutionary movement. In January 1979, the shah fled the country.



## FROM THE "AGE OF LIMITS" TO THE AGE OF REAGAN

841 WAITING FOR KHOMEINI Iranian women, dressed in traditional Islamic garb, stand in a crowd in Teheran waiting for a glimpse of the Ayatollah Khomeini, the spiritual and eventually also political leader of the Iranian Revolution. (© Alain Dejean/Sygma/Corbis) The United States made cautious efforts in the first months after the shah's abdication to establish cordial relations with the militant regimes that followed. By late 1979, however, revolutionary chaos in Iran was making any normal relations impossible. What power there was resided with a zealous religious leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. In late October 1979, the deposed shah arrived in New York to be treated for cancer. Days later, on November 4, an armed group of militants invaded the American embassy in Teheran, seized the diplomats and military personnel inside, and demanded the return of the shah to Iran in exchange for their freedom. Fifty-three Americans remained hostages in the embassy for over a year. Only weeks after the hostage seizure, on December 27, 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, the mountainous Islamic nation lying between the USSR and Iran. The Soviet Union had in fact been a power in Afghanistan for years, and the dominant force since April 1978, when a coup had established a Marxist government there with close ties to the Kremlin. Carter called it the "gravest threat to world peace since World War II" and angrily imposed a series of economic sanctions on the Russians, canceled American participation in the 1980 summer Olympic Games in Moscow, and announced the withdrawal of SALT II from Senate consideration. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan became a military quagmire and seriously weakened the Soviet regime. The combination of domestic economic troubles and international crises created widespread anxiety, frustration, and anger in the United States, damaging President Carter's already low standing with the public and giving added strength to an alternative political force that had already made great strides. Carter's Falling Popularity

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii THE RISE OF THE  
NEW AMERICAN RIGHT I I II II II II II II II II II II I I III Much  
of the anxiety in the 1970s was a result of public events that left  
many men and women shaken and uncertain about their leaders  
and their government. But much of it was also a result of significant

changes in America's economy, society, and culture. Together these changes provided the right with its most important opportunity in generations to seize a position of authority in American life.



The modern mall is the direct descendant of an earlier retail innovation, the automobile-oriented shopping center, which strove to combine a number of different shops in a single structure, with parking for customers. The first modern shopping center, the Country Club Plaza, opened in Kansas City in 1924. By the mid-1950s, shopping centers—ranging from small "strips" to large integrated complexes—had proliferated throughout the country and were challenging traditional downtown shopping districts, which suffered from lack of parking and from the movement of middle-class residents to the suburbs. In 1956, the first enclosed, climate-controlled shopping mall—the Southdale Shopping Center—opened in Minneapolis, followed quickly by similar ventures in New York, New Jersey, Illinois, North Carolina, and Tennessee. As the malls spread, they grew larger and more elaborate. By the 1970s, vast "regional malls" were emerging—Tyson's Corner in Fairfax, Virginia; Roosevelt Field on Long Island; the Galleria in Houston, and many others—that drew customers from great distances and dazzled them not only with acres of varied retail space, but also with restaurants, movie theaters, skating rinks, bowling alleys, hotels, video arcades, and large public spaces with fountains, benches, trees, gardens, and concert spaces. "The more needs you fulfill, the longer people stay," one developer observed. Malls had become self-contained imitations of cities—but in a setting from which many of the troubling and abrasive features of downtowns had been eliminated. Malls were insulated from the elements. They were policed by private security forces, who (unlike real police) could and usually did keep "undesirable" customers off the premises. They were purged of bars, pornography shops, and unsavory businesses. They were off limits to beggars, vagrants, the homeless, and anyone else the managers considered unattractive to their customers. Malls set out to "perfect" urban space, recasting the city as a protected, controlled, and socially homogeneous site attractive to, and in many cases dominated by, white middle-class people. Some malls also sought to become community centers in sprawling suburban areas that had few real community spaces of their own. A few malls built explicitly civic spaces—meeting halls and conference

SHOPPING CENTER, NORTHERN VIRGINIA This small shopping center near Washington, D.C., was characteristic of the new "strip malls" that were emerging in the 1950s to serve

suburban customers who traveled almost entirely by automobile. (Photo by Charles Fenno Jacobs/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images) centers, where community groups could gather. Some published their own newspapers. Many staged concerts, plays, and dances. But civic activities had a difficult time competing with the principal attraction of the malls: consumption. Malls were designed with women, the principal consumers in most families, mainly in mind. "I wouldn't know how to design a center for a man," one architect said of the The Sunbelt and Its Politics The most widely discussed demographic phenomenon of the 1970s was the rise of what became known as the "Sunbelt" a term coined by the political analyst "Sunbelt" Kevin Phillips. The Sunbelt included the . Southeast (including Florida), the Southwest (particularly Texas), and above all, California, which became the nation's most populous state, surpassing New York, in 1964. By 1980, the population of the Sunbelt had risen to exceed that of the older industrial regions of the North and the East. The rise of the Sunbelt helped produce a change in the political climate. The strong populist traditions in the South and the West were capable of producing progressive politics. But more often in the late twentieth century, they produced a strong opposition to the growth of government and a resentment of the proliferating regulations and restrictions that the liberal state was producing. Many of those regulations and restrictions- environmental laws, land-use restrictions, even the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit created during the energy crisis to force motorists to conserve fuel-affected the West more than any other region. 842 Sagebrush Rebellion I III 1 1 III 1 1 III II II Mill II III II Mill HIM II III II Mill 1 1 III 1 1 Mill II The so-called Sagebrush Rebellion, which emerged in parts of the West in the late 1970s, mobilized conservative opposition to environmental laws and restrictions on development. It sought to portray the West (which had probably benefited more than any other region from federal investment) as a victim of government control. Its members complained about the large amounts of land the federal government owned in many western states and demanded that the land be opened for development. Some of the most conservative communities in America among them Orange County in southern California- were in 0 suburbs. Many suburbs insulated their res SUBURBAN . . r .11. Conservatism idents from contact with diverse groups. through the relative homogeneity of the population, through the transferring of

retail and even work space into suburban office parks and shopping malls. The Politics of Religion In the 1960s, many social critics had predicted the extinction of religious influence in American life. Time magazine had reported such assumptions in 1966 with a celebrated and controversial cover emblazoned with the question "Is God Dead?" IMMIMMIIMMIIMIIIIII



## UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE EARLY MALLS

In the 1960s most malls, such as Bullock's Fashion Square in Sherman Oaks, CA, were outdoor collections of stores focused largely on shopping. (© AP Images) TODAY'S MALLS Contemporary malls, such as the Grove shopping mall, in Los Angeles, CA, combine shopping with entertainment. By 2014 business in many malls began to decrease owing to online purchasing. (© SUNNYphotography. com/Alamy)

1. How did the shopping mall change suburban life?
2. Are malls a unifying influence on social life? In what ways are malls divisive?
3. Originally, malls were designed to cater largely to women, especially mothers. Has the target audience for malls changed? If so, to whom do malls principally cater today?

complexes he built. They catered to the concerns of mothers about their own and their children's safety, and they offered products of particular interest to them. (Male-oriented stores— men's clothing, sporting goods, hardware stores— were much less visible in most malls than shops marketing women's and children's clothing, jewelry, lingerie, and household goods.) Malls also became important to teenagers, who flocked to them in the way that earlier generations had flocked to street corners and squares in traditional downtowns. The malls were places for teenagers to meet friends, go to movies, avoid parents, hang out. They were places to buy records, clothes, or personal items. And they were places to work. Low-paying retail jobs, plentiful in malls, were typical first working experiences for many teens. The proliferation of malls has dismayed many people, who see in them a threat to the sense of community in America. By insulating people from the diversity and conflict of urban life, critics argue, malls divide groups from one another and erode the bonds that make it possible for those groups to understand one another. But malls, like the suburbs they usually serve, also create a kind of community. They are homogeneous and protected, to be sure, but they are also social gathering places in many areas where the alternative is not the rich, diverse life of the downtown but the even more isolated experience of shopping in distant strips— or through catalogs, telephone, and the Internet. • But religion in America was far from dead. Indeed, in the 1970s the United States experienced the beginning of a major religious revival, perhaps the most powerful since the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century.

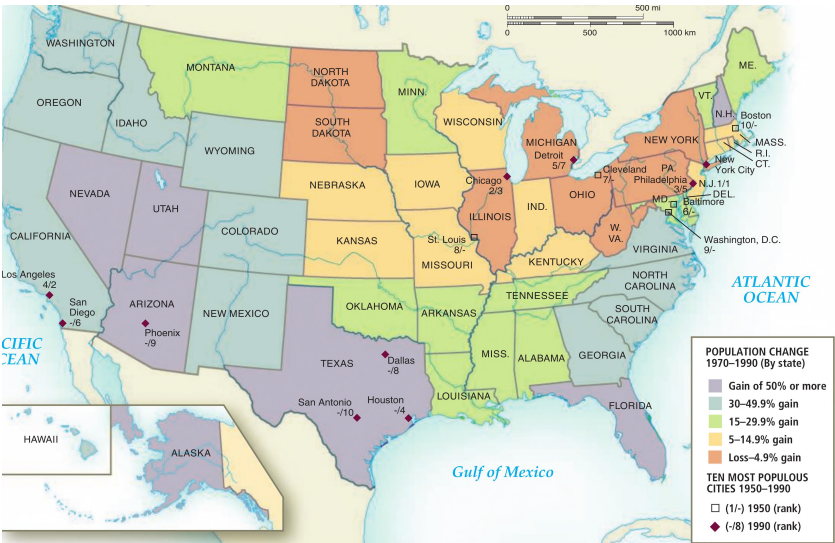
It continued in various forms into the early twenty-first century. Some of the new religious enthusiasm found expression in the rise of various cults and pseudo-faiths: the Church of Scientology; the Unification Church of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon; even the tragic People's Temple, whose members committed mass suicide in their Jungle retreat in Guyana in 1978. But the most important impulse of the religious revival was the growth of evangelical Christianity. Evangelicalism is the basis of many forms of Christian faith, but evangelicals have in „ common a belief in personal conversion Evangelical 5 . . . Christianity (being born again ) through direct com. munication with God. Evangelical religion had been the dominant form of Christianity in America through much of its history, and a substantial subculture since the late nineteenth century. In its modern form, it became increasingly visible during the early 1950s, when evangelicals such as Billy Graham and Pentecostals such as Oral Roberts began to attract huge national (and international) followings for their energetic revivalism. By the 1970s, more than 70 million Americans described themselves as "born-again" Christians-men and women who had established a "direct personal relationship with Jesus." Christian evangelicals owned their own newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television networks, and later Internetbased forms of communication. They operated their own schools and universities. For some evangelicals, Christianity formed the basis for a commitment to racial and economic Justice and to world peace. For many other evangelicals, the message of the new religion was very different-but no less political. They were alarmed by what they considered the spread of immorality and disorder in American life. They feared the growth of feminism and the threat they believed it posed to the traditional family. Particularly alarming to them were Supreme Court decisions eliminating religious observance from schools and, later, the decision guaranteeing women the right to an abortion. Despite the historic antagonism between many evangelical Protestants and the Catholic Church, the growing politicization of religion in the 1970s and beyond brought some former rivals together. Catholics were the first major opponents of the Supreme Court's decision legalizing abortion in Roe v. Wade , . 843 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

GROWTH OF THE SUNBELT, 1970-1990 One of the most important demographic changes of the last decades of the twentieth century was the shift of population out of traditional population centers in the Northeast and Midwest and toward the states of the so-called Sunbelt— most notably the Southwest and the Pacific Coast. This map gives a dramatic illustration of the changing concentration of population between 1970 and 1990. The orange/brown states are those that lost population, while the purple and blue states are those that made very significant gains (30 percent or more).

- What was the impact of this population shift on the politics of the 1980s?

but evangelical Protestants soon Joined them in the battle. The rapidly growing Mormon Church, long isolated from both Catholics and traditional Protestants, also became increasingly engaged with the political struggles of other faiths. Mormons were instrumental in the 1982 defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which would have guaranteed women the same rights as men. And they too supported the evangelical agenda of opposition to abortion and homosexuality. The "New Right" Conservative Christians were an important part, but only a part, of what became known as the "New Right"—a diverse but powerful coalition that enjoyed rapid growth in the 1970s and early 1980s. Its origins lay in part in the 1964 presidential election. After Republican senator Barry Goldwater's shattering defeat, Richard Viguerie, a conservative activist and organizer, took a list of 12,000 contributors to the Goldwater campaign and used it to begin a formidable conservative communications and fund-raising organization. Beginning in the 1970s, largely because of these and other organizational advances, conservatives usually found themselves better funded and organized than their opponents. By the late 1970s, there were right-wing think tanks, consulting firms, lobbyists, foundations, and schools. Another factor in the revival of the right was the emergence of a credible right-wing leadership to replace the defeated conservative hero, Barry Goldwater. Ronald Reagan Reagan, a well-known film actor turned . political activist, became the hope of the right. As a young man, he had been a liberal and a fervent admirer of Franklin Roosevelt. But he moved decisively to the right after his second marriage, to Nancy Davis, a woman of strong conservative convictions, and after he became embroiled, as president of the

Screen Actors Guild, in battles with communists in the union. In the early 1950s, Reagan became a corporate spokesman for General Electric and won a wide following on the right



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845 with powerful speeches in defense of individual freedom and private enterprise. In 1964, Reagan delivered a memorable television speech on behalf of Goldwater. After Goldwater's defeat, he worked quickly to seize the leadership of the conservative wing of the Republican Party. In 1966, with the support of a group of wealthy conservatives, Reagan won the first of two terms as governor of California. The presidency of Gerald Ford also played an important role in the rise of the right, by destroying the fragile equilibrium that had enabled the right wing and the moderate wing of the Republican Party to coexist. Ford touched on some of the right's rawest nerves. He appointed as vice president Nelson Rockefeller, the liberal Republican governor of New York and an heir to one of America's great fortunes. This appointment was offensive to many conservatives. Ford proposed an amnesty program for draft resisters, embraced and even extended the Nixon-Kissinger policies of detente, presided over the fall of Vietnam, and agreed to cede the Panama Canal to Panama. When Reagan challenged Ford in the 1976 Republican primaries, the president survived, barely, only by dropping Nelson Rockefeller from the ticket and agreeing to a platform largely written by one of Reagan's allies. The Tax Revolt Equally important to the success of the New Right was a new and potent conservative issue: the tax revolt. It had its public beginnings in 1978, when Howard Jarvis, a conservative activist in California, launched the first successful major citizens' Proposition tax revolt in California with Proposition 13, a referendum question on the state ballot . rolling back property tax rates. Similar antitax movements soon began in other states and eventually spread to national politics. The tax revolt helped the right solve one of its biggest problems. For more than thirty years after the New Deal, Republican conservatives had struggled to halt and even reverse the growth of the federal government. But attacking government programs directly, as right-wing politicians from Robert Taft to Barry Goldwater discovered, was not often the way to attract majority support. Every federal program had a political constituency. The biggest and most expensive programs—Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and others—had the broadest support. In Proposition 13 and similar initiatives, members of the right separated the issue of taxes from the issue of what taxes

Attacking supported. That helped them achieve some Taxes of r^e most controversial elements of the  
iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii conservative agenda  
(eroding the government's ability to expand and launch new programs) without openly antagonizing the millions of voters who supported specific programs. Virtually no one liked to pay taxes, and as the economy weakened, that resentment naturally rose. The right exploited that resentment and, in the process, greatly expanded its constituency. The Campaign of 1980 By the time of the crises in Iran and Afghanistan, Jimmy Carter was in political trouble-his standing in popularity polls lower than that of any president in history. Senator Edward Kennedy, younger brother of John and Robert Kennedy, challenged him in the primaries. And while Carter managed to withstand the confrontation with Kennedy and win his party's nomination, he entered the fall campaign badly weakened. The Republican Party, in the meantime, rallied enthusiastically behind Ronald Reagan. He linked his campaign to the spreading tax revolt by promising substantial tax cuts. Equally important, he called for restoration of American "strength" and "pride." Reagan clearly benefited from the frustration at Carter's inability to resolve the Iranian hostage crisis. He benefited even more from the accumulated frustrations of more than a decade of domestic and international disappointments. On election day 1980, the one-year anniversary of the seizure of the hostages in Iran, Reagan swept to victory, winning 51 percent of the vote to 41 percent for Jimmy Carter, and 7 percent for John Anderson-a moderate Republican congressman from Illinois who had mounted an 1980 Election , , , . ^ , independent campaign. Carter carried only mi mi him in ii hi inn in him in inn mi him inn hi mi Ronald Reagan (Republican) Jimmy Carter (Democrat) John B. Anderson (Independent) Other candidates (Libertarian) 489 49 43,901,812 (50.7) 35,483,820 (41.0) 5,719,722 (6.6) 921,299 (1.1) 52.6% of electorate voting THE ELECTION OF 1980 Although Ronald Reagan won only slightly more than half of the popular vote in the 1980 presidential election, his electoral majority was overwhelming— a reflection to a large degree of the deep unpopularity of President Jimmy Carter in 1980. • What had made Carter so unpopular?

states and the District of Columbia, for a total of 49 electoral votes to Reagan's 489. The Republican Party won control of the Senate for the first time since 1952 (53 Republicans versus 46 Democrats), and the Democrats retained a majority in the House by 277 to 158. On the day of Reagan's inauguration, the American hostages in Iran were released after their 444-day ordeal. The government of Iran, desperate for funds to support its floundering war against neighboring Iraq, had ordered the hostages freed in return for a release of billions in Iranian assets that the Carter administration had frozen in American banks.

### THE "REAGAN REVOLUTION"

Ronald Reagan assumed the presidency in January 1981, promising a change in government more fundamental than any since the New Deal of fifty years before. He had only moderate success in redefining public policy. But he succeeded brilliantly in making his own engaging personality the face of American politics in the 1980s. The Reagan Coalition Reagan owed his election to the widespread disillusionment with Carter and to the crises and disappointments that many voters associated with him. But he owed it as well to the emergence of a powerful coalition of conservative groups. The Reagan coalition included an influential group of wealthy Americans associated with the corporate and financial world. What united this group was their firm commitment to capitalism and unfettered economic growth; a belief that the market offers the best solutions to most problems; a deep hostility to most government interference in markets. Central to this group's agenda in the 1980s was opposition to what it considered the "redistributive" politics of the federal government (especially its highly progressive tax structure) and hostility to the rise of what it believed were "antibusiness" government regulations. Reagan courted these free-market conservatives carefully and effectively. A second element of the Reagan coalition was even smaller, but also disproportionately influential: a group of intellectuals commonly known as "neo-conservatives," a firm base among "Neo- "opinion leaders." Some of these people conservatives" had once been liberals and, before that,

socialists. But during the turmoil of the 1960s, they had become alarmed by what they

considered to be the dangerous and destructive radicalism that they believed was destabilizing American life. Neo-conservatives were sympathetic to the demands of capitalists, but their principal concern was to reaffirm Western democratic, anticommunist values and commitments. Some neo-conservative intellectuals went on to become important figures in the battle against multiculturalism and "political correctness" within academia. These two groups joined in an uneasy alliance in 1980 with the populist New Right. But several things differentiated the New „ Right from the corporate conservatives and Populist \_ & ^ , Conservatives neo'conservatives. Perhaps the most . important was the New Right's fundamental distrust of the "eastern establishment": a suspicion of its motives and goals; a sense that it exercised a dangerous, secret power in American life; a fear of the hidden influence of such establishment institutions and people as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, Henry Kissinger, and the Rockefellers. These populist conservatives expressed the kinds of concerns that outsiders, non-elites, have traditionally voiced in American society: an opposition to centralized power and influence, a fear of living in a world where distant, hostile forces are controlling society and threatening individual freedom and community autonomy. It was a testament to Ronald Reagan's political skills and personal charm that he was able to generate enthusiastic support from these populist conservatives while appealing to elite conservative groups whose concerns were in some ways antithetical to those of the New Right. Reagan in the White House Even many people who disagreed with Reagan's policies found themselves drawn to his attractive and carefully honed public image. Reagan was a master of television, a gifted public speaker, and-in public at least-rugged, fearless, and seemingly impervious to danger or misfortune. He turned seventy weeks after taking office and was the oldest man ever to serve as U.S. president. But through most of his presidency, he appeared to be vigorous, resilient, even youthful. He spent his many vacations on a California ranch, where he chopped wood and rode horses. When he was wounded in an assassination attempt in 1981, he joked with doctors on his way into surgery and appeared to bounce back from the ordeal with remarkable speed. Reagan was not much involved in the day-to-day affairs of running the government; he surrounded himself with tough, energetic administrators who insulated him from many of the pressures of the office. At times, the



president revealed a startling ignorance about the nature of his own policies. Instead, he used the actions of his subordinates. But Reagan made active use of his office to support his administration's programs by fusing his proposals with a highly nationalistic rhetoric. "Supply-Side" Economics Reagan's 1980 campaign for the presidency had promised to restore the economy to health by a bold experiment that "Reaganomics" became known as "supply-side" economics . or, to some, "Reaganomics." Supply-side economics operated from the assumption that the woes of the American economy were in large part a result of excessive taxation, which left inadequate capital available to investors to stimulate growth. The solution, therefore, was to reduce taxes, with particularly generous benefits to corporations and wealthy individuals, in order to encourage new investments. Because a

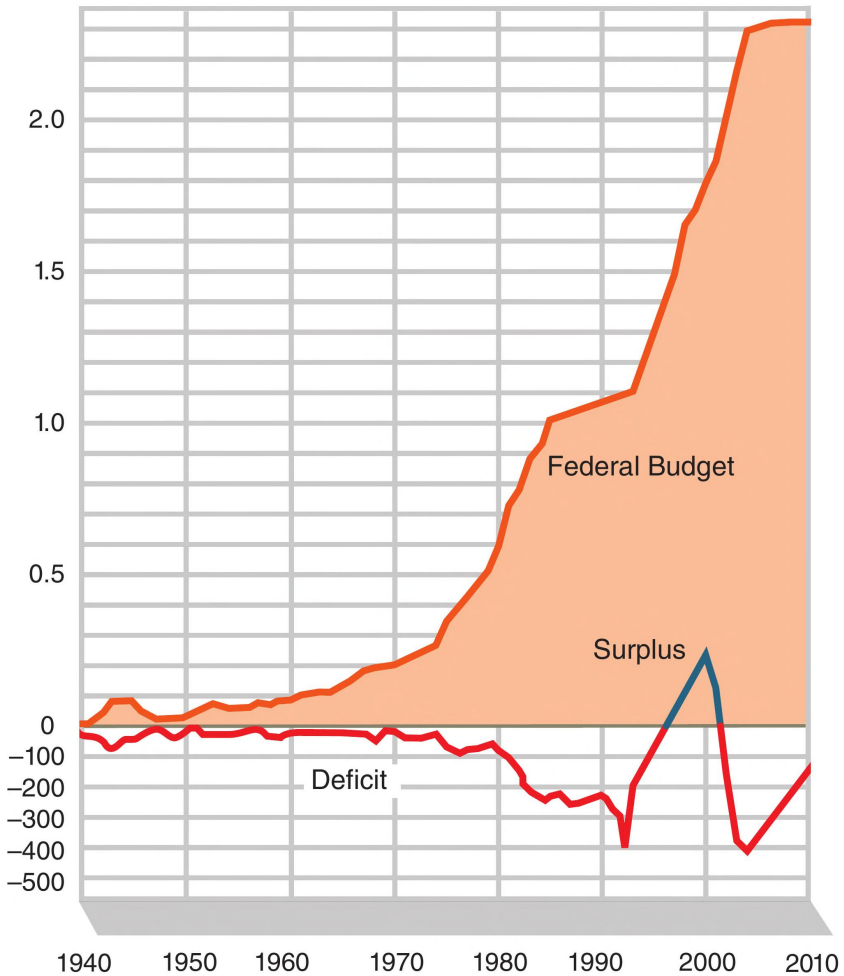
## FROM THE "AGE OF LIMITS" TO THE AGE OF REAGAN

847 Federal Budget and Surplus/Deficit, 1940-2010 Gross National Product, 1940-2010 (in trillions of current dollars) 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010

Budget and Surplus/Deficit as Percent of GNP, 1940-2010 tax cut would reduce government revenues (at least at first), it would also be necessary to reduce government expenses. A goal of the Reagan economic program was a significant reduction of the federal budget. Men and women whom Reagan appointed fanned out through the executive branch of government, reducing the role Deregulation of Sovemment- Secretary of the Interior . James Watt, previously a major figure in the Sagebrush Rebellion, opened up public lands and water to development. The Environmental Protection Agency (before its directors were indicted for corruption) relaxed or entirely eliminated enforcement of many environmental laws and regulations. The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department eased enforcement of civil rights laws. The Department of Transportation slowed implementation of new rules limiting automobile emissions and imposing new safety standards on cars and trucks. By getting government "out of the way," Reagan officials promised, they were ensuring economic revival. By early 1982, the nation had sunk into a severe recession. Unemployment reached 11 percent, its highest level in over forty years. But the economy recovered relatively rapidly. By late 1983, unemployment had fallen to 8.2 percent, and it declined steadily for several years after that. The gross national product had grown 3.6 percent in a year, the largest one-year increase since the mid-1970s. Inflation had fallen below 5 percent. The economy continued to grow, and both inflation and unemployment remained low through most of the decade. The Fiscal Crisis The economic revival did little at first to reduce federal budget deficits or to slow the growth in the national debt (the debt the nation accumulates over time as a result of its annual Soaring deficits). By the mid-1980s, the sense of a National Debt growing fiscal crisis had become one of the . central issues in American politics. Having entered office promising a balanced budget within four years, Reagan had record budget deficits and accumulated more debt in his eight years in office than the American government had accumulated in its entire previous history. The enormous deficits had many causes, some of them

stretching back over decades of American public policy decisions. In particular, the budget suffered from enormous increases Welfare Benefits Cut FEDERAL BUDGET SURPLUS/DEFICIT, 1940-2010 These charts help illustrate why the pattern of federal deficits seemed so alarming to Americans in the 1980s, and also why those deficits proved much less damaging to the economy than many economists had predicted. The upper chart shows a dramatic increase in the federal budget from the mid-1960s on. It shows as well a corresponding, and also dramatic, increase in the size of federal deficits. Gross national product (GNP) also increased dramatically, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, as the middle chart shows. When the federal budgets and deficits of these years, shown in the bottom chart, are calculated not in absolute numbers, but as a percentage of GNP, they seem much more stable and much less alarming. After 2000, these deficits rose significantly and became a much larger percentage of GNP. • What factors contributed to the increasing deficits of the 1980s? How were those deficits eliminated in the 1990s?

(in trillions of current dollars)



The American poverty rate declined sharply beginning in the 1950s and reached a historic low in the late 1970s. But the dramatic increase in income and wealth inequality that began in the mid-1970s gradually pushed the poverty rate upward again. By the mid-1980s, the poverty rate was approaching 15 percent, the highest in twenty years. In the image above, a group of children huddle against a barrier at an emergency center for homeless families in New York City in 1987. (© Richard Falco/BlackStar) in the costs of "entitlement" programs (especially Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid), a result of the aging of the population and dramatic increases in the cost of health care. But some of the causes of the deficit lay in the policies of the Reagan administration. The 1981 tax cuts, the largest in American history to that point, contributed to the deficit. The massive increase in military spending by the Reagan administration added much more to the federal budget than its cuts in domestic spending removed. Reagan and the World Reagan encountered a similar combination of triumphs and difficulties in international affairs. Determined to restore American pride and prestige in the world, he argued that the United States should once again become active and assertive in opposing communism and in supporting friendly governments whatever their internal policies. Relations with the Soviet Union, which had been steadily deteriorating in the last years of the Carter administration, grew still more chilly in the first years of the Reagan presidency. The president spoke harshly of the Soviet regime (which he once called the "evil empire"), accusing it of sponsoring world terrorism and declaring that any armaments negotiations must be linked to negotiations on Soviet behavior in other areas. Although the president had long denounced the SALT II arms control treaty as unfavorable to the United States, he continued to honor its provisions. But Reagan remained skeptical about arms control. In fact, the president proposed the most ambitious new military program in many years: the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), known to some as "Star Wars." Reagan claimed that SDI, through lasers and satellites, could provide an effective shield against incoming missiles and thus make nuclear war obsolete. The Soviet Union claimed that the new program would elevate the arms race to new and more dangerous levels and insisted that any arms

control agreement begin with an American abandonment of SDI. The escalation of Cold War tensions and the slowing of arms control initiatives helped produce an important popular movement in Europe and the United States in the 1980s calling for an end to nuclear weapons buildups. In America, the principal goal



## FROM THE "AGE OF LIMITS" TO THE AGE OF REAGAN

849 CONTRAS ON PATROL The Reagan administration's support for the Nicaraguan "contras," who opposed the leftist Sandinista regime, was the source of some of its greatest problems. Here, a small band of contras pause in the Nicaraguan jungle to catch their breath. The machine gunner carries an M-60 American weapon. (© Steven Clevenger/Corbis) of the movement was a "nuclear freeze," an agreement between the two superpowers not to expand their atomic arsenals. The Reagan administration supported opponents of communism anywhere in the world, whether or not they had any Reagan direct connection to the Soviet Union. This Doctrine new Policy became known as the Reagan Doctrine, and it meant a new American activism in the Third World. In October 1982, the administration sent American soldiers and marines into the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada to oust an anti-American Marxist regime that showed signs of a relationship with Moscow. In Nicaragua, a pro-American dictatorship had fallen to the revolutionary "Sandinistas" in 1979; the new government had grown increasingly anti-American (and increasingly Marxist) throughout the early 1980s. The Reagan administration supported the so-called contras, a guerrilla movement drawn from several antigovernment groups and trying to topple the Sandinista regime. In June 1982, the Israeli army launched an invasion of Lebanon in an effort to drive guerrillas of the Palestinian Liberation Organization from the country. An American peacekeeping force entered Beirut to supervise the evacuation of PLO forces from Lebanon. American marines then remained in the city to protect the fragile Lebanese government. As a result, Americans became the targets in 1983 of a terrorist bombing of a U.S. military barracks in Beirut that left 241 marines dead. Rather than become more deeply involved in the Lebanese struggle, Reagan withdrew American forces. The tragedy in Lebanon was an example of the changing character of Third World struggles: an increasing reliance on terrorism by otherwise powerless groups to advance their political aims. A series of terrorist acts in the 1980s—attacks on Terrorism airplanes, cruise ships, commercial and diplomatic posts; the seizing of American and other Western hostages—alarmed and frightened much of the Western world. The Election of 1984 Reagan approached the campaign of 1984 at the head of a united

Republican Party firmly committed to his candidacy. The Democrats followed a more fractious course. Former vice president Walter Mondale, the early front-runner, fought off challenges from Senator Gary Hart of Colorado and the magnetic Jesse Jackson, who had established himself as the nation's most prominent spokesman for minorities and the poor. Mondale brought excitement to the Democratic campaign by selecting a woman. Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York, to be his running mate and the first female candidate to appear on a national ticket. In the campaign that fall, Reagan spoke of what he claimed was the remarkable revival of American fortunes and spirits under his leadership. His campaign emphasized such phrases as "It's Morning in America" and "America Is Back." Reagan's victory in 1984 was decisive. He won approximately 59 percent of the vote and carried every state but Mondale's native Minnesota and the District of Columbia. But Reagan was stronger than his party. Democrats gained a seat in the Senate and maintained only slightly reduced control of the House of Representatives.







850 CHAPTER 31 53.3% of electorate voting THE ELECTION OF 1984 In 1984, Ronald Reagan repeated (and slightly expanded) his electoral landslide of 1980 and added to it the popular landslide that had eluded him four years earlier. As this map shows, Mondale succeeded in carrying only his home state of Minnesota and the staunchly Democratic District of Columbia. • What were some of the factors that made Reagan so popular in 1984? AMERICA AND THE WANING OF THE COLD WAR Many factors contributed to the collapse of the Soviet empire. The long, stalemated war in Afghanistan proved at least as disastrous to the Soviet Union as the Vietnam War had been to America. The government in Moscow had failed to address a long-term economic decline in the Soviet republics and the Eastern-bloc nations. Restiveness with the heavy-handed policies of communist police states was growing throughout much of the Soviet empire. But the most visible factor at the time was the emergence of Mikhail Gorbachev, who succeeded to the leadership of the Soviet Union in 1985 and, to the surprise of almost everyone, very quickly became the most revolutionary figure in world politics in several decades. The Fall of the Soviet Union rigid and unproductive Soviet economy by introducing such elements of capitalism as private ownership and the profit motive. The severe economic problems at home evidently convinced Gorbachev that the Soviet Union could no longer sustain its extended commitments around the world. As early as 1987, he began reducing Soviet influence in Eastern Europe. And in 1989, in the space of a few months, every communist state in Europe-Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany, Yugoslavia, and Albania-either overthrew its government or forced it to transform itself into a noncommunist (and, in some cases, actively anticommunist) regime. The challenges to communism were not successful everywhere. In May 1989, students in China launched a mass movement calling for greater democratization. But in June, hard-line leaders seized control of the government and sent military forces ^ to crush the uprising. The result was a Tiananmen Square bloody assault on June 3, 1989, in Tiananmen . Square in Beijing, in which a still-unknown number of demonstrators died. The assault crushed the democracy movement and restored the hard-liners to power. It did not, however, stop China's efforts to modernize and even Westernize its economy.

Early in 1990, the government of South Africa, long an international pariah for its rigid enforcement of "apartheid" (a system designed to protect white supremacy), began a cautious retreat from its traditional policies. It legalized the chief black party in the nation, the African National Congress (ANC), which had been banned for decades. On February 11, 1990, it released from prison the leader of the ANC, and a revered hero to black South Africans, Nelson Mandela. He had been in jail for twenty-seven years. Over the next several years, the South African government repealed its apartheid laws. And in 1994, after national elections in which all South Africans could participate, Nelson Mandela became the first black president of South Africa. In 1991, communism began to collapse at the site of its birth: the Soviet Union. An unsuccessful coup by hard-line Soviet leaders on August 19 precipitated a dramatic unraveling of Dissolution communist power. Within days, the coup of the USSR itself collapsed in the face of resistance from the public and, more important, crucial elements within the military. Mikhail Gorbachev returned to power, but it soon became evident that the legitimacy of both the Communist Party and the central Soviet government had been fatally injured. By the end of August, many of the republics of the Soviet Union had declared independence; the Soviet government was clearly powerless to stop the fragmentation. Gorbachev resigned as leader of the now virtually powerless Communist Party and Soviet government, and the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Gorbachev transformed Soviet politics with two dramatic new initiatives. The first he called glasnost (openness): the dismantling of many of the repressive mechanisms that JVLIKHAIL, J 1 Gorbachev ^acl been conspicuous features of Soviet life for over half a century. The other policy Gorbachev called perestroika (reform): an effort to restructure the Reagan and Gorbachev Reagan was skeptical when Gorbachev took power in 1985, but he gradually became convinced that the Soviet leader was sincere in his desire for reform. At a summit meeting with Reagan in Reykjavik, Iceland, in 1986, Gorbachev proposed



851 THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL The Berlin Wall is widely considered to have "fallen" on November 9, 1989. Starting on that date and in the days and weeks that followed, people used sledgehammers and picks to tear the wall down, often keeping the broken pieces as souvenirs of this symbolic conclusion of the Cold War. (© DIZ Miinchen GmbH/Alamy) reducing the nuclear arsenals of both sides by 50 percent or more, although continuing disputes over Reagan's commitment to the SDI program prevented agreements. But in 1988, after Reagan and Gorbachev exchanged cordial visits to each other's capitals, the two superpowers signed a treaty eliminating American and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) from Europe-the most significant arms control agreement of the nuclear age. At about the same time, Gorbachev ended the Soviet Union's long and frustrating military involvement in Afghanistan. The Fading of the Reagan Revolution For a time, the dramatic changes around the world and Reagan's personal popularity deflected attention from a series of political scandals. There were revelations of illegality, corruption, and Savings and ethical lapses in the Environmental Loan Crisis Protection Agency, the CIA, the Department . of Defense, the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. A more serious scandal emerged within the savings and loan industry, which the Reagan administration had helped deregulate in the early 1980s. But the most politically damaging scandal of the Reagan years came to light in November 1986, when the White House conceded that it had sold weapons to the revolutionary government of Iran as part of a largely unsuccessful effort to secure the release of several Americans being held hostage by radical Islamic groups in the Middle East. Even more damaging was the revelation that some of the money from the arms deal with Iran had been covertly and illegally funneled into a fund to aid the contras in Nicaragua. In the months that followed, aggressive reporting and congressional hearings exposed a widespread pattern of illegal covert activities orchestrated by the White House and dedicated to advancing the administration's foreign policy aims. The Iran-contra scandal, as it became Iran-Contra known, did serious damage to the Reagan Scandal

..... presidency. The

Election of 1988 The fraying of the Reagan administration helped the Democrats regain control of the U.S. Senate in 1986 and fueled hopes for a presidential victory in 1988. Even so, several of the most popular figures in the Democratic Party refused to run, and the nomination finally went to a previously little-known figure: Michael Dukakis, a three-term democratic governor of Massachusetts. Dukakis was a flat and somewhat dull campaigner. But Democrats were optimistic about their prospects in 1988, largely because their opponent, Vice President George H. W. Bush, had failed to spark public enthusiasm. Beginning at the Republican Convention, however, Bush staged a remarkable turnaround by making his campaign a long, relentless attack on Dukakis, tying him to all the unpopular social and cultural stances Americans had come to identify with "liberals." The campaign revealed the new political aggressiveness of the Republican right. Bush won a substantial victory in November: 54 percent of the popular vote to Dukakis's 46 percent, and 426 electoral votes to Dukakis's 112. But the Democrats retained secure majorities in both houses of Congress.

The First Bush Presidency The broad popularity George H. W. Bush enjoyed during his first three years in office was partly a result of his subdued, unthreatening public image. But it was primarily because of



852 CHAPTER 31 Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular  
Vote (%) George H. W. Bush (Republican) Michael Dukakis  
(Democrat) 426 112 47,946,422 (54.0) 41,016,429 (46.0) 50% of  
electorate voting THE ELECTION OF 1988 Democrats had high  
hopes going into the election of 1988, but Vice President George  
Bush won a decisive victory over Michael Dukakis, who did only  
slightly better than Walter Mondale had done four years earlier. •  
What made it so difficult for a Democrat to challenge the  
Republicans in 1988 after eight years of a Republican  
administration? the wonder and excitement with which Americans  
viewed the dramatic events in the rest of the world. Bush moved  
cautiously at first in dealing with the changes in the Soviet Union.  
But like Reagan, he eventually cooperated with Gorbachev and  
reached a series of significant agreements with the Soviet Union in  
its waning years. The United States and the Soviet Union moved  
rapidly toward even more far-reaching arms reduction agreements.  
On domestic issues, the Bush administration was less successful. His  
administration inherited a heavy burden of debt Political and a  
federal deficit that had been growing Gridlock for nearly a decade.  
The president's pledges . to reduce the deficit and simultaneously to  
promise "no new taxes" were in conflict with one another. Bush  
faced a Democratic Congress with an agenda very different from his  
own. The Congress and the White House managed on occasion to  
agree on significant measures. They cooperated in producing the  
plan to salvage the floundering savings and loan industry. In 1990,  
the president bowed to congressional pressure and agreed to a  
significant tax increase as part of a multiyear "budget package"  
designed to reduce the deficit-thus violating his own 1988  
campaign pledge. But the most serious domestic problem facing the  
Bush administration was one for which neither the president nor  
Congress had any answer: a recession that began late in 1990 THE  
BUSH CAMPAIGN, 1988 Vice President George Bush had never  
been an effective campaigner, but in 1988 he revived his candidacy  
with an unabashed attack on his opponent's values and patriotism.  
Bush missed no chance to surround himself with patriotic symbols,  
including this red, white, and blue hot-air balloon in Kentucky.  
(Photo by Cynthia Johnson/© Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)  
1990 and slowly Increased its grip on the national Recession  
economy in 1991 and 1992. Because of the

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii J enormous level of debt that corporations (and individuals) had accumulated in the 1980s, the recession caused an unusual number of bankruptcies. It also increased fear and frustration among middle- and working-class Americans and put pressure on the government to address such problems as the rising cost of health care. The First Gulf War The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989-1991 had left the United States in the unanticipated position of being the only real superpower in the world. One result was that the United States would reduce its military strength and concentrate its energies and resources on pressing domestic problems. Another was that America would continue to use its power actively, not to fight communism but to defend its regional





FROM THE "AGE OF LIMITS" TO THE AGE OF REAGAN

853 4 BURNING OIL FIELDS With the advance of Coalition forces into Kuwait, the retreating Iraqi military set fire to hundreds of oil wells and other oil-related resources to punish Kuwaiti overproduction and to create smoke screens to block "smart weapons" (guided bombs) and satellites. (© Peter Turnley/Corbis) and economic interests. In 1989, that led the administration to order an invasion of Panama, which overthrew the unpopular military leader Manuel Noriega (under indictment in the United States for drug trafficking) and replaced him with an elected, pro-American regime. On August 2, 1990, the armed forces of Iraq invaded and Invasion of quickly overwhelmed their small, oil-rich Kuwait neighbor, the emirate of Kuwait. Saddam . Hussein, the militaristic leader of Iraq, soon announced that he was annexing Kuwait and set out to entrench his forces there. After some initial indecision, the Bush administration agreed to lead other nations in a campaign to force Iraq out of Kuwait-through the pressure of economic sanctions if possible, through military force if necessary. Within a few weeks. Bush had persuaded virtually every important government in the world, including the Soviet Union and almost all the Arab and Islamic states, to Join in a United Nations-sanctioned trade embargo of Iraq. At the same time, the United States and its allies (including the British, French, Egyptians, and Saudis) began deploying a large military force along the border between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, a force that ultimately reached 690,000 troops (425,000 of them American). On November 29, the United Nations, at the request of the United States, voted to authorize military action to expel Iraq from Kuwait if Iraq did not leave by January 15, 1991. On January 12, both houses of Congress voted to authorize the use of force against Iraq. And on January 16, American and allied air forces began a massive bombardment of Iraqi forces in Kuwait and of military and industrial installations in Iraq itself. The allied bombing continued for six weeks. On February 23, allied (primarily American) forces under the command of General Norman Schwarzkopf began a major ground offensive-not primarily against the heavily entrenched Iraqi forces along the Kuwait border, as expected, but to the north of them into Iraq itself. The allied armies encountered almost no resistance and suffered relatively few casualties (141 fatalities). Estimates of Iraqi deaths in

the war were 100,000 or more. On February 28, Iraq announced its acceptance of allied terms for a cease-fire, and the brief Persian Gulf War came to an end. The quick and (for America) relatively painless victory over Iraq was highly popular in the United States. But the tyrannical regime of Saddam Hussein survived, weakened but still ruthless. The Gulf War preserved an independent nation and kept an important source of oil from falling into the hands of Iraq. But many Muslims, watching Americans attacking their fellow religionists, became incensed by the U.S. presence in the region. The most conservative and militant Muslims were insulted by the presence of women in the United Nations forces. But even more-moderate Middle East Muslims began to believe that America was a threat to their world. Even before the Gulf War, Middle Eastern terrorists had been targeting Americans in the region. Their determination to threaten America grew significantly in its aftermath. The Election of 1992 President Bush's popularity reached a record high in the immediate aftermath of the Gulf War. But the glow of that victory faded quickly as the recession worsened in late 1991, and as the administration declined to propose any policies for combating it. Because the early maneuvering for the 1992 presidential election occurred when President Bush's popularity remained high, many leading Democrats declined to run. That gave



In the 1992 election, for the first time since 1976, a Democrat captured the White House. And although the third-party candidacy of Ross Perot deprived Bill Clinton of an absolute majority, he nevertheless defeated George Bush by a decisive margin in both the popular and electoral vote. • What factors had eroded President Bush's once-broad popularity by 1992? What explained the strong showing of Ross Perot? Candidate (Party) Bill Clinton (Democratic) George H. W. Bush (Republican) Ross Perot (Independent) Other candidates 55.2% of electorate voting Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%) 370 168 0 44,909,889 (43.0) 39,104,545 (37.5) 19,742,267 (18.9) 669,958 (0.6) Bill Clinton Bill Clinton, the young five-term governor of Arkansas, an opportunity to emerge early as the front-runner. He went on to run a skillful campaign. Complicating the campaign was the emergence of Ross Perot, a blunt, forthright Texas billionaire who became an independent candidate by tapping popular resentment of the federal bureaucracy and by promising tough, uncompromising leadership to deal with the fiscal crisis. At several moments in the spring, Perot led both Bush and Clinton in public opinion polls. In July, as Perot began to face hostile scrutiny from the media, he abruptly withdrew from the race. But early in October, he reentered and soon regained much (although never all) of his early support. Clinton won a clear, but hardly overwhelming, victory over Bush and Perot. He received 43 percent of the vote in the three-way race, to the president's 38 percent and Perot's 19 percent (the best showing for a third-party or independent candidate since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912). Clinton won 370 electoral votes to Bush's 168; Perot won none. Democrats retained control of both houses of Congress. LOOKING BACK

America in the late 1970s and 1980s was, by the standards of its own recent history, an unusually troubled nation: numbed by the Watergate scandals, the fall of Vietnam, and perhaps most of all, the nation's increasing economic difficulties. The difficult presidencies of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter provided little relief from these accumulating problems and anxieties. Indeed, in the last year of the Carter presidency, the nation's prospects seemed particularly grim

in light of severe economic problems, a traumatic seizure of American hostages in Iran, and a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Reagan's first term was a dramatic contrast to the troubled presidencies that had preceded it. He won substantial victories in Congress (cutting taxes, reducing spending on domestic programs, building up the military). Perhaps equally important, he made his own engaging personality one of the central political forces in national life. Easily reelected in 1984, he seemed to have solidified the conservative grip on national political life. In his second term, a series of scandals and misadventures-and the president's own declining energy-limited the administration's effectiveness. Nevertheless, Reagan's personal popularity remained high, and the economy continued to prosper-factors that helped his vice president, George H. W. Bush, to succeed him in 1989.

Bush's presidency was defined not by domestic initiatives, as Reagan's had been, but by international affairs. The perception of Bush's disengagement with the nation's growing economic problems contributed to his defeat in 1992. But a colossal historic event overshadowed domestic concerns during much of Bush's term in office: the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of communist regimes all over Europe and in other parts of the world. The United States was to some degree a dazzled observer of this process. But the end of the Cold War also propelled the United States into the possession of unchallenged global preeminence-and drew it increasingly into the role of international arbiter and peacemaker. The Gulf War of 1991 was only the most dramatic example of the new global role the United States would now increasingly assume.

Key Terms/People/Places/Events Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini 841 Bill Clinton 854 Camp David accords 840 George H. W. Bush 851 Gerald Ford 838 Glasnost 850 Iran-contra scandal 851 Jimmy Carter 839 Mikhail Gorbachev 850 Neo-conservatives 846 New Right 844 Perestroika 850 Reagan doctrine 849 Reaganomics 846 Ronald Reagan 838 Ross Perot 854 Saddam Hussein 853 Sagebrush Rebellion 842 Sunbelt 842 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) 848 Tiananmen Square 850

RECALL AND REFLECT 1. Did the Ford and Carter presidencies fail to repair the damage done to the reputation of the presidency by the Watergate scandal and Nixon's resignation? If so, why? 2. Why did the American electorate become increasingly conservative during the 1970s and 1980s? What are some examples that testify to this increasing conservatism? 3. What groups constituted the Reagan coalition? What shared beliefs united the diverse groups that comprised this coalition? 4. What philosophy guided foreign policy under Reagan? How did the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev alter Reagan's foreign policy toward the Soviet Union?

FROM THE "AGE OF LIMITS" TO THE AGE OF REAGAN 855

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS 1974 "Stagflation" (recession and inflation together) begins Ford pardons Nixon 1977 Panama Canal treaties signed 1979 American diplomats taken hostage in Iran Soviet Union invades Afghanistan 1981 American hostages in Iran released Reagan wins major tax and budget cuts 1984 Reagan defeats Walter Mondale in presidential election 1986 Iran-contra scandal revealed 1989 Berlin Wall dismantled and Germany reunifies Eastern European states overthrow communist regimes China suppresses

student uprisings with massacre in Tiananmen Square, Beijing 1991  
Soviet Union dissolves after failed coup attempt U.S. leads  
multinational force in Gulf War against Iraq 1976 Jimmy Carter  
elected president Mao Zedong dies 1978 Camp David accords  
signed U.S. and China restore diplomatic relations 1980 Ronald  
Reagan elected president U.S. boycotts Moscow Olympics 1982 U.S.  
Marines killed in terrorist attack in Beirut Severe recession begins  
1985 Mikhail Gorbachev becomes leader of Soviet Union 1988  
George H. W. Bush defeats Michael Dukakis in presidential election  
1990 Iraq invades Kuwait 1992 Clinton defeats Bush in presidential  
election

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SETTING THE STAGE AT 8:45 A.M. ON THE BRIGHT, sunny morning of September 11, 2001, as tens of thousands of workers were beginning a day's work in lower Manhattan, a commercial airliner crashed into the side of one of the two towers of the World Trade Center, the tallest buildings in New York. The collision created a huge explosion and an intense fire. Less than half an hour later, as thousands of workers fled the burning building, a commercial airliner crashed into the companion tower, creating a second fireball. Within an hour after that, the burning floors of both towers gave way and fell onto the floors below them, pulling one of New York's (and America's) most famous symbols to the ground. At about the same time, in Washington, D.C., another commercial airliner crashed into a side of the Pentagon— the headquarters of the nation's military— turning part of the building's facade into rubble. And several hundred miles away, still another airplane crashed in a field not far from Pittsburgh. These four almost simultaneous catastrophes caused the deaths of nearly 3,000 people. The attacks of September 11, 2001, seemed to many Americans at the time to change everything— to alter fundamentally how they thought about the world and to change decisively the way Americans would have to live. In fact, most aspects of life in the United States quickly returned to their normal patterns. And in many ways, September 11, rather than being an aberration in American life, was an example of one of the most important realities of the age. The United States, more than at any other time in its history, was becoming deeply entwined in a new age of globalism— an age that combined great promise with great peril. A RESURGENCE OF PARTISANSHIP

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||||| Bill Clinton took the oath of office in January 1993 with a domestic agenda more ambitious than that of any other president in nearly thirty years. But having won the votes of well under half the electorate, he had no powerful mandate. The Republican leadership in Congress was highly adversarial and opposed the president with unusual unanimity on many issues. A William tendency toward reckless personal behavior, both before and during his presiJefferson dency, caused Clinton

Launching the Clinton Presidency The Clinton administration encountered many missteps and misfortunes in its first months. Several of his early appointments became so controversial, he had to withdraw them. Despite its many problems, the Clinton administration could boast of some major achievements in its first year. The president narrowly won approval of a budget that marked a significant turn away from the policies of the Reagan-Bush years. It included a substantial tax increase on the wealthiest Americans, a large reduction in many areas of government spending, and a major expansion of tax credits to low-income working people. Clinton was a committed advocate of free trade and a proponent of many aspects of what came to be known as globalism. He made that clear through his strong support of a series of new and controversial free-trade agreements. After a long and difficult battle, he won approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (or NAFTA), which eliminated most trade barriers among the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Later he won approval of other far-reaching trade agreements negotiated in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (or GATT). The president's most ambitious initiative was a major reform of the nation's health-care system. Early in 1993, he appointed a task force chaired by his wife, Hillary Rodham Heauth-Care Clinton. He proposed a sweeping reform designed to guarantee coverage to Reform every American and hold down the costs of medical care. Substantial opposition . from the right doomed the plan in 1994. The foreign policy of the Clinton administration was not without some successes. The small Balkan nation Bosnia was embroiled in a bloody civil war between its two major ethnic groups: one NAFTA

858 CHAPTER 32 Muslim, the other Serbian and Christian. The American negotiator Richard Holbrooke finally brought the warring parties together in 1995 and crafted an agreement to partition Bosnia. The Republican Resurgence In 1994, for the first time in forty years. Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress. Throughout 1995, the Republican Congress worked at a sometimes feverish pace to construct an ambitious and even radical legislative program. The Republicans proposed a series of measures to transfer important powers from the federal government to the states. They proposed dramatic reductions in federal spending, including a major restructuring of the Medicare program. In all these efforts, they could count on a disciplined Republican majority in the House and an only slightly less united Republican majority in the Senate. President Clinton responded to the 1994 election results by proclaiming that "the era of big government is over" and shifting his own agenda conspicuously to the center. He announced his own plan to cut taxes and balance the budget. But compromise between the president and the Republicans in Congress became difficult. In November 1995 and again in January 1996, the federal government shut down for several days because the president and Congress could not agree on a budget. That proved to be an epic political blunder. Public opinion turned quickly and powerfully against the Republican leadership and much of its agenda. House Speaker Newt Gingrich quickly became discredited, while President Clinton slowly improved his standing in the polls. Clinton versus Dole faced a Republican opponent-Senator Robert Dole of Kansas who inspired little enthusiasm even within his own party. Clinton's revival was a result of his adroitness in taking centrist positions that undermined the Republicans and in championing traditional Democratic issues that were broadly popular. But his greatest strength came from the remarkable success of the American economy. Like Reagan in 1984, he could campaign as the champion of peace, prosperity, and national well-being. As the election approached. Congress passed several important bills. It raised the legal minimum wage for the first time in more than a decade. And it passed a welfare reform bill, which President Clinton somewhat reluctantly signed, that marked the most important change in aid to the poor since the Social Security Act of 1935. The bill ended the fifty-year federal guarantee of assistance to families with dependent children and

turned most of the responsibility for allocating federal welfare funds (now greatly reduced) to the states. Most important, it shifted the bulk of welfare benefits away from those without jobs and toward support for low- wage workers. Clinton's buoyant campaign flagged slightly in the last weeks, but the president nevertheless received just over 49 percent of the popular vote. Clinton won 379 electoral votes to Dole's 159 (Ross Perot received 0 electoral votes). But other Democrats made only modest gains and failed to regain either house of Congress. Clinton Triumphant and Embattled The Election of 1996 By 1996, President Clinton was in a commanding position to win reelection. Unopposed for the Democratic nomination, he Bill Clinton was the first Democratic president to win two terms as president since Franklin Roosevelt. He still faced a hostile Republican Congress. He proposed a modest domestic agenda, consisting of tax cuts and tax credits targeted at middle-class CLINTON AND GINGRICH For a time after Republicans won control of both houses of Congress in 1994, some observers suggested that Newt Gingrich was now the most powerful figure in government, and that President Clinton was (as some journalists suggested) irrelevant. But Clinton surprised everyone by working cordially with Gingrich and, in the process, rebuilding his own popularity. They are seen here together in public at a senior center in Claremont, New Hampshire. (John Mottern/© AFP/Getty Images)



## THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 859 Bill Clinton

(Democratic) Robert Dole (Republican) Ross Perot (Reform) 379 47,401,185 (49.3) 159 39,197,469 (40.7) 0 8,085,294 (8.4) 49% of electorate voting THE ELECTION OF 1996 Ross Perot did much less well in 1996 than he had in 1992, and President Clinton came much closer than he had four years earlier to winning a majority of the popular vote. Once again, Clinton defeated his Republican opponent, this time Robert Dole, by a decisive margin in both the popular and electoral vote. After the 1994 Republican landslide in the congressional elections, Bill Clinton had seemed permanently weakened. • What explains Clinton's political revival? Budget Americans to help them educate their chilSuRPLUSES dren. He also negotiated effectively with the Republican leadership on a plan for a balanced budget, which passed late in 1997. By the end of 1998, the federal budget was generating its first surplus in thirty years. Clinton needed the popularity he had gained from the budget surplus when the most serious crisis of his presiMonica dency emerged. Clinton had been bedevLewinsky iled ky scandals from his first weeks in . office. In early 1998, the president was charged with having had a sexual relationship with a young White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, and lying about it in a deposition. Those revelations produced a new investigation by the independent counsel in the Whitewater case, Kenneth Starr, a former judge and official in the Reagan Justice Department. Clinton forcefully denied the charges, and the public strongly backed him. His popularity soared to record levels and remained high throughout the year that followed. The Lewinsky scandal revived again in August 1998, when Lewinsky struck a deal with the independent counsel and testified about her relationship with Clinton. Starr then subpoenaed Clinton himself, who finally admitted that he and Lewinsky had what he called an "improper relationship." A few weeks later, Starr recommended that Congress impeach the president. The House Judiciary Committee and then, on December 19, 1998, the full House, approved two counts of impeachment: lying to the grand jury and obstructing justice. The matter Impeachment then moved to the Senate> where a trial of . the president-the first since the trial of Andrew Johnson in 1868-began in early January. The trial ended with a decisive acquittal of the president. In 1999, the president faced the most serious foreign policy crisis of his

presidency, once again in the Balkans. A long-simmering Kosovo conflict between the Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic and Kosovo separatists erupted into a savage civil war in 1998. In May 1999, NATO forces dominated and led by the United States began a bombing campaign against the Serbians, which after little more than a week led the leader of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, to agree to a cease-fire. Serbian troops withdrew from Kosovo. They were replaced by NATO peacekeeping forces. A precarious peace returned to the region. Clinton finished his eight years in office with his popularity higher than it had been when he had taken office. Indeed, public approval of Clinton's presidency—a presidency marked by astonishing prosperity and general world stability—was consistently among the highest of any postwar president, despite the many scandals and setbacks he suffered in the White House.

### The Election of 2000

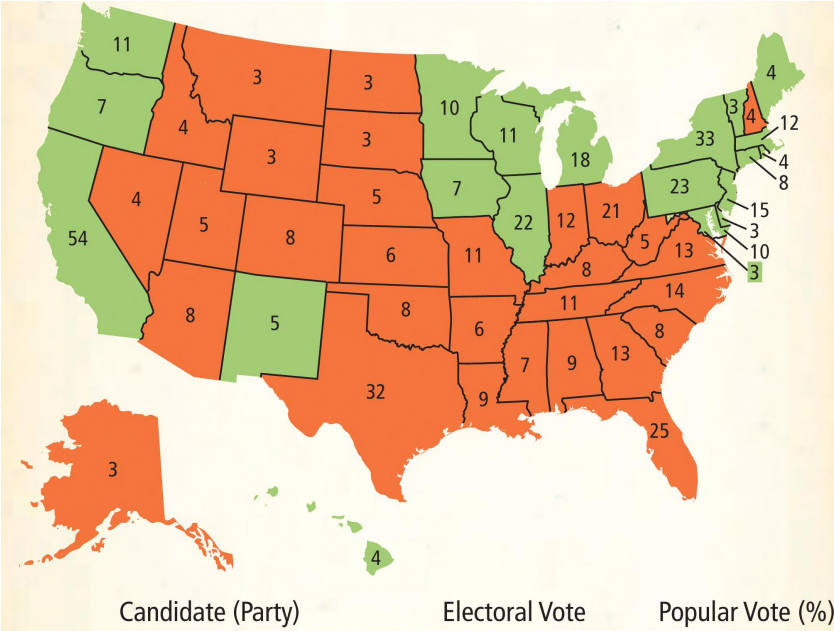
The 2000 presidential election was one of the most extraordinary in American history—not because of the campaign that preceded it, but because of the sensational controversy over its results. George W. Bush—a Republican, a son of the former president, and a second-term governor of Texas—and Vice President Al Gore, a Democrat, easily won the nominations of their parties. Both men ran cautious, centrist campaigns. Polls showed an exceptionally tight race right up to the end. In the congressional races, Republicans maintained control of the House of Representatives by five seats, while the Senate split evenly between Democrats and Republicans. In the presidential race, Gore won the national popular vote by about 540,000 votes out of about 100 million cast (or .05%). But on election night, both candidates remained short of the 270 electoral votes needed for victory because no one could determine who had won the electoral votes of Florida. After a mandatory recount over the next two days, Bush led Gore in the state by fewer than 300 votes. When a court-ordered deadline arrived, the recount was not yet complete. The Florida secretary of state, a Republican, then certified Bush the winner in Florida by a little more than 500 votes. The Gore campaign contested the results. Court's Decision

860 CHAPTER 32 ELECTION NIGHT, 2000 The electronic billboard in New York City's Times Square, showing network coverage of the presidential contest, reports George Bush the winner of the 2000 presidential race late on election night. A few hours later, the networks retracted their projections because of continuing uncertainty over the results in Florida. Five weeks later, and then only because of the controversial intervention of the Supreme Court, Bush finally emerged the victor. (© Chris Hondros/Getty Images) Late on December 12, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a controversial 5-4 decision for Bush and the long election ended. The Second Bush Presidency George W. Bush assumed the presidency in January 2001 burdened by both the controversies surrounding his election and the perception that he was ill prepared for the office. Bush's principal campaign promise had been that he would „ ^ ^ use the predicted budget surplus to finance Bush Tax Cuts r & r I Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II III II Mill Mill II III a massive tax reduction. He narrowly won passage of the largest tax cut in American history-\$1.35 trillion over several years. Having campaigned as a moderate adept at building coalitions across party lines. Bush governed as a staunch 51 % of electorate voting THE ELECTION OF 2000 The 2000 presidential election was one of the closest and most controversial in American history. It also starkly revealed a new pattern of party strength, which had been developing over the previous decade. Democrats swept the Northeast and most of the industrial Midwest and carried all the states of the Pacific Coast. Republicans swept the South, the plains states, and the mountain states (with the exception of New Mexico) and held on to a few traditional Republican strongholds in the Midwest. • Compare this map to those of earlier elections, in particular the election of 1896, and ask how the pattern of party support changed over the course of the twentieth century. conservative, relying on one of the most orthodox members of his own party for support. The president's political adviser, Karl Rove, encouraged the administration to take increasingly conservative positions. Bush appealed to the gun lobby by refusing to support a renewal of the assault weapons ban that Clinton had enacted. He proposed a constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage. The Bush administration was part of a broad and successful effort to mobilize evangelical Christians as an active part of the Republican

coalition. But almost from the beginning, the aftermath of the September 11 attacks dominated both Bush's presidency and the nation's politics. The Election of 2004 The 2004 election pitted President Bush, who was unopposed within his party, against John Kerry, a Democratic senator from Massachusetts. Throughout the months before the election, voters were almost evenly divided again. The election itself, although very close, was more decisive than the election of 2000. Bush won 51 percent of the popular vote to Kerry's 48.







|                                                                                  | Candidate (Party)              | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote (%)   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|  | Al Gore<br>(Democratic)        | 266            | 51,003,894<br>(48) |
|  | George W. Bush<br>(Republican) | 271            | 50,459,211<br>(48) |

THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 861 FLIP-FLOPPING The tradition of accusing opponents of changing their public positions for political gain, called flip-flopping, has been a long-time feature of American politics. Here, a supporter of George W. Bush uses her footwear to ridicule his opponent, Senator John Kerry as a flip-flopper on the issue of the war with Iraq. (© Wilfredo Lee/AP Images)

THE ECONOMIC BOOM Candidate (Party) Electoral Vote Popular Vote (%) George W. Bush 286 62,040,606 (Republican) (51) John F. Kerry 252 59,028,109 (Democratic) (48) 60% of electorate voting

THE ELECTION OF 2004 The 2004 election repeated the pattern established in 2000. The Democrats, led this time by Massachusetts senator John F. Kerry, swept the Northeast, most of the industrial Midwest, and the Pacific Coast. The Republicans, led by President Bush, carried almost everything else. Although Bush's popular and electoral margins were both larger than they had been in 2000, the election remained extremely close. The last three decades have seen remarkable changes in American life-some a result of the end of the Cold War, some the changing character of the American population, and some a product of a rapidly evolving culture. But most of these changes were at least in part a product of the dramatic transformation of the American economy. From "Stagflation" to Growth The roots of the economic growth of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s lay in part in the troubled years of the 1970s, when the United States seemed for a time to be losing its ability to produce long-term prosperity. In the face of the sluggish growth and persistent inflation of those years, however, many American corporations began making important changes in the way they ran their businesses-changes that contributed to both the prosperity of the last decades of the twentieth century and the growing inequality that New Business . . . , i A Practices accompanied it. Businesses invested heavily in new technology, to make themselves more efficient and productive. Corporations began to consider mergers to provide themselves with a more diversified basis for growth. Many enterprises created more-energy-efficient plants and offices. Perhaps most important of all, American businesses sought to reduce their labor costs, which were among the highest in the world and which many economists and business leaders believed had made the United States uncompetitive against the many emerging economies that relied on low-wage workers.

Businesses cut labor costs in many ways. They took a much harder line against unions. Nonunion companies became more successful in staving off unionization drives. Some companies moved their operations to areas of the country where unions were weak and wages low—the American South and Midwest in particular. And many companies moved much of their production out of the United States, to such nations as Mexico and China, where there were large available pools of cheaper labor. Digital technology made possible an enormous range of new products: computers, the Internet, cellular phones, digital music, video, and cameras, personal digital assistants, and many other products. The technology industries created many new Jobs and produced new consumer needs and appetites. But they did not create as many Jobs as older industrial sectors had. The American economy experienced rapid growth in the last decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. The gross national product (the total of goods and services produced by the United States) almost quadrupled in twenty years—from \$2.7 trillion in 1980, to over \$9.8 trillion in 2000, to \$15.7 trillion by 2013. Inflation was low throughout these decades, never rising above 3 percent in any year. Stock prices Technology Industries



862 CHAPTER 32 soared to unprecedented levels, and with few interruptions, from the mid-1980s to the end of the century. The Dow Jones Industrial Average, the most common index of stock performance, stood at 1,000 in late 1980. Late in 1999, it passed 11,000, and in November 2013 it peaked at 16,000 for the first time ever. Economic growth was particularly robust in the last years of the 1990s. In 1997 and 1998, annual growth rates reached 5 percent for the first time since the 1960s. Most impressive of all was the longevity of the boom. From 1994 to 2000, the economy recorded growth— at times very substantial growth—in every year, indeed in every quarter, something that had never before happened so continuously in peacetime. The Two-Tiered Economy Although the American economy revived from the sluggishness of the 1970s and early 1980s, the benefits of the new economy were less widely shared than those of earlier boom times. The increasing abundance of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries created enormous new wealth that enriched those talented or lucky enough to profit from the areas of booming growth. The rewards for education—particularly in such areas as science and engineering—increased substantially. The gross domestic product was more than \$15 trillion at the end of 2013. Even so, incomes remained flat for most Americans. Poverty in the country had steadily declined, sometimes dramatically, in the years after World War II, so that by the end of the 1970s the percentage of people living in poverty had fallen to 12 percent (from 20 percent in preceding decades). But the decline in poverty did not continue, and in 2013 it reached 15 percent of the population, which means that 46 million Americans were living in poverty. THE GLOBAL ECONOMY Hundreds of shipping containers, virtually all of them from China, stand waiting for delivery at the Yang Ming container terminal in Los Angeles in February 2001— an illustration of the increasing penetration of the American market by overseas manufacturers and of the growing interconnections between the U.S. economy and that of the rest of the world. (© Reed Saxon/AP Images) Globalization Perhaps the most important economic change was what became known as the "globalization" of the economy. The great prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s had rested on the relative insulation of the United States from the pressures of international competition. As late as 1970, international trade still played a

relatively small role in the American economy, which thrived on the basis of the huge domestic market in North America. By the end of the 1970s, however, the world had intruded on the American economy in profound ways, and that intrusion increased unabated into the twenty-first century. Exports rose from just under \$43 billion in 1970 to over \$1 trillion in 2006. But imports rose even more dramatically: from just over \$40 billion in 1970 to over \$1.8 trillion in 2006. Most American products, in other words, now faced foreign competition inside the United States. The first American trade imbalance in the postwar era occurred in 1971; only twice since then, in 1973 and 1975, has the balance been favorable.

**SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE NEW ECONOMY** The "new economy" that emerged in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries was driven by dramatic new scientific and technological discoveries that had profound effects on the way Americans-and peoples throughout the world-lived. The Digital Revolution The most visible element of the technological revolution to most Americans was the dramatic growth in the use of computers and other digital electronic devices in almost every area of life. Among the most significant innovations that contributed to the digital revolution was the development of the microprocessor, first introduced in 1971 by Intel, which represented a notable advance in the technology of integrated circuitry. A microprocessor miniaturized the central processing unit of a computer, making it possible for a small machine to perform calculations







THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 863 that in the past only very large machines could do. Considerable technological innovation was needed before the microprocessor could actually become the basis of what was at first known as a "minicomputer" and then a "personal computer." But in 1977, Apple launched its Apple II personal computer, the first such machine to be widely available to the public. Several years later, IBM entered the personal computer market with the PC with "PC" IBM had engaged a small software development company, Microsoft, to design an operating system for its new computer. Microsoft produced a program known as MS-DOS (DOS for "disk operating system"). No PC could operate without it. The PC, and its software, made its debut in August 1981 and immediately became enormously successful. The computer revolution created thousands of new, lucrative businesses: computer manufacturers (new companies quickly began to rival IBM in the PC market); makers of the tiny silicon chips that ran the computers and allowed smaller and smaller machines to become more and more powerful; and manufacturers of accessories and software. The Internet Out of the computer revolution emerged another dramatic source of information and communication: the Internet. It had ARPA its beginning in 1963, in the U.S. government's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), which funneled federal funds into scientific research projects, many of them defense related. By 1971, twenty-three computers were linked together in ARPA's network, which served mostly research labs and universities. Gradually, interest in the system began to spread, and with it the number of computers connected to it. The network, soon renamed the Internet, was then free to develop independently. It did so rapidly, especially after the invention of technologies that made possible digital mail (e-mail) and the emergence of the personal computer, which vastly increased the number of potential users of the Internet. As late as 1984, there remained fewer than a thousand host computers connected to the Internet. A decade later, there were over 6 million. And by 2013, over two billion computers were in use around the world. As the amount of information on the Internet proliferated, without any central direction, new forms of software emerged to make it possible for individual users to navigate through the vast number of Internet sites. In 1989, Tim Berners-Lee

Lee, a British scientist working at a laboratory in Geneva, introduced the World Wide Web, through which individual users could publish information for the Internet. It helped establish an orderly system for both the distribution and retrieval of electronic information. Breakthroughs in Genetics Computer technology helped fuel explosive growth in all areas of scientific research, particularly genetics. Early discoveries in genetics by Gregor Mendel, Thomas Hunt Morgan, and others had laid the groundwork for more-dramatic breakthroughs-the discovery of DNA by the British scientists Oswald Avery, Colin MacLeod, and Maclyn McCarty in 1944; and in 1953, the discovery by the American biochemist James Watson and the British biophysicist Francis Crick of its double-helix structure, and thus of the key to identifying genetic codes. From these discoveries emerged the new science-and ultimately the new industry of genetic engineering, through which new medical treatments and new techniques for hybridization of plants and animals became possible. Little by little, scientists began to identify specific genes in humans and other living things that determine particular traits, and to learn how to alter or reproduce them. But the identification of genes was painfully slow. In 1989, the federal government appropriated \$3 billion to fund the National Center for the Human Genome, to accelerate the mapping of human genes. The Human Genome Project identified 3 billion genes by 2013. In the meantime, DNA research had already attracted considerable public attention. The DNA structure of an individual, scientists have discovered, is as unique and as identifiable as a fingerprint. DNA testing, therefore, makes it possible to identify individuals through their blood, semen, skin, or even hair. It plays a major role in criminal investigations, among other things. A CHANGING SOCIETY

The American population changed dramatically in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It grew larger, older, and more racially and ethnically diverse. TWENTY-FOUR HOUR NEWS CYCLE With the vast popularity of digital communication news events are reported every hour of every day rather than during scheduled television programs or from reading the newspaper. With a portable tablets or smart phones, a person can keep up with what is new at any time or any place. Politicians now have much less control over how their messages are transmitted and received. (©

Ian Dagnall/Alamy) A Shifting Population Decreasing birth rates and growing life spans contributed to one of the most important characteristics of the American

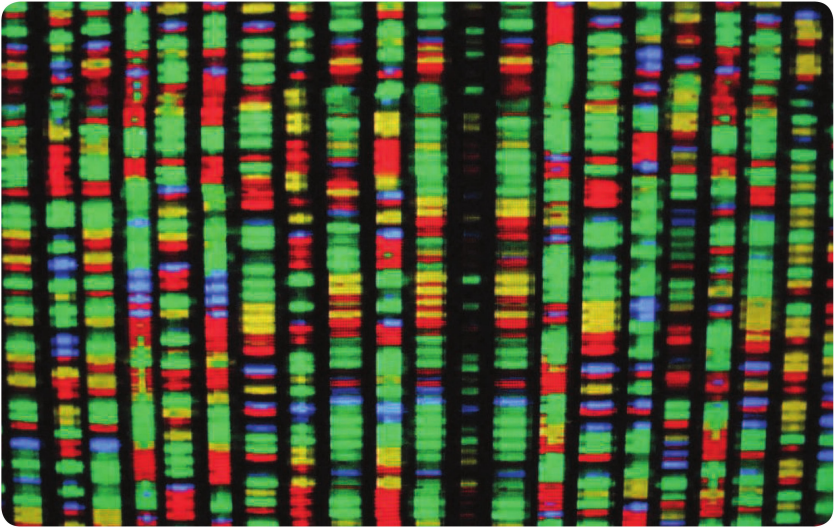
## 864 CHAPTER 32 THE HUMAN GENOME This

computerized image is a digital representation of part of the human genome, the constellation of genetic material that makes up the human body. The Human Genome Project, one of the most ambitious in the history of science, set out in the late 1990s to chart the human genetic structure. Each color in this image represents one of the four chemical components of DNA, the principal material of genes. (© Mario Tama/Getty Images)

population in the twenty-first century: its increasing agedness. The enormous "baby boom" generation—people born in the first ten years after World War II—drove the median age steadily upward (from 34 in 1996 to 37 in 2010 to a projected 39 by 2035). This growing population of aging Americans contributed to stresses on the Social Security and Medicare systems, including the provisions of the Affordable Care Act introduced by President Obama. It also had important implications for the workforce. In the last twenty years of the twentieth century, the number of people aged 25–54 (known statistically as the prime workforce) grew by over 26 million. In the first ten years of the twenty-first century, the number of workers in that age group did not grow at all. The slowing growth of the native-born population, and the workforce shortages it has helped to create, is one reason for the rapid growth of immigration. In 2010, the number of foreign-born residents of the United States was the highest in American history—more than 36 million people, over 12 percent of the total population. These immigrants came from a wider variety of backgrounds than ever before, as a result of the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, which eliminated national origins as a criterion for admission. The growing presence of the foreign-born contributed to a significant drop in the percentage of white residents in the United States—from 90 percent in 1965 (the year of the Immigration Reform Act) to 74 in 2014. Latinos and Asians

were by far Rates of birth per 1,000 people 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010

THE AMERICAN BIRTH RATE, 1960–2010 This chart shows the striking change in the pattern of the nation's birth rate from the twenty years after 1940, which produced the great "baby boom." From 1960 onward, the nation's birth rate steadily, and in the 1960s and 1970s dramatically, declined. • What effect did this declining birth rate have on the age structure of the population?

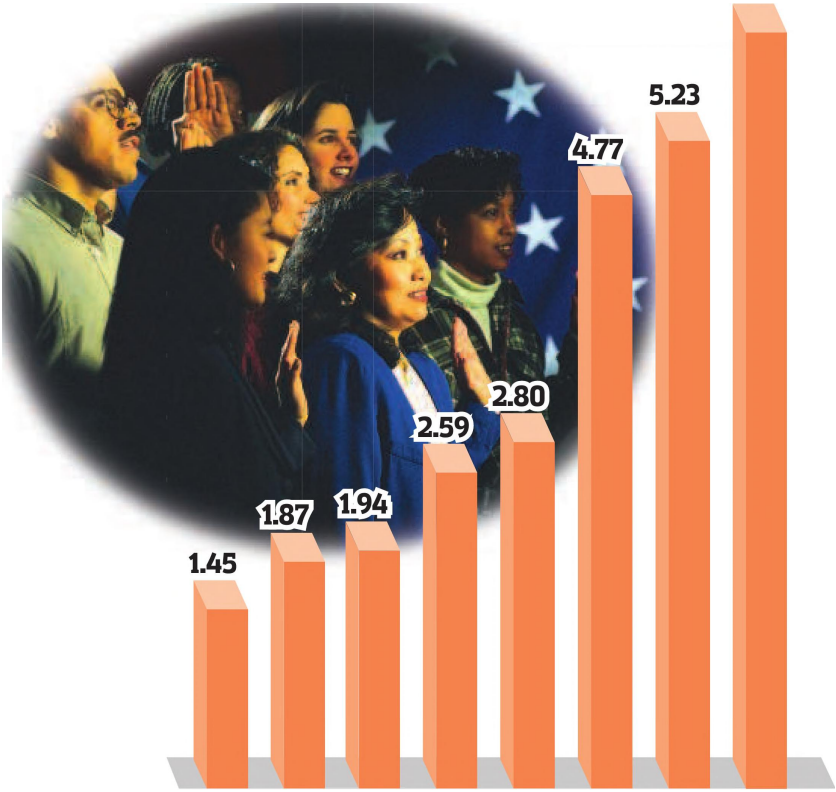


THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 865 the largest groups of immigrants in these years. But others came in significant numbers from Africa, the Middle East, Russia, and eastern Europe. African Americans in the Post-Civil Rights Era The civil rights movement and the other liberal efforts of the 1960s had two very different effects on African Americans. On the one hand, there were increased opportunities for advancement available to those in a position to take advantage of them. On the other hand, as the industrial economy declined and government services dwindled, there was a growing sense of helplessness and despair among large groups of nonwhites who continued to find themselves barred from upward mobility. For the black middle class, which in the first decade of the twenty-first century constituted over half of the African American population of America, progress was remarkable in the decades after the high Economic r . . . . Progress for Pomt of the clv11 n&hts movement. African African American families moved into Americans more-affluent urban and suburban com1 Mill Mill Mill II Hill II III 11 Mill Mill Mill II HIM Mill II HIM II munities. The percentage of black highschool graduates going on to college was virtually the same as that of white high-school graduates by the early twentyfirst century (although a smaller proportion of blacks than whites completed high school). Just over 20 percent of African Americans over the age of twenty-four held bachelor's degrees or higher in 2010, compared to 30 percent of whites, a significant advance from twenty years earlier. And African Americans were making rapid strides in many professions in which only a generation earlier they had been barred or segregated. Over half of all employed blacks in the United States had skilled white-collar jobs in 2010. There were few areas of American life from which blacks were any longer entirely excluded. But there were still many other African Americans whom the economic growth and the liberal programs of the 1960s and beyond had never reached. These impoverished people-sometimes described as the "underclass"-made up as much as a third of the nation's black popThe v v "Underclass" ulation. Many of them lived in isolated, . decaying, and desperately poor inner-city neighborhoods. As more successful blacks moved out of the inner cities, the poor were left behind in their decaying neighborhoods. Less than half of young inner-city African Americans finished high school in 2006; more than 60 percent were

unemployed. The black family structure suffered as well from the dislocations of urban poverty. There was a radical increase in the number of single-parent, femaleheaded black households. In 1970, only 59 percent of all black children under 18 lived with both their parents (already down from 70 percent a decade earlier). In 2010, only 35 percent of black children lived in such households, while 74 percent of white children did. Total immigration during five-year periods (in millions)

| Period    | Immigration (millions) |
|-----------|------------------------|
| 1961-1966 | 6.10                   |
| 1966-1971 | 6.10                   |
| 1971-1976 | 6.10                   |
| 1976-1981 | 6.10                   |
| 1981-1986 | 6.10                   |
| 1986-1991 | 6.10                   |
| 1991-1996 | 6.10                   |
| 1996-2000 | 6.10                   |
| TOTAL     | 6.10                   |

IMMIGRATION, 1960-2010 This chart shows the tremendous increase in immigration to the United States in the decades since the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. The immigration of the 1980s and 1990s was the highest since the late nineteenth century. (© Comstock) • What role did the 1965 act have in increasing immigration levels? SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1995-2010 The Immigration Reform Act of 1965 lifted the national quotas imposed on immigration policy in 1924 and opened immigration to large areas of the world that had previously been restricted. In 1965, 90 percent of the immigrants to the United States came from Europe. As this chart shows, by 2010 almost the reverse was true. Well over 80 percent of all immigrants came from non-European sources. The most important countries of origin in this period were (in order) Mexico, China, the Philippines, India, Vietnam, and Cuba. • What impact did this new immigration have on American politics?





White-collar Service Agriculture COMPARISON OF BLACK AND WHITE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, 2005 By the early twenty-first century, as this chart makes clear, the African-American middle class had grown dramatically. Over half of all employed black workers in the United States worked in "white-collar" jobs. Perhaps even more striking, given the distribution of the black population a half century earlier, is that almost no African Americans (about one-third of 1 percent) were working in agriculture by the early 2000s.

But the gap between black and white workers remained wide in several areas, particularly in the percentage of each group employed in low-wage service jobs. • What factors contributed to the increase of the black middle class in the years after 1960?

Modern Plagues: Drugs and AIDS Two new and deadly epidemics ravaged many American communities beginning in the 1980s. One was a dramatic increase in drug use, which penetrated nearly every community in the nation. The enormous demand for drugs, particularly for "crack" cocaine in the late 1980s and early 1990s, spawned what was in effect a multibillion-dollar industry. Drug use declined significantly among middle-class people beginning in the late 1980s, but the epidemic declined much more slowly in the poor urban neighborhoods where it was doing the most severe damage. The drug epidemic was related to another scourge of the late twentieth century: the epidemic spread of a new and often lethal disease first documented in 1981 and soon named AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome). AIDS is the product of the HIV virus, which is transmitted by the exchange of bodily fluids (blood or semen). The first American victims of AIDS (and for many years the group among whom cases remained the most numerous) were gay men. But by the late 1980s, as the gay community began to take preventive measures, the most rapid increase in the spread of the disease occurred among heterosexuals, many of them intravenous drug users, who spread the virus by sharing contaminated hypodermic needles. AIDS Epidemic

iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii In the mid-1990s, AIDS researchers, after years of frustration, began discovering effective treatments for the disease. By taking a combination of powerful drugs on a rigorous schedule, even people with advanced cases of AIDS experienced dramatic improvement-so much so that

in many cases there were no measurable quantities of the virus left in their bloodstreams. The new drugs gave promise for the first time of dramatically extending the lives of people with AIDS, perhaps to normal life spans. But the drugs were very expensive and difficult to administer; poor AIDS patients often could not obtain access to them. And the drugs remained scarce in Africa and other less-affluent parts of the world where the epidemic was rampant. The United Nations, many philanthropic organizations, and a number of governments, including the United States, committed significant funds to fight the AIDS crisis in Africa in the 2000s, but progress remained slow.

A CONTESTED CULTURE American culture changed dramatically in the years after World War II. By the 1960s, the roles of women began to change profoundly. The sexual revolution changed traditional American values. American culture also became more diverse, open, and contentious than it had been in the past. As a result, new controversies and issues emerged. Battles over Feminism and Abortion Among the goals of what was known as the "New Right" were challenges to feminism and its achievements. Conservatives had campaigned successfully against the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. They also played a central role in the most divisive issue of the last thirty years: the controversy over abortion rights. For those who favored allowing women to choose to terminate unwanted pregnancies, the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) had seemed to settle the question. By the 1980s, abortion was the most commonly performed surgical procedure in the country. But at the same time, opposition to abortion was "Right-to- r ! Life" creating a powerful grassroots moveMovement ment. The right-to-life movement, as it iiii called itself, found its most fervent supporters among Catholics; and indeed, the Catholic Church itself lent its institutional authority to the battle against legalized abortion. Religious doctrine also motivated the anti-abortion stance of many Mormons, evangelical Christians, and other groups. The opposition of some other anti-abortion activists had less to do with religion than with their commitment to traditional notions of family and gender relations. To them, abortion was part of a much larger assault by feminists on the role of women as wives and mothers. It was also, many foes contended, a form of murder. Fetuses, they claimed, were human beings who had a "right to life" from the moment of conception.

THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 867 Although the right-to-life movement was persistent in its demand for a reversal of *Roe v. Wade* on barring that, a constitutional amendment banning abortion, it also attacked abortion in more-limited ways, at its most vulnerable points. Starting in the late 1970s, Congress and many state legislatures began barring the use of public funds to pay for abortions, thus making them almost inaccessible for many poor women in some states. The Reagan and the two Bush administrations imposed further restrictions on federal funding and even on the right of doctors in federally funded clinics to give patients any information on abortion. Extremists in the right-to-life movement began picketing, occupying, and at times bombing abortion clinics. Several anti-abortion activists murdered doctors who performed abortions; other physicians were subject to campaigns of terrorism and harassment. The changing composition of the Supreme Court between 1981 and 2010 (during which time new conservative justices were appointed to the Court) renewed the right-to-life movement's hopes for a reversal of *Roe v. Wade*. The changing judicial climate of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries mobilized defenders of abortion as never before. They called themselves the "pro-choice" movement because they were defending not so much abortion itself as every woman's right to choose whether and when to bear a child. The pro-choice movement was in many parts of the country at least as strong as, and in some areas much stronger than, the right-to-life movement. With the election of President Clinton in 1992, a supporter of "choice," the immediate threat to *Roe v. Wade* seemed to fade. Clinton's reelection in 1996 was evidence that the pro-choice movement maintained considerable political strength. But abortion rights remained highly vulnerable. Clinton's successor, George W. Bush, openly opposed abortion. Barack Obama supported the right to abortion when he became president.

The Growth of Environmentalism The environmental movement grew dramatically in the early 1970s and continues to develop in the present. An early milestone was Earth Day, held on April 22, 1970, a day that generated wide-scale interest in the environment. The federal government displayed only light interest in the subject, but many people became invested in studying the effects of "global warming"-a steady rise in the earth's temperature resulting from

emissions from burned fossil fuels, most notably coal and oil. Many other people either ignored or disavowed the impact of such industrial waste on the environment. In 1997, representatives of the major industrial nations met in Kyoto, Japan, and agreed to a broad treaty to reduce carbon emissions to slow or reverse global warming. Republicans in Congress prevented the ratification of this treaty in the United States. The United States again refused to participate in this global initiative during the presidency of George W. Bush, who argued that doing so would place too great of an economic burden on the country. Barack Obama, too, has done little about global warming. Without the participation of the United States and China, another country that has not signed the Kyoto Protocol, most environmentalists consider the treaty to be dead.

**THE PERILS OF GLOBALIZATION** The celebration of the beginning of a new millennium on January 1, 2000, was a notable moment not just because of the change in the calendar. It was notable above all as a global event—a shared and for the most part joyous experience that united the world in its exuberance. But if the millennium celebrations suggested the bright promise of globalization, other events at the dawn of the new century suggested its dark perils. **BP OIL SPILL** This photograph shows the efforts of BP attempting to cap the oil spill that was a result of an explosion on an offshore drilling platform. The oil leaked for months, and it continues to damage the ecology of the Gulf of Mexico even a year later. (© Julie Dermansky/Corbis)

mT TT? long musical lineage of rap includes elements of the disco and street funk of the 1970s; 1 1 1C of the fast-talking jive of black radio DJs in the 1950s; of the onstage patter of Cab Calloway and other African American stars of the first half of the twentieth century. It contains reminders of tap and break dancing—even of the boxing-ring poetry of Muhammad Ali. Rap's most important element is its words. Rap is as much a form of language as a form of music. It bears a distant resemblance to some traditions of African American pulpit oratory, which also included forms of spoken song. It draws from some of the verbal traditions of urban black street life, including the "dozens"—a ritualized trading of insults particularly popular among young black men. But rap is also the product of a distinctive place and time: the South Bronx in the 1970s and 1980s and the hip hop culture that was born there and that soon dominated the appearance and public behavior of many young black males. "Hip hop is how you walk, talk, live, see, act, feel," said one Bronx hip hopper. Some elements of hip hop culture faded, and by the 1990s the most popular element of hip hop culture was rap, which had by then been developing for nearly twenty years. Beginning in the early 1970s, Bronx DJs began setting up their equipment on neighborhood streets and staging block parties, where they not only played records but also put on shows of their own—performances that featured spoken rhymes, jazzy phrases, and pointed comments about the audience, the neighborhood, and themselves. Gradually, the DJs began to bring "rappers" into shows— young men who developed the DJ style into a much more elaborate form of performance, usually accompanied by dancing. As rap grew more popular in the inner city, record promoters began signing some of its new stars. In 1979, the Sugarhill Gang's "Rapper's Delight" became the first rap single to be played on mainstream commercial radio and the first to become a major hit. In the early 1980s, Run-DMC became the first national rap superstars. From there, rap moved quickly to become one of the most popular and commercially successful forms of popular music. In the 1990s and early 2000s, rap recordings routinely sold millions of copies. Rap has taken many forms. There have been white rappers (Eminem, House of Pain), female rappers (Missy Elliot, Queen Latifah), even religious rappers and children's rappers. But it has always been primarily a product of the young male culture of

the inner city, and some of the most successful rap has conveyed the frustration and anger that these men have felt about their lives — "a voice for the oppressed people," one rap artist said, "that in many other ways don't have a voice." In 1982, the rap group Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five released a rap called "The Message,"\* a searing description of ghetto culture: Got a bum education, double-digit inflation Can't take the train to the job, there's a strike at the station Don't push me, 'cause I'm close to the edge I'm tryin' not to lose me head It's like a jungle sometime it makes me wonder How I keep from going under. In the late 1980s, the Compton and Watts neighborhoods of Los Angeles— two of the most distressed minority communities in the city— produced their own style, known as West Coast rap, with such groups as Ice Cube, Ice T, Tupac Shakur, and Snoop Doggy Dog. West Coast rap often had a harsh, angry character, and at its extremes (the so-called gangsta' rap), it could be strikingly violent and highly provocative. Scandals erupted over controversial lyrics— Ice T's "Cop Killer," which some critics believed advocated murdering Opposing the "New World Order" In the United States and other industrial nations, opposition to globalization-or to what President George H. W. Bush once called "the new world order"—took several forms. Many Americans on both the left and the right Intervention "PPosed the nation's increasingly interven. tionist foreign policy. Critics on the left charged that the United States was using military action to advance its economic interests, in the 1991 Gulf War and, above all, in the Iraq War that began in 2003. Critics on the right claimed that the nation was allowing itself to be swayed by the interests of other nations-as in the humanitarian interventions in Somalia in 1993 and the Balkans in the late 1990sand was ceding its sovereignty to international organizations. But the most impassioned opposition to globalization in the West came from an array of groups that saw it as an economic threat. Labor unions insisted that the rapid expansion of freetrade agreements led to the export of jobs from advanced nations to less developed ones. Other groups attacked working conditions in new manufacturing countries on humanitarian 868 • grounds, arguing that the global economy was creating new classes of "slave laborers" working in conditions that few Western nations would tolerate. Environmentalists argued that globalization, in exporting industry to low-wage countries, also exported industrial pollution and toxic waste to nations that had no

effective laws to control them, and contributed significantly to global warming. And still others opposed global economic arrangements on the grounds that they enriched and empowered large multinational corporations and threatened the freedom and autonomy of individuals and communities. The opponents of globalization were mostly agreed on the targets of their discontent: not just free-trade agreements, but also the multinational institutions that policed and advanced the global economy. Among them were the World Trade Organization, which monitored the enforcement of the GATT treaties of the 1990s; the International Monetary Fund, which controlled international credit and exchange rates; and the World Bank, which made money available for development projects in many countries. In November 1999, when the leaders of the Globalization Protested



## PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE

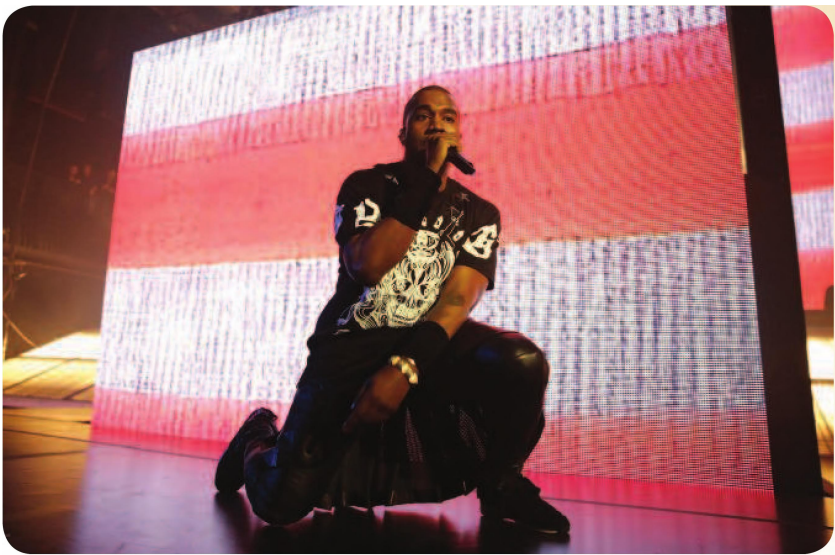


## RAP

**THE** long musical lineage of rap includes elements of the disco and street funk of the fast-talking jive of black radio DJs in the 1950s; of the onstage patter Calloway and other African American stars of the first half of the twentieth century. It reminds of ten and break dancing—even of the boxing-ring poetry of Muhammad Ali

KANYE WEST Testifying to the continued popularity of rap, as of 2014 rapper Kanye West remains one of the best selling artists of all time, having sold over 21 million albums and 66 million digital downloads. Time magazine has named West one of the 100 most influential people in the world. He is a rapper, songwriter, record producer, film director, entrepreneur and fashion designer. (© Getty Images Entertainment/Getty Images) police; and the sexually explicit lyrics of 2 Live Crew and other groups, which critics accused of advocating violence against women. But it was not just the lyrics that caused the furor. Rap artists were almost all products of tough inner-city neighborhoods, and the rough-edged styles many took with them into the public eye made many people uncomfortable. Some rappers got caught up in highly publicized trouble with the law. Several— including two of rap's biggest stars, Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G.— were murdered. The business of rap, particularly the confrontational business style of Death Row Records (founded by Dr. Dre, a veteran of the first major West Coast rap group NWA), was a source of public controversy as well. These controversies at times unfairly dominated the image of rap as a whole. Some rap is angry and cruel, as are many of the realities of the world from which it comes. But much of it is explicitly positive, some of it deliberately gentle. Chuck D and other successful rappers use their music to exhort young black men to avoid drugs and crime, to take responsibility for their children, to get an education. And the form, if not the content, of the original rappers has spread widely through American culture. Rap came to dominate the music charts in America, and its styles made their way onto Sesame Street and other children's shows, into television commercials, Hollywood films, and the everyday language of millions of people, young and old, black and white. It became another of the arresting, innovative African American musical traditions that have shaped American culture for more than a century. • "Edward Fletcher, M. Glover, and S. Robinson, "The Message," recorded 1982 by Grand Master Flash & The Furious Five. Reprinted by permission of Sugar Hill Music Publishing Ltd. UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What other African American musical forms have helped shape American popular culture? 2. If rap is so closely associated with the inner-city culture where it originated, what accounts for its widespread popularity and commercial success? What other forms or styles of







Women's History y t ¥ O IT! n T A M C ^ave ^on9  
cons'clered the influence of ideas, economic intern 1 \J Xl 1 IN u  
ests, class, and race and ethnicity on the course of history. Women's  
history challenged them to consider as well the role of gender.  
Throughout history, many scholars now argue, societies have  
created distinctive roles for men and women. How those roles have  
been defined, and the ways in which the roles affect how people  
and cultures behave, should be central to our understanding of both  
the past and the present. In the nineteenth century, women's history  
generally stressed the unrecognized contributions of women to  
history— for example, Sarah Hale's 1853 *Record of All  
Distinguished Women from "the Beginning" till A.D. 1850*. Work of  
the same sort continued into the twentieth century and, indeed,  
continues today. But after 1900, people committed to progressive  
reform movements began to produce a different kind of women's  
scholarship, focusing primarily on the ways in which women were  
victimized by industrialism. Feminist scholars such as Edith Abbott,  
Margaret Byington, and Katherine Anthony examined the impact of  
economic change on working-class families, with a special focus on  
women; and they looked at the often deplorable conditions in  
which women worked in factories, mills, and other people's homes.  
Their goal was less to celebrate women's contributions than to  
direct attention to the oppression of women by harsh working  
conditions and arouse sentiment for reform. After the victory of the  
suffrage movement in 1920, women's history entered a half century  
of relative inactivity. Women continued to write important histories  
in many fields, and some— for example, Eleanor Flexner, whose  
*Century of Struggle* (1959) became a classic history of the suffrage  
crusade— wrote explicitly about women. Mary Beard, best known  
for her sweeping historical narratives written in collaboration with  
her husband, Charles Beard, published *Women as a Force in History*  
(1964), in which she argued for the historical importance of  
ordinary women as shapers of society. But such work at first had  
little impact on the writing of history as a whole. seven leading  
industrial nations (and the leader of Russia) gathered for their  
annual meeting in Seattle, Washington, they were confronted with  
tens of thousands of protesters. Most of the protesters were  
peaceful, but some were violent, clashing with police, smashing  
store windows, and all but paralyzing the city. A few months later,

a smaller but still substantial demonstration disrupted meetings of the IMF and the World Bank in Washington, D.C. And in July 2001, at a meeting of the same leaders in Genoa, Italy, an estimated 50,000 demonstrators clashed violently with police in a melee that left one protester dead and several hundred injured. The participants in the meeting responded to the demonstrations by pledging \$1.2 billion to fight the AIDS epidemic in developing countries, and also by deciding to hold future meetings in remote locations far from major cities.

Defending Orthodoxy Outside the industrialized West, the impact of globalization created other concerns. Many citizens of nonindustrialized nations resented the way the world economy had left them in poverty and, in their view, exploited and oppressed. In some parts of the nonindustrialized world-particularly in some of the Islamic nations of the Middle East-the increasing reach of globalization created additional grievances, rooted not just in economics but also in religion and culture. The Iranian Revolution of 1979, in which orthodox Muslims ousted a despotic government whose leaders had embraced many aspects of modern Western culture, was one of the first large and visible manifestations of a phenomenon that would 870 • Rise of Islamic eventually reach across much of the Fundamentalism Islamic world and threaten the stability of the globe. In one Islamic nation after another, waves of fundamentalist orthodoxy emerged to defend traditional culture against incursions from the West. One product of these resentments was a growing resort to violence as a way to fight the influence of the West. Militants in various parts of the world used isolated incidents of violence and mayhem, designed to disrupt Western societies and governments and to create fear among their peoples. Such tactics are known to the world as terrorism.

The Rise of Terrorism The term "terrorism" was used first during the French Revolution in the 1790s to describe the actions of the radical Jacobins against the French government. The word continued to be used intermittently throughout the nineteenth and early ^ twentieth centuries to describe the use of Origins of . . r Terrorism violence as a form of intimidation against . . . peoples and governments. But the widespread understanding of terrorism as an important fact of modern life is largely a product of the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first. Acts of what we have come to call terrorism have occurred in many parts of the world. Irish revolutionaries engaged in terrorism regularly against the English

through much of the twentieth century. Jews used it in Palestine against the British before the creation of Israel, and Palestinians used it frequently against Jews in Israel-over several decades. Revolutionary iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

Along with the rise in modern feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, interest in women's history revived as well. Gerda Lerner, one of the pioneers of the new women's history, once wrote of the impact of feminism on historical studies: "The recognition that we had been denied our history came to many of us as a staggering insight, which altered our consciousness irretrievably." Much of the early work was in the "contributionist" tradition, stressing the way in which women had played more notable roles in major historical events than historians had usually acknowledged. Other work stressed ways in which women had been victimized by their subordination to men and by their powerlessness within the industrial economy. Increasingly, however, women's history began to question the nature of gender itself. Some scholars began to emphasize the artificiality of gender distinctions, arguing that the difference between women and men was socially constructed, superficial, and (in the public world, at least) unimportant. The history of women was, therefore, the history of how men (with the unwitting help of many women) had created and maintained a set of fictions about women's capacities that modern women were now attempting to shatter. By the early 1980s, some feminists had begun to make a very different argument: that there were basic differences between women and men— not just biological differences, but differences in values, sensibilities, and culture. The feminists of the 1970s and 1980s did not see these differences as evidence of women's incapacities. They saw them, rather, as evidence of an alternative female culture capable of challenging (and improving) the male-dominated world. By the twentyfirst century, some historians of women, therefore, began exploring areas of female experience that revealed the special character of women's culture and values: family, housework, motherhood, women's clubs and organizations, female literature, the social lives of working-class women, women's sexuality, and many other subjects that suggested "difference" more than "contributions" or "victimization." Partly in response, some historians began to make the same argument about men— that understanding "masculinity" and its role in shaping men's lives was as important as understanding notions of "femininity" in explaining the history of women. The notion of gender as a source of social and cultural difference raised a powerful challenge to the way in which scholars view the past.

Many historians continue to believe that other categories (race and class in particular) have in fact been more important than gender in shaping the lives of men and women. But, as Joan Scott, a theorist of gender studies, contends, it is not enough simply to expand the existing story to make room for women. Rather, recognizing gender as a central force in the lives of societies calls for a reconceptualization of the past. • UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE 1. What is the emphasis in the "contributionist" tradition of women's history? 2. How do women's history, feminist history, and gender history differ from one another? 3. What does gender history add to our understanding of the past? SEPTEMBER 11, 2001 One great American symbol, the Statue of Liberty, stands against a sky filled with the thick smoke from the destruction of another American symbol, New York City's World Trade Center towers, a few hours after terrorists crashed two planes into them. (© Daniel Hulshizer/AP Images) . 871 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiimiiiiiii



872 CHAPTER 32 groups in Italy, Germany, Japan, and France have engaged in terrorist acts intermittently over the past several decades. The United States, too, has experienced terrorism for many years, much of it against American targets abroad. These included the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983, the explosion that brought down an American airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, the bombing of American embassies in 1998, the assault on the U.S. naval vessel Cole in 2000, and other events around the world. Terrorist incidents were relatively rare, but not unknown, within the United States itself prior to September 11, 2001. Militants on the American left performed various acts of terror in the 1960s and early 1970s. In February 1993, a bomb exploded in the parking garage of the World Trade Center in New York City killing six people and causing serious, but not irreparable, structural damage to the towers. Several men connected with militant Islamic organizations were convicted of the crime. In April 1995, a van containing explosives blew up in front of a federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people. Timothy McVeigh, a former Marine who had become part of a militant antigovernment movement of the American right, was convicted of the crime in 1997 and executed in 2001. Most Americans, however, considered terrorism a problem that mainly plagued other nations. One of the many results of the terrible events of September 11, 2001, was to jolt the American people out of complacency and alert them to the presence of continuing danger. That awareness increased in the years following September 11. New security measures changed the way in which Americans traveled. New government regulations altered immigration policies and affected the character of international banking. Warnings of possible new terrorist attacks created widespread tension and uneasiness. The War on Terrorism In the aftermath of September 2001, the United States government launched what President Bush called a "war against terrorism." The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, government intelligence indicated, had been planned and orchestrated by Middle Eastern agents of a powerful terrorist network known as al-Qaeda. Its leader, Osama bin Laden- until 2011 little known outside the Arab world- quickly became one of the most notorious figures in the world. Convinced that the militant "Taliban" government of Afghanistan had sheltered and supported



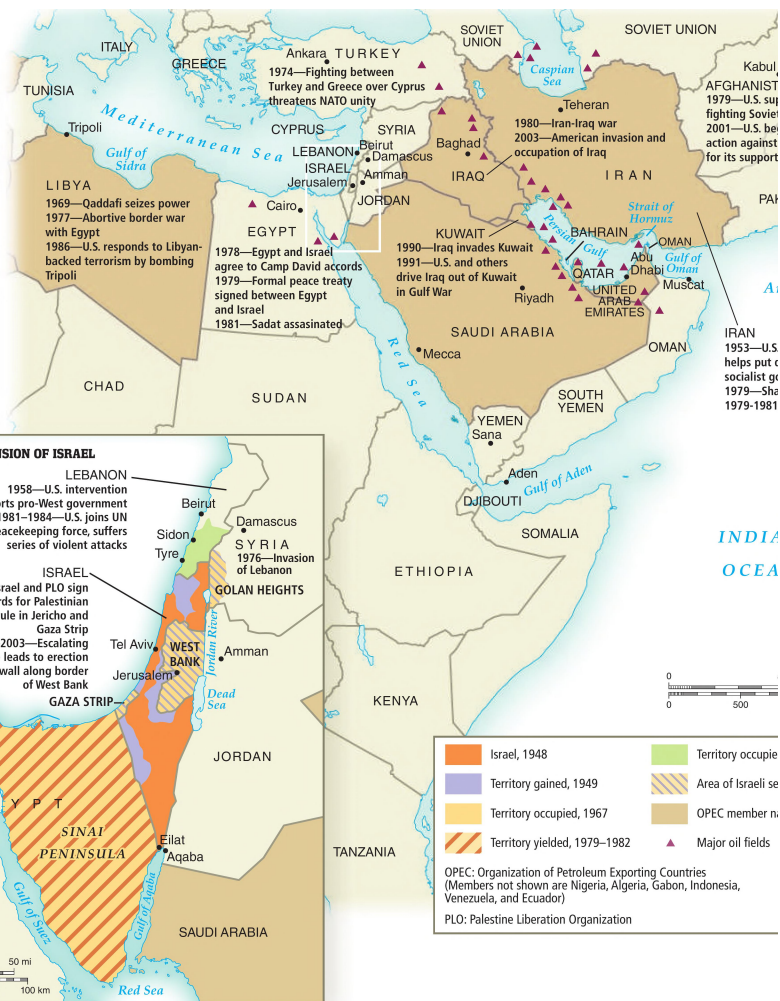
bin Laden and his organization, the United States began a sustained campaign of bombing against the regime and sent in ground troops to help a resistance organization overthrow the Afghan government. Afghanistan's Taliban regime quickly collapsed, and its leaders-along with the al-Qaeda fighters allied with them-fled the capital, Kabul. American and anti-Taliban Afghan troops pursued them into the mountains, but failed to capture bin Laden and the other leaders of his organization. American forces in Afghanistan rounded up several hundred people suspected of connections to the Taliban and al-Qaeda in the aftermath of the fighting and eventually moved these prisoners to a facility at the American base in Guantanamo, Cuba. They were among the first suspected terrorists to be handled under the new laws created by the federal government to deal with terrorism after September 11, 2001. The Patriot Act of 2001 was the most important of these new laws. The post-September 11 laws and policies made it possible for suspected terrorists to be held for months, and in many cases years, without access to lawyers, without facing formal charges, subjected to intensive interrogation and torture. They became examples to many critics of the dangers to basic civil liberties they believed the war on terrorism had created. Several Supreme Court rulings, including one in 2008, dismissed the Bush administration's argument that detainees in Guantanamo were outside the reach of American law. But the administration was slow to comply. Before his election in 2008, Barack Obama promised to close the Guantanamo prison, which had become a symbol to many people of unfair treatment. But once in office, Obama found it difficult to keep this promise because of popular opposition to moving prisoners into facilities in the United States. The Iraq War In his State of the Union address to Congress in January 2002, President Bush spoke of an "axis of evil," which included the nations of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea-all nations with anti-American regimes, all nations that either possessed or were thought to be trying to acquire nuclear weapons. Although President Bush did not say so at the time, many people around the world interpreted these words to mean that the United States would soon try to topple the government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. SADDAM HUSSEIN On December 14, 2003, American forces captured Hussein at a farmhouse near Tikrit, Iraq. He was tried and found guilty of crimes against humanity for the death of 148 Iraqi Shi'ites. Hussein was hanged on December 30, 2006. (© Getty

Images News/Getty Images)

## THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 873 Kabul#

AFGHANISTAN 1979 — U.S. supports guerillas fighting Soviet invaders 2001 — U.S. begins military action against Taliban regime for its support of terrorism PAKISTAN < Arabian Sea IRAN 1953 — U.S. supports Shah, helps put down anti-U.S. socialist government 1979 — Shah overthrown 1979-1981— Hostage crisis INDIAN OCEAN | Israel, 1948 Territory occupied, 1 982-1 986 Territory gained, 1949 Area of Israeli settlements Territory occupied, 1967 OPEC member nations f Territory yielded, 1 979-1 982 ▲ Major oil fields OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Members not shown are Nigeria, Algeria, Gabon, Indonesia, Venezuela, and Ecuador) PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization

CRISES IN THE MIDDLE EAST In the 1970s and beyond, the Middle East became one of the most turbulent regions of the world and one of the regions most vital to, and difficult for, the United States. The United States intervened in the Middle East frequently during the Cold War and beyond, in ways both large and small, as this map reveals. After the events of September 2001, those interventions increased. • Why did the United States have so much at stake in the Middle East? For over a year after that, the Bush administration slowly built a public case for invading Iraq. Much of that case rested on two claims. One was that Iraq was supporting terrorist groups that were hostile to the United States. The other, and eventually the more important, was that Iraq either had or was developing what came to be known as "weapons of mass destruction," which included nuclear weapons and agents of chemical and biological warfare. Less central to these arguments, at least in the United States, was the charge that the Hussein government was responsible for major violations of



**AMERICA IN THE WORLD** The Global Environmental Movement A M international movement for well over a century, environmentalism has grown rapidly IN throughout the world in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. What began as a series of efforts to preserve wilderness sites and to clean up air and water in particular nations has evolved into a broad effort to deal with problems that affect, and threaten, the entire globe. Organizations both in the United States and elsewhere have sought to create an international environmental movement. The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) was created in Switzerland in 1961. It eventually attracted more than 5 million supporters in over 90 countries and now claims to be the world's largest independent conservation organization. Greenpeace was founded in Canada in 1971 in opposition to U.S. nuclear testing in Alaska. It too has grown into an international organization, with 2.9 million financial supporters worldwide and a presence in 42 nations. Leading American environmental associations include the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club, and the National Audubon Society. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as Greenpeace and WWF were not the only institutions to recognize environmental concerns. In June 1972, the United Nations held its first Conference on the Human Environment. Representatives of 113 countries attended the conference to discuss issues of global environmental importance—including the role of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), a chemical compound used in refrigerants and aerosol sprays, in depleting the ozone layer. After the conference, the UN created the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to help coordinate international efforts for environmentalism and encourage sustainable development in poorer nations around the world. The world's first "Green" parties— political parties explicitly devoted to environmental concerns (and often also to other issues of social justice)— appeared in 1972, beginning in New Zealand (the Values Party) and Tasmania (the United Tasmania Group). Since then, Green parties have proliferated throughout the world, including in the United States. The most powerful Green party to date has been Die Grune in Germany, founded in 1980. Large-scale ecological catastrophes have often helped galvanize the global environmental movement. Among the more significant of these events was the Bhopal disaster of 1984, in which a gas leak at a Union Carbide

pesticide plant in Bhopal, India, resulted in the deaths of an estimated 3,000 to 15,000 people. Two years later, a nuclear reactor accident in the Soviet city of Chernobyl in Ukraine caused 56 direct deaths, with predictions of many thousands more deaths to follow as a result of exposure. The area around Chernobyl is expected to be partially contaminated for 24,000 years, the radioactive half-life of plutonium-239. A less catastrophic nuclear accident at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, in 1979 heightened antinuclear sentiment in the United States. In 1989, the oil tanker Exxon Valdez ran aground on Bligh Reef in Prince William Sound, Alaska, and spilled approximately 10.9 million gallons of crude oil. Eventually covering thousands of square miles of ocean water (and 1,300 miles of Alaska shoreline) in oil, the spill killed hundreds of thousands of animals instantly and devastated the fragile ecosystem of the Sound. An even greater oil spill occurred in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010 from an explosion in a deep well established by BP. Eleven people died in the explosion, and almost 5 million barrels of petroleum were released into the water. In developed, industrialized nations, environmental advocacy has largely focused on energy policy, conservation, clean technologies, and changing individual and social attitudes about consumption (as in the recycling movement). In the developing world, however, the growth of environmentalism is often linked to issues of human and democratic rights and freedom from First World exploitation. For example, the Green Belt Movement in Kenya, begun in 1977 by Wangari Maathai, encouraged Kenyan women to plant over 30 million trees across the nation to address the challenges of deforestation, soil erosion, and lack of water. The Green Belt Movement human rights. Except for the last, none of these claims turned out to be accurate. In March 2003, American and British troops, with scant support from other countries and partial authorization from the United Nations, invaded Iraq and quickly toppled the Hussein regime. Hussein went into hiding but was eventually captured in December 2003 and executed in 2006. In May 2003, shortly after the American capture of Baghdad, President Bush made a dramatic appearance on an aircraft carrier off the coast of California, where, standing in front of a large sign reading "Mission Accomplished," he declared victory in the Iraq War. In fact, the war in Iraq continued for six more years, during which 3,600 soldiers were killed (out of just over 4,200 in total). Support

for the war in the United States steadily declined in the first months of the war, especially when it became clear that the "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq turned out not to exist. Reports of torture of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers increased the unpopularity of the war. 874 • The invasion of Iraq was the most visible evidence of a basic change in the structure of American foreign policy under the presidency of George W. Bush. Ever since the late 1940s, when the containment policy became the cornerstone of America's role in the world, the United States had worked to maintain stability in the world by containing, but not often directly threatening or attacking, its adversaries. Even after the Cold War ended, the United States continued to demonstrate a reasonable level of constraint, despite its unchallenged military preeminence. In the administrations of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton, for example, American leaders worked closely with the United Nations and NATO to achieve U.S. international goals and usually resisted taking unilateral military action. There had always been those who criticized these constraints. They believed that America should do more than maintain stability, and should move actively to topple undemocratic regimes and destroy potential enemies of the United States. In the administration of George W. Bush, imiiiiimiiiiimmmi

THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 875 became an important human rights and women's rights organization, focused on reducing poverty and promoting peaceful democratic change through environmental conservation and protection. Maathai, winner of the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize, has since served as Kenya's assistant minister for Environment and Natural Resources. In the past two decades the environmental movement has grown even more global in scope, with multilateral environmental treaties and worldwide summits becoming principal strategies of advocates. In 1997, an international effort to reduce global warming by mandating the lowering of greenhouse gas emissions culminated in the Kyoto protocols, which as of late 2010 had been ratified by 183 nations (with the United States a conspicuous exception). A leading figure in bringing the issue of global warming to wide attention both in the United States and around the world has been former vice president Al Gore, whose 2006 film, *An Inconvenient Truth*, may have done more to raise awareness of the threat of global warming than any other recent event. The film won an Academy Award as Best Documentary Feature, and Gore won the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts on behalf of the movement he has championed. Elis co-winner was the International Panel on Climate Change, launched in Switzerland in 1988 and affiliated with the United Nations.

• UNDERSTAND, ANALYZE, AND EVALUATE

1. Why are environmental movements in developing nations often linked to issues of human rights and protection from exploitation by developed nations? How do developed nations threaten the environment of developing nations?
2. How did the 2010 BP explosion and oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico affect the environment? What was the effect on the environmental movement?
3. Environmental organizations include grassroots associations, worldwide NGOs, and national political parties. How do these groups focus attention on environmental issues? Which type of organization do you think would be most successful at reaching its goals? Why?

these critics took control of American foreign policy and began to reshape it. The legacy of containment was repudiated. Instead, the public stance of the American government was Bush Foreign Policy that the United States had the right and the responsibility to spread freedom throughout the world-not just by exhortation and example, but also, when necessary, by military

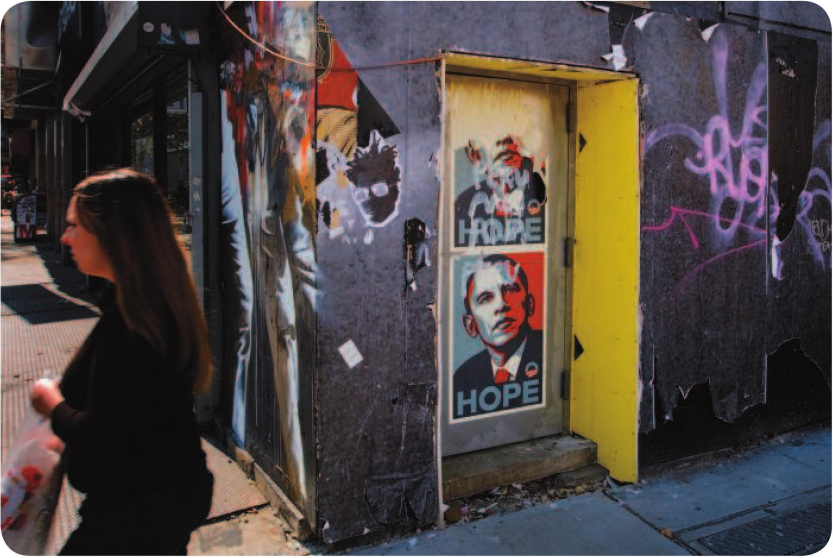


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876 CHAPTER 32 Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. President Obama struggled to maintain support in light of the flagging support for the war in Afghanistan, a hostile Congress, and difficulties in rolling out his Affordable Care Act, the Administration's comprehensive health care plan. The Unraveling of the Bush Presidency For most of the first three years of his presidency, George W. Bush enjoyed broad popularity because of his resolute stance against terrorism. Indeed, his firm position even buoyed his approval ratings during the controversial Iraq War, at least for a while. Bush's domestic policies did little to strengthen him politically, however. The president's tax cuts of 2001 disproportionately benefited wealthy Americans, reflecting the view of White House economists that the best way to ensure growth was to put money into the hands of people most likely to invest. The tax cuts also contributed to the nearly \$10 trillion increase in the national debt during the Bush presidency. Also controversial was one of Bush's most significant domestic accomplishments, an education bill known as "No Child Left Behind," which tied federal funding in schools to the success of students in taking standardized tests. Some educators and parents favored No Child Left Behind, but many others felt that students spent too many hours in the classroom learning how to take tests rather than think for themselves. By 2004, when the president faced reelection, it seemed by no means certain that he would be returned to office. Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, a Vietnam veteran who opposed the war in Iraq, mounted a strong attack against the president by criticizing his policies. But harsh assaults on Kerry in return, combined with the mobilization of large numbers of conservatives, helped Bush win a narrow victory. Bush's second term was a difficult one. The war in Iraq was going badly, and its growing unpopularity added to the rapidly declining approval ratings of the president himself—ratings that by mid-2008 had reached the lowest level of presidential approval in the history of polling. Perhaps even more damaging to President Bush was the government's response to a disastrous hurricane, Katrina, that devastated a massive swath of the coastline of the Gulf of Mexico in August 2005 and gravely damaged the city Hurricane \_ XT \_ , \_ r , , Katrina °f New Orleans. The federal governments . slow response aroused anger throughout the nation, contributing to the loss of the Republican majorities in

both houses and leaving Bush with little support. At the same time, there were scandals in the Justice Department, revelations of illegal violations of civil liberties, and declining economic prospects that would culminate in the financial crisis of 2008. The Election of 2008 and the Financial Crisis Both parties began the 2008 campaign with large fields of candidates, but by spring the contest had narrowed considerably. Senator John McCain of Arizona emerged from the early primaries with the Republican nomination assured. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York (the former First Lady) and Senator Barack Obama of Illinois campaigned aggressively against each other for months. Clinton might have been the first female U.S. president. But Obama's organizational power among young voters and his inspirational messages of hope and change helped him secure primary votes and win the Democratic nomination. He entered the general election with a chance to become the nation's first African American president. McCain and Obama entered the campaign with very different programs. McCain supported the Iraq War and Obama did not. Obama wanted national health insurance and McCain did not. McCain wanted additional tax cuts to spur investment, while Obama urged tax increases on the wealthiest Americans. Obama went with experience and name recognition in picking OBAMANIA. Posters of and about Barack Obama were widely visible during the 2008 presidential campaign. In this photograph, a New Yorker walks past one example of the Obama street art that spread through many American cities— and, indeed, through cities around the world. Among the depictions of Obama during the campaign were the work of leading artists, who saw in him a figure of possibly historic significance. (© Chris McGrath/Getty Images)



THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 877 Barack Obama 365  
69,297,997 (Democrat) (53.7) John McCain 173 59,597,520  
(Republican) (46.2) THE ELECTION OF 2008 The election of 2008  
broke the pattern of very close divisions between the two parties  
and instead produced a decisive victory for Barack Obama. For the  
first time since 1996, Democrats won states in the South and carried  
most of the "swing states." The election also carried large majorities  
for the Democrats in both the House and the Senate, only to see the  
Republicans carry a majority of the House in 2010. his vice  
presidential running mate. Senator Joe Biden of Delaware. McCain  
chose an almost unknown figure to share his ticket-Governor Sarah  
Palin of Alaska. Palin soon became the hero of many conservatives  
in the Republican convention. But her inexperience seemed to  
damage the Republican campaign. Before the conventions, Obama  
was already leading strongly in the polls. As the nomination  
campaigns were heating up, a series of financial problems had  
arisen in mid-2007. By 2008, the nation was facing its worst  
financial crisis since the Great Depression. For years, financial  
institutions had been developing new credit instruments intended to  
make borrowing easier and cheaper, which lured millions of people  
into taking on large and risky mortgages. One such instrument,  
called an adjustable rate mortgage (ARM), offered homebuyers  
mortgages with initially low interest rates that would increase in  
later years. Other loans, called "jumbo loans," extended credit to  
people who lacked the financial means needed to pay them back.  
For a while, the sale of houses, many of which were based on these  
risky mortgages, increased, causing a "housing bubble"-a rapid rise  
in housing prices fueled by high demand. These business practices  
were made possible with the repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act in  
1999. Glass-Steagall had been passed in 1933 to prevent  
irresponsible banking practices by mandating layers of government  
oversight designed to catch fraud or risky investment strategies.  
With more and more purchases, the price of homes fell. In time.  
however, many people with the reset higher mortgage rates or  
jumbo loans could not sell the homes that they could no longer  
afford. In many cases, the market value of the home sank below the  
value of the mortgages held, causing some homeowners to walk  
away from their property and default on their loans. Foreclosures  
were numerous across the country. Many of the nation's largest

banks had invested heavily in the securities that backed these risky loans; now, with the collapse of the housing market, they lost vast sums of money. The so-called Great Recession of 2008, influenced by the loan crisis, also pushed down wages and triggered widespread job layoffs making it impossible for the additional owners of 2008 ARMS and jumbo loans to make payments. Financial crisis thus increased the number of home foreclosures. Many Americans could not meet their other financial obligations such as the repayment of school loans or credit card debt. There was also less money available for investing, or economic growth. The increased unemployment rate further accelerated the downward economic spiral. By mid-September 2008, the financial crisis suggested an economy falling out of control. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Paulson, supported by other economic leaders, proposed the massive use of federal funds to help the government bail out banks that were failing. Both the Bush administration and eventually the Obama administration won congressional support for \$750 billion in the form of the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) to shore up the tottering financial institutions. The bailout kept the economy from collapsing, but it remained very weak for several years, with exceptionally high unemployment rates. During this crisis, McCain and Obama fought out the last two months of their campaign. Obama benefited from George W. Bush's unpopularity. With the incoming president facing another powerful downturn in the economy, McCain's response seemed to associate him with Bush's policies, increasingly viewed by many Americans as causing the financial meltdown, whereas Obama conveyed a message that seemed to signal new and more hopeful possibilities. What had been at times a close race ended in a strong showing for Obama, and on November 4, 2008, he won the popular vote 53 percent to 46 percent and the electoral vote by an even larger margin. The Obama Presidency Few modern presidents have entered the White House with higher expectations from the nation and even the world, so it was inevitable that many of Obama's supporters would eventually be disappointed. The enormity of the tasks Obama faced-managing the worst economy since the 1930s, one war in Iraq and another in Afghanistan, and a polarized political climate-made his presidency extraordinarily difficult. At the time of Obama's inauguration, millions of Americans were unemployed. Major companies, especially in the

878 CHAPTER 32 automobile industry, faced bankruptcy. The home mortgage and other financial industries were still on the verge of collapse despite Bush's intervention. Obama's initial aspirations had to be put aside to confront the very dangerous reality that the country was on the verge of an economic depression possibly greater in scope and impact than the one of the 1930s. To shore up the faltering economy, Obama engineered the largest economic stimulus in history. The Obama stimulus package, announced in 2009, included tax cuts, expanded unemployment benefits, and increased Stimulus, J Package spending on education, infrastructure, police, health care, and job creation. The total funding for all of these programs reached \$787 billion. Though controversial and passed by only a slight margin in Congress, in 2014 most economists agree that the stimulus measures saved the economy from catastrophe. Still, a large number of critics believe that Obama's stimulus package was a significant waste of money that added considerably to the national debt. Even in such a precarious economic environment, Obama pressed for the passage of his Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act to realize the dream of many liberals since the 1930s: universal health care. The act urged all Americans to purchase health insurance, making provisions to help those of limited financial means to acquire it. Though the bill finally passed Congress in March 2010 despite threats of filibustering, the Republicans condemned this reform as "socialized medicine" and vowed to repeal it or defeat it through judicial action. Most of the benefits of the Affordable Care Act, as it is more commonly known, did not go into effect until 2014, that is, until Obama's second term. To the embarrassment of the administration and delight of critics, the rollout of the plan in October 2013 experienced significant technical problems when the federal website designed to process new insurance applications failed to work properly. There were many opponents of "Obamacare"-as many derisively called the Affordable Care Act. Some of Obama's political adversaries were a group of evangelical, conservative, and libertarian Republicans who came to be known as the "Tea Party." An early leader of the Tea Party was Senator Ted Cruz of Texas. Although the Tea Party could not stop passage of the Affordable Care Act, they used their opposition to it to spearhead their overall conservative agenda: deficit reduction, tax reduction,



and smaller government. The Tea Party's appeal to wealthy conservatives brought large financial contributions that gave this group a disproportionate political influence that belied its relatively small numbers. With the help of the conservative media, the Tea Party exerted increasing pressure on the Republican Party as a whole. In the 2010 midterm elections, 130 Tea Party-endorsed candidates were sworn in as members of Congress. The Tea Party contributed to the strong polarization of the federal government that resulted in a great deal of legislative gridlock, including a Tea Party International Relations shutdown of many federal services and operations from October 1 to 16, 2013, when Congress did not vote to provide the necessary funds. Obama came into office with an ambitious plan for reshaping America's role in the world. The American combat role in Iraq was diminishing in the last year of the Bush administration, but Obama brought it to an end in August 2010. At the same time, he committed significant additional troops to the war in Afghanistan, where Americans had been fighting since 2001. With former rival Hillary Clinton as his secretary of state, Obama sought peace between Israel and Palestine-an effort that, like all previous ones, was extraordinarily difficult. They sought to improve relations with many nations that the Iraq War had damaged and built new international trade opportunities. In 2009, Obama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his "extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples." In the fall of 2010, President Obama visited India, China, and South Korea hoping for progress on trade, but China and South Korea failed to reach agreements with the United States. The Tea Party wasn't Obama's only critic during his first term-he also faced opposition from the political left. Some Democrats felt that he had moved too far to the right and had unnecessarily compromised core Democratic goals. Many people believed that Obama had failed to do many of the things he had promised to do in the campaign, such as closing the Guantanamo prison. Disgruntled critics protested that the president did not punish those financiers whom they held responsible for the global economic crisis. The so-called Occupy Wall Street movement arose as a populist response to the perception of increasing economic inequality. Protesters gathering in New York's Zuccotti Park near Wall ~ Street and in other cities across the counOrriJPY Wat i Street try usec^ title °f an article by econo. mist Joseph Stiglitz, "Of

the 1%, by the 1%, for the 1%,” to animate their position. In his article, Stiglitz argued that the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans owned over 40 percent of the nation’s wealth. The crowd roared back “We are the 99 percent” to heighten the disparity between the fabulously wealthy and everyone else. Economic inequality became an important theme in the presidential election of 2012. The impact of money on politics became mainstream news in 2010 with the Supreme Court decision in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*. In this case, the conservative-leaning court ruled that government couldn’t limit campaign-related expenditures from corporations or unions. Critics of the decision, including people sympathetic to the “Occupy” movement, felt that it favored the Republicans because wealthy donors tended to donate to that party. The ability of corporations to donate freely to individual campaigns would change the financing associated with the coming 2012 presidential election; indeed, more money was spent on that election than on any other in history.

THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 879 While Barack Obama and Joe Biden once again occupied the Democratic ticket, the Republican primaries were tough contests involving a large field of candidates. Businessman and former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney finally prevailed to win the Republican nomination with his vice presidential running mate. Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin. Originally a moderate Republican, Romney changed his position on a range of issues, including abortion and health care, apparently to appeal to the increasingly conservative nature of his party. Democrats would make his changed positions a focus of their campaign. The key issues of the 2012 election included health-care reform, immigration reform, the federal budget deficit, and taxation and spending. The strained economy kept the focus more on domestic than international concerns. Perhaps the most pressing issue, though, was the high rate of unemployment a problem that President Obama had struggled to remedy throughout most of his first term. Despite this lingering problem, Obama outlined his successes and pointed to them as the Justification for a second term. He had withdrawn most of the troops from Iraq, as promised. Most dramatically, he had succeeded in overseeing the tracking down and, on May 2, 2011, the killing of al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks. One of Obama's greatest legislative achievements-the Affordable Care Act-also survived a challenge to its constitutionality in the Supreme Court's 2012 decision in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius*.

Barack Obama 332 65,915,796 (Democratic) (51.1%) Mitt Romney 206 60,933,500 (Republican) (47.2%)

THE ELECTION OF 2012

President Obama and Vice President Biden won a decisive victory over Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan. Republicans retained control of the House while Democrats kept control of the Senate. The head-to-head contest between Romney and Obama at times seemed close, but a generally improving economy, the death of bin Laden, and several political missteps by Romney helped Obama. When voters finally cast their ballots, Obama won 51 percent of the popular vote to Romney's 47 percent, translating into 332 electoral votes for the president and 206 for his rival. President Obama's second term posed many challenges on both the domestic and international fronts. One event that extended to both realms was the disclosure of a large number of classified documents by computer speControversy

cialist Edward Snowden. On June 5, 2013, . Snowden, a former contractor for the National Security Agency (NSA), released a vast number of classified documents to several media outlets. This action was viewed by many observers as the most serious leak since Daniel Ellsworth released the Pentagon Papers in 1971. The released documents showed extensive governmental surveillance of private Internet and telephone data, including the monitoring of the personal phone lines of such foreign leaders as Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel. Snowden fled the United States, first to China and then to Russia, to avoid criminal charges. Some called Snowden a traitor, others, a heroic champion of civil liberties. One of the most serious international events during President Obama's second term took place in Syria, a country locked in violent civil war since 2011. Opponents of the Ba'ath government sought the ouster of President Bashar al-Assad and his repressive regime. Assad unleashed the army in response, killing an estimated 120,000 of his own people by September 2013. The displacement of hundreds of thousands of Syrians into neighboring countries threatened to further destabilize the region. Assad's use of chemical weapons triggered a strong condemnation by the United States and its European allies. Working with Russia, a traditional ally of the Assad regime, the United States and Europe brokered a deal to remove the stockpile of chemical weapons from the country. Obama, aware of the national unwillingness for the United States to become involved in another ground war, resisted calls for sending troops to dislodge Assad. The violent struggle continued through 2014 with no solution in sight. The political gridlock of Obama's presidency continued into his second term. Many of his initiatives either encountered serious obstacles or did not come to pass. After his second inaugural, Obama and his strategists hoped to cement their gains among the Latino population revealed in the general election. Many Republicans, as well. Political Gridlock believed that their party should reach out . to this growing sector of the population by pushing through an immigration reform bill. On June 27, 2013, the Senate passed the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013 as a comprehensive package of provisions, including a path to US citizenship for illegal immigrants already in the country. As of spring 2014, the House had not passed the bill owing to powerful conservative Republican opposition.

## 880 CHAPTER 32 OBAMA GRIEVES WITH A NATION

President Barak Obama speaks at a memorial service for the 26 people killed on December 16, 2012 by a gunman at the Sandy Hook Elementary School. His subsequent attempts at gun control reform were blocked by the House of Representative whose majority argued for the right of Americans to keep and bear arms without interference from the government. (© AFP/Getty Images)

Another disappointment for President Obama and his supporters involved the failure to enact meaningful gun control measures despite a series of horrific shootings occurring during his terms in office, including the shooting of twenty children and six adults at the Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, on December 14, 2012. Despite the president's promise to exert "whatever power this office holds" to generate such gun control reform, the Congress resisted enacting any such legislation. The National Rifle Association and the conservative wing of the Republican Party successfully warded off any change on the federal level of the right of Americans to buy and use guns. The gridlock of the House also dashed any hopes President Obama had of gaining a grand budget deal. The Congress remained sharply divided on questions of taxation, budget deficits, and government spending. In early 2014, the federal government did avert another shutdown in a move that some in the media interpreted as a sign of restored power to the mainstream Republican leadership and a lessening of the influence of the Tea Party.

LOOKING BACK The United States in the first decade of the twenty-first century was a nation beset with many problems and anxieties. U.S. foreign policy after the attacks of September 11, 2001, had not only divided the American people but had also deeply alienated much of the world. The American economy was struggling as early as 2007 and, in the fall of 2008, experienced the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. By 2014 the economy had improved but some polls indicated a continuing sense of uncertainty about the future among many Americans. Gridlock continued at the federal level, making it difficult to achieve sweeping reform in several key areas. Political divisions-not only among politicians, but also among voters-were as great as they had been in many years. The United States remains the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world, and it continues to cherish great ideals and great hopes. Moving forward

into an uncertain future, Americans are burdened with serious problems and great challenges, but they are also armed with extraordinary resilience and energy that has allowed the nation-through its long and turbulent history-to endure, to flourish, and to imagine and strive for a better future. Key Terms/ People/ Places/ Events AIDS 866 Al Gore 859 Al-Qaeda 872 Barack Obama 876 Bill Clinton 857 George W. Bush 859 Hillary Rodham Clinton 857 John McCain 876 Monica Lewinsky 859 "New World Order" 868 Newt Gingrich 858 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 857 Osama bin Laden 872 Taliban 872

## THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION 881 RECALL AND

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III III III III MINIM III III III Mill III III III MINIM III III III MINIM  
III III III III III III III III III III 1. What challenges did Bill Clinton  
face upon his election to the presidency? What were the  
accomplishments of his administration? What were its setbacks and  
failures? 2. What led to the economic boom of the 1980s and  
1990s? What setbacks to the economy occurred in those years? 3.  
On what issues do critics of genetic and stem-cell research focus  
their opposition? 4. What was the digital revolution, and how did it  
affect U.S. politics, the U.S. economy, and American society? 5.  
How has America's relationship to the rest of the world changed as  
a result of the war on terrorism and U.S. involvement in Iraq and  
Afghanistan? 6. What were Barack Obama's most important  
achievements in his first term as president? What were his principal  
failures? 7. What is America's place in the world today? What are  
the challenges and opportunities facing the nation? SIGNIFICANT  
EVENTS 1992 Bill Clinton elected president 1994 Congress rejects  
health-care reform Republicans win control of both houses of  
Congress 1996 Clinton reelected president; Republicans retain  
control of Congress Congress passes and president signs major  
welfare reform bill, minimum-wage increase, and health-insurance  
reform 1998 Lewinsky scandal rocks Clinton presidency Democrats  
gain in congressional elections Clinton impeached by House 2000  
George W. Bush wins contested presidential election 2002  
Corporate scandals rock business world 2004 Bush defeats John  
Kerry in presidential election 2006 Democrats gain control of both  
houses of Congress 2008 Barack Obama elected nation's first  
African American president 1993 Congress ratifies North American  
Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 1995 Showdown between president  
and Congress leads to shutdown of federal government 1997  
President and Congress agree on plan to balance budget Justice  
Department files antitrust suits against Microsoft 1999 Senate  
acquits Clinton in impeachment trial 2001 Terrorists destroy World  
Trade Center and damage Pentagon United States begins military  
action against Afghanistan 2003 United States invades Iraq 2005  
Hurricane Katrina devastates New Orleans and the Gulf Coast 2007  
Troop "surge" in Iraq Mortgage crisis weakens economy

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## APPENDIXES

Vancouver Island A-2 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii





co<sup>m</sup> ‘ Galveston wgt Bav Gulf of Mexico Chesapeake Bay ATLANTIC  
OCEAN Superior 0 150 300 kilometers Land Elevation Feet Meters  
Over 1 3,000 Over 3,000 6,560-13,000 2,000-3,000 3,280-6,560  
1,000-2,000 660-3,280 2001-1,000 0-660 0-200 Below sea level  
Below sea level ATLANTIC OCEAN PUERTO RICO Caribbean Sea 0  
50 100 miles 100 kilometers \$ & CUBA A-3 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



## UNITED STATES TERRITORIAL EXPANSION, 1783-1898

United States Territorial Expansion, 1783-1898 d859) Date of statehood The United States \_ in 1783 Louisiana Purchase, \_ 1803 West Florida annexation, 1810, 1813 Florida: East Florida cession by Spain, 1819 Texas Annexation, 1845 Oregon Country, 1846 Mexican Cession, 1848 Gadsden Purchase, 1853 \_ 1819 Treaty with Spain defined border of Oregon and Louisiana - Texas boundary claimed by U.S., 1845-1848 ARCTIC OCEAN GREENLAND (Denmark) ALASKA (1959) Purchased from Russia 1867 H Hudson Bay CANADA United States claim ceded to Britain 1846 A-4 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE In Congress, July 4, 1776, The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world: He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts

of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within. He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power. He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation: For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States: For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: For imposing taxes on us without our consent: For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury: For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences: For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies: For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our

governments: For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for use in all cases whatsoever. A-5 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

A-6 APPENDIXES He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends, and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions. In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends. We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and



independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members: New Hampshire Josiah Bartlett William Whipple Matthew Thornton Massachusetts Bay Samuel Adams John Adams Robert Treat Paine Elbridge Gerry Rhode Island Stephen Hopkins William Ellery Connecticut Robert Sherman Samuel Huntington William Williams Oliver Wolcott John Hancock New York Delaware North Carolina William Floyd Caesar Rodney William Hooper Philip Livingston George Read Joseph Hewes Francis Lewis Lewis Morris Thomas McKean John Penn Maryland South Carolina New Jersey Samuel Chase Edward Rutledge Richard Stockton William Paca Thomas Heyward, Jr. John Witherspoon Thomas Stone Thomas Lynch, Jr. Francis Hopkinson Charles Carroll, Arthur Middleton John Hart of Carrollton Georgia Abraham Clark Virginia Button Gwinnett Pennsylvania George Wythe Lyman Hall Robert Morris Richard Henry Lee George Walton Benjamin Rush Thomas Jefferson Benjamin Franklin Benjamin Harrison John Morton Thomas Nelson, Jr. George Clymer Francis Lightfoot Lee James Smith George Taylor James Wilson George Ross Carter Braxton Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF

AMERICA<sup>1</sup> We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America. Article I Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen. [Representatives and direct Taxes<sup>2</sup> shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.]<sup>3</sup> The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five. New York six. New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten. North Carolina five. South Carolina five, and Georgia three. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies. The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment. Hhis version, which follows the original Constitution in capitalization and spelling, was published by the United States Department of the Interior, Office of

Education, in 1935. 2Altered by the Sixteenth Amendment.

3Negated by the Fourteenth Amendment. Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote. Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies. No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided. The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States. The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present. Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor. Trust, or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment, and Punishment, according to Law. Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of Chusing Senators. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different day. Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its

own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties, as each House may provide. • A-7 iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

A-8 APPENDIXES Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting. Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place. No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States shall be a Member of either House during his continuance in Office. Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other bills. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If

any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; To borrow money on the credit of the United States; To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes; To establish an uniform rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States; To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures; To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States; To establish Post Offices and post Roads; To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries; To constitute Tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court; To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations; To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water; To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years; To provide and maintain a Navy; To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval forces; To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions; To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the

discipline prescribed by Congress; To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dockyards, and other needful Buildings;-And To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution for foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof. Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A-9 prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person. The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it. No bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed. No capitation, or other direct. Tax shall be laid unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken. No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State. No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another. No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time. No title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present. Emolument, Office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State. Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any title of Nobility. No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws; and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress. No state shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay. Article II Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall



hold his Office during the Term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows: Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector. [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]<sup>4</sup> The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States. No person except a natural-born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States. In Case of the Removal of the President from Office,

or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected. The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them. Before he enter on the execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: - \*I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of 4Revised by the Twelfth Amendment.

A-10 APPENDIXES the United States, and will, to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.” Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session. Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States. Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of. Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors. Article III Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated

Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office. Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;-to all Cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;-to all cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;-to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;-to Controversies between two or more States;between a State and Citizens of another State;5-between Citizens of different States-between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens, or Subjects. In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make. The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed. Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court. The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attained. Article IV Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof. Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States. A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the crime. No Person held to Service

or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due. sQualified by the Eleventh Amendment.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A-11

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress. The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article V The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation. This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of

the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious Tests shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States. Article VII The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same. Done in convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.<sup>6</sup> George Washington, President and deputy from Virginia New Hampshire North Carolina John Langdon William Blount Nicholas Gilman Richard Dobbs Spaight Massachusetts Hugh Williamson Nathaniel Gorham Maryland Rufus King James McHenry Connecticut Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer Daniel Carroll William Samuel Johnson Roger Sherman New York Alexander Hamilton Virginia John Blair James Madison, Jr. Delaware George Read Gunning Bedford, Jr. John Dickinson Richard Bassett Jacob Broom South Carolina John Rutledge Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Pierce Butler New Jersey William Livingston David Brearley William Paterson Jonathan Dayton Georgia William Few Abraham Baldwin Pennsylvania Benjamin Franklin Thomas Mifflin Robert Morris George Clymer Thomas FitzSimons Jared Ingersoll James Wilson Gouverneur Morris Articles in Addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, Proposed by Congress, and Ratified by the Legislatures of the Several States, Pursuant to the Fifth Article of the Original Constitution<sup>7</sup> <sup>6</sup>These are the full names of the signers, which in some cases are not the signatures on the document. <sup>7</sup>This heading appears only in the joint resolution submitting the first ten amendments.

A-12 APPENDIXES [Article I] Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. [Article II] A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed. [Article III] No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law. [Article IV] The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. [Article V] No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. [Article VI] In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence. [Article VII] In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law. [Article VIII] Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. [Article IX] The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or



disparage others retained by the people. [Article X] The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. [Amendments I-X, in force 1791.] [Article XI]8 The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State. [Article XII]9 The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seal of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;-The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.-The person having the greatest 8Adopted in 1798. 9Adopted in 1804.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A-13 number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States. [Article XIII]10

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Article XIV]11

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or 10Adopted in 1865. 1 Adopted in

1868. as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability. Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debts or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void. Section 5. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article. [Article XV]<sup>12</sup> Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Article XVI]<sup>13</sup> The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration. [Article XVII]<sup>14</sup> The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided , That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct. This amendment shall not be so constructed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution. <sup>12</sup>Adopted in 1870. <sup>13</sup>Adopted in 1913. <sup>14</sup>Adopted in 1913.

A-14 APPENDIXES [Article XVIII]15 Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited. Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress. [Article XIX]16 The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Article XX]17 Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin. Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day. Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the VicePresident elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice-President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified. IsAdopted in 1918. 16Adopted in 1920. 17Adopted in 1933. Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have developed upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose

a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have developed upon them. Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article. Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission. [Article XXI]18 Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed. Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited. Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress. [Article XXII]19 No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the states by the Congress.

18Adopted in 1933. 19Adopted in 1961.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A-15 [Article XXIII]20 Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct: A number of electors of President and Vice-President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice-President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment. Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Article XXIV]21 Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax. Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Article XXV]22 Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President. Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress. Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President. Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President. Thereafter, when the President transmits

to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office. [Article XXVI]<sup>23</sup> Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age. Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Article XXVII]<sup>24</sup> No law varying the compensation for the services of Senators and Representatives shall take effect until an election of Representatives shall have intervened. <sup>20</sup>Adopted in 1961. <sup>21</sup>Adopted in 1964. <sup>23</sup>Adopted in 1971. <sup>22</sup>Adopted in 1967. <sup>24</sup>Adopted in 1992.

[illegible]

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| Year                                                                                              | 1848 | 1852                        | 1856 | 1860 | 1864 | 1868 | 1872 | 1876 | 1880 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1884                                                                                              | 1888 | 1892                        | 1896 | 1900 | 1904 | 1908 | 1912 | 1916 | 1920 |
| 1924                                                                                              | 1928 | PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS A-17 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Candidates Parties Popular Vote                                                                   |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Percentage of Popular Vote Electoral Vote Percentage of Voter                                     |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Participation Zachary Taylor (La.) Whig 1,360,967 47.4 163 72.7                                   |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Lewis Cass Democratic 1,222,342 42.5 127 Martin Van Buren Free-Soil 291,263 10.1                  |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Franklin Pierce (N.H.) Democratic 1,601,117 50.9 254 69.6                                         |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Winfield Scott Whig 1,385,453 44.1 42 John P. Hale Free-Soil 155,825 5.0                          |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Janies Buchanan (Pa.) Democratic 1,832,955 45.3 741 78.9                                          |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John C. Fremont Republican 1,339,932 33.1 114 Millard Fillmore American 871,731 21.6              |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 8 Abraham Lincoln (III.) Republican 1,865,593 39.8 180 81.2                                       |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Stephen A. Douglas Democratic 1,382,713 29.5 12                                                   |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John C. Breckinridge Democratic 848,356 18.1 72                                                   |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Bell Union 592,906 12.6 39 Abraham Lincoln (III.) Republican 2,213,655 55.0                  |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 212 73.8 George B. McClellan Democratic 1,805,237 45.0                                            |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 21 Ulysses S. Grant (III.) Republican 3,012,833 52.7                                              |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 214 78.1 Horatio Seymour Democratic 2,703,249 47.3                                                |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 80 Ulysses S. Grant (III.) Republican 3,597,132 55.6 286 71.3                                     |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Horace Greeley Democratic; Liberal Republican 2,834,125 43.9 66                                   |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Rutherford B. Hayes (Ohio) Republican 4,036,298 48.0 185 81.8                                     |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Samuel J. Tilden Democratic 4,300,590 51.0 184 James A. Garfield (Ohio) Republican 4,454,416 48.5 |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 214 79.4 Winfield S. Hancock Democratic 4,444,952 48.1                                            |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 155 Grover Cleveland (N Y.) Democratic 4,874,986 48.5                                             |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 219 77.5 James G. Blaine Republican 4,851,981 48.2                                                |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 182 Benjamin Harrison (Ind.) Republican 5,439,853 47.9                                            |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 233 79.3 Grover Cleveland Democratic 5,540,309 48.6 168                                           |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Grover Cleveland (N Y.) Democratic 5,556,918 46.1 277 74.7                                        |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Benjamin Harrison Republican 5,176,108 43.0 145 James B. Weaver People's 1,041,028 8.5            |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 22 William Mckinley (Ohio) Republican 7,104,779 51.1                                              |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 271 79.3 William J. Bryan Democratic People's 6,502,925 47.7                                      |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 176 William Mckinley (Ohio) Republican 7,207,923 51.7                                             |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 292 73.2 William J. Bryan Dem.-Populist 6,358,133 45.5                                            |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 155 Theodore Roosevelt (NY.) Republican 7,623,486 57.9                                            |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 336 65.2 Alton B. Parker Democratic 5,077,911 37.6                                                |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 140 Eugene V. Debs Socialist 402,283 3.0 William H. Taft (Ohio) Republican 7,678,098 51.6         |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 321 65.4 William J. Bryan Democratic 6,409,104 43.1                                               |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 162 Eugene V. Debs Socialist 420,793 2.8                                                          |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| — Woodrow Wilson (N.J.) Democratic 6,293,454 41.9 435 58.8                                        |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Theodore Roosevelt Progressive 4,119,538 27.4 88 William H. Taft                                  |      |                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

Republican 3,484,980 23.2 8 Eugene V. Debs Socialist 900,672 6.0  
 Woodrow Wilson (N.J.) Democratic 9,129,606 49.4 277 61.6  
 Charles E. Hughes Republican 8,538,221 46.2 254 A. L. Benson  
 Socialist 585,113 3.2 Warren G. Harding (Ohio) Republican  
 16,152,200 60.4 404 49.2 James M. Cox Democratic 9,147,353  
 34.2 127 Eugene V. Debs Socialist 919,799 3.4 Calvin Coolidge  
 (Mass.) Republican 15,725,016 54.0 382 48.9 John W. Davis  
 Democratic 8,386,503 28.8 136 Robert M. LaFollette Progressive  
 4,822,856 16.6 13 Herbert Hoover (Calif.) Republican 21,391,381  
 58.2 444 56.9 Alfred E. Smith Democratic 15,016,443 40.9 87  
 Norman Thomas Socialist 267,835 0.7 —

A-18 APPENDIXES Year Candidates Parties Popular Vote  
 Percentage of Popular Vote Electoral Vote Percentage of Voter  
 Participation 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt (N Y.) Democratic  
 22,821,857 57.4 472 56.9 Herbert Hoover Republican 15,761,841  
 39.7 59 Norman Thomas Socialist 881,951 2.2 1936 Franklin D.  
 Roosevelt (N Y.) Democratic 27,751,597 60.8 523 61.0 Alfred M.  
 Landon Republican 16,679,583 36.5 8 William Lemke Union  
 882,479 1.9 1940 Franklin D. Roosevelt (NY.) Democratic  
 27,244,160 54.8 449 62.5 Wendell L. Willkie Republican  
 22,305,198 44.8 82 1944 Franklin D. Roosevelt (N.Y.) Democratic  
 25,602,504 53.5 432 55.9 Thomas E. Dewey Republican  
 22,006,285 46.0 99 1948 Harry S. Truman (Mo.) Democratic  
 24,105,695 49.5 304 53.0 Thomas E. Dewey Republican  
 21,969,170 45.1 189 J. Strom Thurmond State-Rights Democratic  
 1,169,021 2.4 38 Henry A. Wallace Progressive 1,156,103 2.4 1952  
 Dwight D. Eisenhower (N.Y.) Republican 33,936,252 55.1 442 63.3  
 Adlai E. Stevenson Democratic 27,314,992 44.4 89 1956 Dwight D.  
 Eisenhower (N.Y.) Republican 35,575,420 57.6 457 60.6 Adlai E.  
 Stevenson Democratic 26,033,066 42.1 73 Other — — 1 1960 John  
 F. Kennedy (Mass.) Democratic 34,227,096 49.9 303 62.8 Richard  
 M. Nixon Republican 34,108,546 49.6 219 Other — — 15 1964  
 Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) Democratic 43,126,506 61.1 486 61.7  
 Barry M. Goldwater Republican 27,176,799 38.5 52 1968 Richard  
 M. Nixon (N.Y.) Republican 31,770,237 43.4 301 60.6 Hubert H.  
 Humphrey Democratic 31,270,533 42.7 191 George Wallace  
 American Indep. 9,906,141 13.5 46 1972 Richard M. Nixon (N.Y.)  
 Republican 47,169,911 60.7 520 55.2 George S. McGovern  
 Democratic 29,170,383 37.5 17 Other 1 1976 Jimmy Carter (Ga.)  
 Democratic 40,828,587 50.0 297 53.5 Gerald R. Ford Republican  
 39,147,613 47.9 241 Other 1,575,459 2.1 1980 Ronald Reagan  
 (Calif.) Republican 43,901,812 50.7 489 52.6 Jimmy Carter  
 Democratic 35,483,820 41.0 49 John B. Anderson Independent  
 5,719,722 6.6 Ed Clark Libertarian 921,188 1.1 1984 Ronald  
 Reagan (Calif.) Republican 54,455,075 59.0 525 53.3 Walter  
 Mondale Democratic 37,577,185 41.0 13 1988 George Bush (Texas)  
 Republican 47,946,422 54.0 426 50.2 Michael S. Dukakis  
 Democratic 41,016,429 46.0 112 1992 William J. Clinton (Ark.)  
 Democratic 44,908,233 43.3 370 55.2 George Bush Republican  
 39,102,282 37.7 168 Ross Perot Independent 19,721,433 19.0 1996

William J. Clinton (Ark.) Democratic 47,401,185 49.3 379 Robert  
 Dole Republican 39,197,469 40.7 159 49.0 Ross Perot Reform  
 8,085,294 8.4 2000 George W. Bush (Texas) Republican 50,459,211  
 47.89 271 51.0 Albert Gore, Jr. Democratic 51,003,894 48.41 266  
 Ralph Nader Green 2,834,410 2.69 2004 George W. Bush (Texas)  
 Republican 62,028,285 50.73 286 John Kerry Democratic  
 59,028,109 48.27 251 60.0 Ralph Nader Independent 463,647 0.38  
 2008 Barack Obama (III.) Democratic 65,070,489 53 364 61.7 John  
 McCain Republican 57,154,810 46 174 2012 Barack Obama (III.)  
 Democrat 65,899,660 51.06 281 57.5 Mitt Romney Republican  
 60,932,152 47.21 191 Note: All data from [www.fec.gov](http://www.fec.gov) (federal  
 election commission) [www.fec.gov/pubrec/](http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/)  
[fe2004/2004presgen.shtml](http://fe2004/2004presgen.shtml)

FOR FURTHER READING Chapter 1 Alvin M. Josephy, ed., *America in 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples Before the Arrival of Columbus* (1993) Brian M. Fagan, *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America* (1987) Annette Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact: The Vikings of Vinland, the Peoples of the Dawnland, and the Anglo-American Anxiety of Discovery* (2012), discusses the first known European literary narratives about contact with North America provide introductions to pre-Columbian history, as does Charles Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus* (2005). William M. Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (1976) and Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (1987) are important contributions to the debate over the size and character of the American population before Columbus. Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (1972) explores the results of European-Indian contact in both the Americas and Europe. Gary Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (1982) provides a brief, multiracial survey of colonial America. Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (1969) has become the indispensable starting point for understanding African forced migration to the Americas. John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* (1998) examines the impact of slavery and the slave trade on the entire Atlantic world from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. *Columbus and the Age of Discovery* (1991) is a seven-part documentary film series on Christopher Columbus, his era, and his legacy. Chapter 2 William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (1983) examines the social and environmental effects of English settlement in colonial America. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (1991) is an important study of the accommodations that Indians and early European settlers made in the continental interior. Ann Kurt Keating, *Rising Up from the Indian Country: The Battle of Fort Dearborn and the Birth of Chicago* (2012), portrays the crucial period between 1795 and 1833 when Native Americans and white people interacted with violence and mutual reliance, resulting in the birth of Chicago. James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World*

(1991) and *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (1999) are among the best examinations of the impact of European settlement on eastern tribes. Nan Goodman, *Banished: Common Law and the Rhetoric of Social Exclusion in Early New England* (2012), analyzes the use of banishment by puritans as a means of social control by people who were themselves exiles. Nathaniel Philbrick, *Mayflower, A Story of Community, Courage, and War* (2006) is a vivid story of the Plymouth migration. Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (1953) is a classic exposition of the Puritan intellectual milieu. David Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment* (1990) is a good counterpoint to Miller. Ronald Story, *Jonathan Edwards and the Gospel of Love* (2012) presents this puritan preacher as a profoundly social minister who preached a gospel of charity and community bound by love. Russell Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World* (2003) is a portrait of Dutch Manhattan. Evan Haefeli, *New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty* (2012), offers a new reading of the way tolerance operated in colonial America. Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (1975) is a compelling narrative of political and social development in early Virginia. Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (1972) is important for understanding the origins of British colonial slavery. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992) and James C. Brooks, *Captains and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002) examine the northern peripheries of the Spanish Empire. Chapter 3 Edward Countryman, *Americans: A Collision of Histories* (1996) includes a vivid picture of the many cultures that encountered one another in early America. Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (1986) reveals the complexity and scope of European emigration to North America. Bailyn's *The Origin of American Politics* (1968) is an introduction to colonial politics. Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous years: The Peopling of British North America* (2012) explores the first great transit of people from Britain, Europe and Africa to British North America. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed* (1989) suggests four major folkways for English migrants to America. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998), Philip

Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (1998). Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (1997) includes an important examination of the character of the institution in colonial America. Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (1996) places gender at the center of the development of slavery in the Chesapeake. Chapter 4 Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (2000) is an account of the critical years in which the British Empire transformed itself through its colonial wars in America. David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (2000) examines the ideas of those who promoted and sought to justify Britain's imperial ambitions. Richard Bushman, *King and People in Colonial Massachusetts* (1987) traces the fracture between Massachusetts colonists and the imperial government. T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution* (2004) argues that consumer politics played a major role in creating the Revolution. Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution Before* • A-19  
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A-20 APPENDIXES 1 776 (2000) argues for the emergence of a distinctive American culture in the eighteenth century. Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967) emphasizes the importance of English republican political thought for the revolutionary ideology of the American colonists. Chapter 5 Robert Middlekauf, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789* (1985), a volume in the *Oxford History of the United States*, is a thorough, general history of the Revolution. Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992) emphasizes the profound political change that the Revolution produced. David Hackett Fisher, *Washington's Crossing* (2004) uses this famous event to illuminate the meaning of the Revolution. Robert Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (1976) is an excellent social history of Revolutionary Concord. Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (1980) demonstrates that the Revolution had a significant impact on the lives of American women as well. Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (1976) connects the leading pamphleteer of the Revolution with urban radicalism in Philadelphia. Pauline Maier, *American Scripture* (1997) is a penetrating study of the making of the Declaration of Independence. Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country* (1995) is a study of an often-neglected aspect of the war. Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderlands of the American Revolution* (2006) describes how the Iroquois nations tried to navigate the war to their advantage. Chapter 6 Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic* (1969) is the leading analysis of the intellectual path from the Declaration of Independence to the American Constitution. Wood is also the author of *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1991) and *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (2009). Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (1993) provides a detailed overview of political and economic development in the 1790s. Joyee Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (1984) highlights liberal and capitalist impulses unleashed after the ratification of the Constitution. Joseph Ellis is the author of several books on the founders: *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture* (1979), which examines some of



the framers of the new nation; *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (1997); Brian Steele, *Thomas Jefferson and the American Nationhood* (2012), emphasizes the centrality of nationhood to Thomas Jefferson's thought and politics. *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (2000); *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (1993); and *American Creation* (2007), a portrait of the nation from Independence to the Louisiana Purchase. Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (2004) and *George Washington* (2010) and Edmund Morgan, *Benjamin Franklin* (2002) are biographies of the founders. Chapter 7 Joseph J. Ellis, *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (1997) is a perceptive study of the man, and his *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture* (2002) offers portraits of some of his allies and opponents. Henry Adams, *History of the United States During the Administration of Jefferson and Adams*, 9 vols. (1889-1891) is one of the great literary achievements of early American historiography. Frank Bergon, ed., *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (1989) is a concise abridgment of these fascinating accounts of their explorations. James Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (1984) examines the exploration from a Native American perspective. Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (1990) argues that the cultural status of women declined as the market revolution began to transform the American economy. Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (1980) traces the Jeffersonian struggle to keep the United States free from European-style corruption and decay. Gary Wills, *James Madison* (2002) is an interpretive essay on this important early president. J. C. A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783-1830* (1983) argues that James Madison led the United States to war against Great Britain in order to preserve vital American commercial interests, but that he underestimated New England opposition to the war. Chapter 8 Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (2007) is a study of the period following the War of 1812. Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (2005) is a history of the rise of a "democratic creed" in early America. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (1920) is the classic statement of American exceptionalism. John Mack

Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (1979) was an early and influential book in the "new western history." Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire: 1767-1821* (1977) emphasizes Andrew Jackson's importance in American territorial expansion in the South prior to 1821 and in the development of American nationalism. Ernest R. May, *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (1975) presents the history of a leading principle of American foreign policy. Chapter 9 Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (2007) and Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy : From Jefferson to Lincoln* (2005) are two important, broad studies. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (1945), a classic study, represents Jacksonian politics as an eastern, urban democratic movement of working men and upper-class intellectuals. Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (1957) challenges Schlesinger by arguing that the Bank War was essentially a struggle between different groups of capitalist elites.

FOR FURTHER READING A-21 Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (1990) provides an important newer synthesis of Jacksonian politics. Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1740-1840* (1969) traces the growing acceptance of the idea of partisan competition. William V. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (1966) argues that South Carolina planters' anxiety over the fate of slavery was at the heart of the nullification crisis. Michael Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Destruction of American Indians* (1975) offers a more radical and idiosyncratic perspective on Jackson's career as an Indian fighter using the methods of psychoanalysis. Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (1984) is an important study of the workingclass during the Jacksonian period. Chapter 10 Charles G. Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (1991) demonstrates the overwhelming impact of the market revolution on American social and political development. Peter Bernstein, *The Wedding of the Waters* (2005) is an account of the creation of the Erie Canal. Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism; Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (1990) is an examination of the impact of emerging capitalism on a rural area. David Hochfelder, *The Telegraph in America, 1832-1920* (2012), shows how the telegraph set the stage for today's information age. Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (1978) explores the changing character of class relations in upstate New York. Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (1982) is a broad history of women in the wage labor force. Thomas Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution* (1994) looks particularly at the mill towns of the Northeast. Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (1983) explores the female world of antebellum New York City. Alan Taylor, *William Coopefs Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier in the Early American Republic* (1995) examines the early years of Cooperstown, New York, and the impact on it of the rise of the market and of democratic politics. Chapter 11 Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877* (1993) is a synthesis of

the history of slavery in the United States from the settlement of Virginia through Reconstruction. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone* (2000) and *Generations of Captivity* (2003) are other histories of slavery. Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (2001) examines the slave trade. James Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom* (1990) provides an overview of southern politics and society in the antebellum period. Eugene Genovese's classic study. Roll, Jordan, Roll: *The World the Slaves Made* (1974) argues that masters and slaves forged a system of mutual obligations within a coercive social system Genovese's *The Political Economy of Slavery* (1965) argues that slavery blocked southern economic development. James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (1982) argues that slaveowners were hardheaded businessmen and capitalists. Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, first published in 1845, is a classic autobiography. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household* (1988) argues against the idea that black and white women shared a community of interests on southern plantations. Adam Rothman, *Slave Country* (2007) examines the expansion of the South, and of slavery within it. Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North and Northeast Mississippi* (1994) and Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (1997) are good studies of neglected groups in the southern population. Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (1983) argues that white farmers in upcountry regions of the antebellum South maintained economically self-sufficient communities on the periphery of the market. Chapter 12 Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Moralizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers* (1995) and Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (1978) are overviews. David Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America* (1995) is both a cultural biography of Whitman and an evocation of the society Whitman celebrated. Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (1977) argues that nineteenth-century feminism emerged from the separation of home and work in the early nineteenth-century. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (1975) is

an influential study of the rise of antislavery sentiment in the Western world. Ronald G. Walters, *The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionists After 1830* (1976) emphasizes the religious motivations of antebellum abolitionism. Chapter 13 Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A History of the American West* (1991) is a presentation of the social and economic history of the region. Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny* (1995) briefly traces the origins of American expansion ideology. Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek* (2013), probes the intersection of history and memory to explain the ways differing groups of Americans come to know a shared past. Paul D. Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience: A Political and Social History, 1835-1836* (1992) chronicles Texas's route to independence from Mexico. Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp : The Social World of the Gold Rush* (2000) examines the experiences of men and women involved in the frenzy. William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion, Vol 1: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (1990) and Vol. 2: *Secessionists Triumphant, 1854-1861*

A-22 APPENDIXES (2007) explore the successful containment of sectionalism prior to the 1850s. David Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (1976) is a thorough summary of a turbulent decade. Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (1970) traces the emergence of the Republican Party. Michael Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (1978) challenges Foner by emphasizing ethnic and religious alignment in northern politics. Manisha Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery* (2000) argues that South Carolina's apparently radical drive for secession was in fact a highly conservative effort in defense of slavery. Chapter 14

James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (1988) is a history of the Civil War. David Donald, *Lincoln* (1995) is a biography of the sixteenth president. James M. McPherson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution* (1990) offers reflections on the life and significance of Lincoln. Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial* (2010) is a history of Lincoln and slavery. Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals* (2005) examines Lincoln's diverse and sometimes fractious Cabinet. John Burt, *Lincoln's Tragic Pragmatism: Lincoln, Douglas, and Moral Conflict* (2013), asks and analyzes the question: Can a liberal political system be used to mediate moral disputes? William McFeely, *Grant* (1981) are the leading biographies of the two most important Civil War generals. Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots* (1990) examines an important event away from the battlefield. Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads* (2006) examines Northern opponents of the Civil War. Emory Thomas, *The Confederate Nation* (1979) is a one-volume history of the Confederacy. Drew Gilpin Faust is the author of *Mothers of Invention* (1996), which examines the lives of elite Southern women during the war, and *The Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (2008). Ira Berlin et al., eds., *Free at last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom and the Civil War* (1992) is a superb compilation of primary sources from slaves and slaveowners relating to the demise of slavery during the Civil War years. Ira Berlin et al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (1992), the companion volume to the documents in *Free at Last*, argues that slaves and freedmen played an active role in destroying slavery and redefining freedom. Edward L. Ayres, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: War in the Heart of America* (2003) is a social history of two neighboring

communities-one in the Union, the other in the Confederacy-at war. William Freehling, *The South vs. the South* (2001) notes the important role of pro-Union Southerners in determining the outcome of the war. Chapter 15 Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (1988), a modern synthesis of Reconstruction scholarship, emphasizes the radicalism of Reconstruction and the role of freed people in the process of political and economic renovation. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (1951) is a classic work on the history of the South after Reconstruction and argues that a rising middle class defined the economic and political transformation of the New South. Nicholas Lemann, *Redemption: The Last Battle of the Civil War* (2006) reveals the determination of white southerners to regain control of their society. Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South* (1992) offers a portrait of social and cultural life in the New South. Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (1979) is a study of the experiences of freed slaves. Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (2003) is a wide-ranging history. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (rev. 1974) claims that segregation emerged only gradually across the South after Reconstruction. The "Woodward Thesis" has been challenged by, among others, Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction* (1965); John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (1982); and Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890* (1978). Chapter 16 Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American History* (1920) is a classic argument on the centrality of the frontier experience to American democracy. Patricia Nelson Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (1987) argues that the West was not a frontier but rather an inhabited place conquered by Anglo-Americans. Richard White. "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": *A History of the American West* (1991) is a general history of the region that revises many myths about the West. Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (2007) illustrates anti-Chinese sentiment. John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (1979) examines the social experience of westering migrants, and Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of*

Rescue: The Search for Female Authority in the American West, 1874-1939 (1990) describes the female communities of the West. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis and the Great West* (1991) describes the relationships among economies and environments in the West. Robert Wooster, *The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865-1902* (1988) and Sally Denton, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (2003) examine the military campaigns against the Indians in the nineteenth century. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (1984) examines U.S. policies toward Native Americans. Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization* (1985) and *Gunfighter Nation* (1992) are provocative cultural studies of the idea of the West. Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Edward Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (2003) considers the impact of photography on images of the West. Chapter 17 Robert Wiebe's *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (1968) is an analysis of America's evolution from a society to a national



FOR FURTHER READING A-23 urban society. David Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie* (2006) is a biography of a famous industrial tycoon. Alfred D. Chandler Jr. describes the new business practices that made industrialization possible in *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (1977) and *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (1990). Olivier Zunz analyzes the social underpinnings of the new corporate order in *Making America Corporate, 1870-1920* (1990) and *Why the American Century?* (1998). Daniel Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (1978) is an intellectual history of the way Americans viewed industrial workers. David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (1987) analyzes the way industrialization shaped the workers. Alice Kessler-Harris documents the tremendous movement of women into the workforce in the period in *Out of Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (1982). John L. Thomas, *Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and the Adversary Tradition* (1983) examines some important critics of corporate capitalism. Chapter 18 John Bodnar provides a synthetic history of immigration in *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in America* (1985). The new urban mass culture of America's cities is the subject of William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (1993), and Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (1986). T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (1981) chronicles patterns of resistance to the new culture. Debby Applegate, *The Most Famous Man in America: The Biography of Henry Ward Beecher* (2006) examines a renowned clergyman. Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (1992) studies the creation of America's most famous public park. Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (1998) is a thorough history of New York's remarkable growth. John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Millions: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (1978) is an illustrated history and interpretation of the amusement park's place in American culture. Jonathan Levy, *Freaks and Fortunes* (2012), shows the growth of capitalism and risk in the

United States. Chapter 19 *A Government Out of Sight: The Mystery of National Authority in Nineteenth-Century America* (2009) shows the growing public life. Two books charting the growing capacities of the American state during this period are Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (1992); and Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920* (1982). Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (1955) and Lawrence Goodwyn's *The Populist Moment* (1978) offer sharply contrasting characterizations of the populist and progressive reform movements of this time. Other important studies of populism include John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (1931), a classic account, and Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry* (1983). Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (1995) places populist ideas in a broad historical context. David F. Healy, *U.S. Expansionism: Imperialist Urge in the 1890s* (1970) is a contrasting view. Walter LaFeber, *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Policy, Vol. 2: The Search for Opportunity, 1865-1913* (1993) is an overview. William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, rev. ed. (1972), is a classic revisionist work on the origins and consequences of American imperialism, supplemented by his *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament* (1982). Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (1995) is a short history of Americans' ideology of expansionism. Warren Zimmermann, *First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a Great Power* (2002) describes a circle of powerful figures who together helped create an ideology of empire for the United States in the early twentieth century. Robert L. Beisner's *Twelve Against Empire* (1968) chronicles the careers of the leading opponents of imperial expansion. Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (1982) is a cultural interpretation. Gerald F. Linderman, *The Mirror of War: American Society and the Spanish-American War* (1974) examines the social meaning of the war within the United States. Stuart Creighton Miller, *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (1982) describes the American war in the Philippines.

Michael Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (1983) is an introduction to the subject. Chapter 20 Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (1955) is a classic. Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (1967) is an important interpretation of the era. Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (1991) and Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (2003) are contrasting synthetic accounts of progressive movements and their ideas. For powerful insights into pragmatism, an important philosophical underpinning to much reform, see Robert Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (1991) and Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas* (2001). Richard Greenwald, *The Triangle Fire, the Protocols of Peace, and Industrial Democracy in Progressive Era New York* (2006) examines a critical event in stimulating reform. Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of American Feminism* (1987) studies the shifting roles of women. Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900* (1995) examines female reformers on the progressive movement. Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim*

A-24 APPENDIXES Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920 (1996) examines the role of gender in the construction of segregation. Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader (1956) and Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee (1983) are an outstanding multivolume biography, as are David Levering Lewis, W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race (1993) and W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century (2000). John Milton Cooper Jr. compares the lives and ideas of the progressive movement's leading national politicians in *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt* (1983). He is also the author of *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (2009). John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (1954) is a brief study. Donald E. Anderson, *William Howard Taft* (1973) is a useful account of this unhappy presidency. Arthur S. Link is Wilson's thorough biographer and the author of *Woodrow Wilson*, 5 vols. (1947-1965). Michael McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics* (1986) is the decline of public enthusiasm for parties in the North in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Stephen R. Fox, *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy* (1981) is another such study. John Opie, *Nature's Nation: An Environmental History of the United States* (1998) is an ambitious synthesis of environmental history. Chapter 21 Ernest R. May, *The World War and American Isolation* (1959) is an authoritative account of the Great War. David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (1980) is a study of the domestic impact of the war. Robert D. Cuff, *The War Industries Board: Business-Government Relations During World War II* (1973) is an account of mobilization for war. Ronald Schaffer, *America in the Great War: The Rise of the War Welfare State* (1991) examines the ways in which mobilization for war created new public benefits for various groups, including labor. Maureen Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work* (1980) describes the impact of World War I on women workers. John Keegan, *The First World War* (1998) is a military history. Thomas Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (1992) is a study of the battle for peace. Arno Mayer, *Wilson vs. Lenin* (1959) and *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking: Containment and Counterrevolution* (1965) are revisionist accounts of the peacemaking process. Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six*

Months That Changed the World (2002) is an account of the Paris Peace Conference. World War I is captured by John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism* (1955). Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origins of Civil Liberties* (1979) shows how wartime created new support for civil liberties. Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded* (2009) tells the story of postwar terrorism and the responses to it. Chapter 22 Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday* (1931) is a classic popular history of the 1920s. Ellis Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order* (1979) describes the effect of World War I on American ideas, culture, and society. William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity* (rev. ed. 1994) reveals the economic prosperity in the 1920s David Brody, *Workers in Industrial America* (1980) is a series of essays on welfare capitalism and other labor systems of the 1920s. David Nasaw, *The Patriarch: The Remarkable Life and Turbulent Times of Joseph P. Kennedy* (2012), relates the experiences of this powerful, yet flawed, man, his family, and the dangerous times in which they lived. T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (1994) and Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* (1985) are inquiries into the role of advertising in the new consumer culture. David Farber, *Sloan Rules: Alfred P. Sloan and the Triumph of General Motors* (2002) describes the consolidation of the giant automobile corporation. Alan Brinkley, *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century* (2010) describes the rise of an important magazine empire. Robert Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown* (1929) is a classic sociological study of how an American city encountered the consumer culture and economy of the 1920s. Ann Douglas's *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (1995) examines the cultural and political history of the New Era in New York City. George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (1994) is an excellent work in a relatively new field of history. The decline of the feminist movement in the 1920s is explored in Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of American Feminism* (1987). Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible* (2000) is an important study of the changing role of race and ethnicity in defining American nationhood in the twentieth century. George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (1980) is a study of some of the religious battles that came to a head in the 1920s. Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods:*

The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate over Science and Religion (1997) is an analysis of the Scopes trial. Leonard Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (1991) is a view of the Klan. Kathleen M. Blee, *Women and the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (1991) re-creates the female world of the Klan. Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age* (2004) is a portrait of New Era racial norms. Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Economy: Public Policy and Economic Change in America, 1900-1933* (1990) and *Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933* (1994) are studies of New Era public policy. Chapter 23 Donald Worster scathingly indicts agricultural capitalism for its destruction of the plains environment in *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (1979). Timothy Egan, *The Worst Hard Time* (2006) is a portrait of the impact of the Dust Bowl. Richard Pells, *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years* (1973) is an important survey of the cultural and intellectual history of the 1930s. Susan Ware analyzes the effect of the Great Depression on women in *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s*

FOR FURTHER READING A-25 (1982). The Communist Party's most popular period in the United States is the subject of Harvey Klehr's *The Heyday of American Communism : The Depression Decade* (1984) and, from quite different viewpoints, Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (1990) and Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (1997). Joan Hoff Wilson, *Herbert Hoover: Foryotten Proyressive* (1975) argues that President Hoover was in many ways a surprisingly progressive thinker about the American social order. Chapter 24 William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (1963) is a history of the New Deal. Anthony Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years* (1989) is another overview. David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (1999) is a narrative history. Geoffrey Ward, *Before the Trumpet: Youny Franklin Roosevelt, 1882-1905* (1985) and *A First-Class Temperament: The Emeryence of Franklin Roosevelt* (1989) are biographical accounts of the pre-presidential FDR. Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny* (1990) is a one-volume biography by one of FDR's most important biographers. Alan Brinkley, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (2009) is a short biography. Jonathan Alter, *The Defininy Moment* (2006) and Anthony Badger, *FDR: The First Hundred Days* (2008) portray the first months of the New Deal. Ellis Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (1967) is a classic examination of the economic policies of the Roosevelt administration in its first five years. Colin Gordon, *New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920-1935* (1994) is a reinterpretation of the early New Deal years. The transformation of liberalism after 1937 is the subject of Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (1995). Jennifer Klein, *For All These Riyhts: Business, Labor, and the Shapiny of America's Public -Private Welfare State* (2003) sees the origin of the modern welfare state as a product in part of struggles between labor and capital. Linda Gordon, *Pitied but Not Entitled: Sinyle Mothers and the History of Welfare* (1994) is a pioneering work on women as the recipients and also the authors of government welfare policies. Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (2001) is a

study of the intersection of gender and economic rights. The efforts of Chicago workers to protest and organize is the subject of Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (1990). Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit: Walter Reuther and the Fate of American Labor* (1995) is a study of one of the early leaders of the CIO. Jordan Schwarz, *The New Dealers: Power Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (1993) examines the proponents of state-funded economic development of the South and West. Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey P. Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (1982) examines some of the most powerful challenges to the New Deal. Nancy J. Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (1983) takes contrasting positions on what the New Deal did for African Americans. Chapter 25 Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945* (1979) is a comprehensive study of Roosevelt's foreign policy. Akira Iriye, *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. 3: The Globalization of America, 1913-1945* (1993) is another important study. James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (1970) and Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman* (1991) are two studies of the wartime president. A. Scott Berg, *Lindbergh* (1998) is a biography of the aviation hero who became a controversial figure in the 1930s. Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (1988) examines the conflict between China and Japan that preceded American intervention in the Pacific war. Gordon Prange, *At Dawn We Slept* (1981) examines the controversial attack on Pearl Harbor from both the Japanese and American sides. Chapter 26 John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (1976) and Richard Polenberg, *War and Society* (1972) are studies of the home front during World War II. David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (1999) is a narrative of both the American military experience in the war and the war's impact on American politics and society. Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (1995) examines the impact of the war on liberal ideology and political economy. Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* (2014), shows how the Great Depression and the World War II led to the power and affluence of the American state. Doris Kearns Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and*



Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II (1994) is a portrait of the Roosevelts during the war. John W. Dower, War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War (1986) examines the intense racism that shaped both sides of the war between the United States and Japan. John Keegan, Six Armies in Normandy: From D-Day to the Liberation of Paris, June 6-August 25, 1944 (1982) is an account of the Normandy invasion. David S. Wyman, The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945 (1984) is sharply critical of American policy toward the victims of the Holocaust. Richard Rhodes, The Making of the Atomic Bomb (1987) is an account of one of the scientific projects of the twentieth century. Gar Alperovitz, The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth (1995) is an exhaustive and highly critical study of why the United States used atomic weapons in 1945. Chapter 27 Several books by John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment (1982), The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947 (1972), and The Cold War: A New History (2005), provide an introduction to Cold War history. Walter LaFeber, America,

A-26 APPENDIXES Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1967 is a survey of American-Soviet relations. Warren I. Cohen, *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations, Vol. 4: America in the Age of Soviet Power, 1945-1991* (1991) is a general history. Michael Hogan, *The Marshall Plan* (1987) is a provocative interpretation. David McCullough, *Truman* (1992) is a popular biography. Alonzo Hamby, *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* (1995) is a scholarly one. Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War* (1980) is a study of the context for America's first armed conflict of the Cold War. Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (1998) is an interpretation of McCarthyism, and David Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (1983) is a biography. Michael Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy: Senator Pat McCarran and the Great American Communist Hunt* (2004) is a study of another important figure in the Red Scare. Chapter 28 James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: Postwar America, 1945-1974* (1996) is a history of the postwar era. John P. Diggins, *The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941-1960* (1989) and Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time* (1976) are other important surveys. Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985) is a classic history of a major social movement. Karal Ann Marling, *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (1995) is a study of the new medium. Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2003) examines the power of consumerism in postwar America. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War* (1988) is a challenging cultural history. Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (1985) examines the impact of the atomic bomb. Stephen Ambrose, *Eisenhower the President* (1984) is a good biography. Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (1975) is a classic history of the Brown decision, John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (1994) is a history of struggles over white supremacy in the first years after World War II. Michael Kazin, *American Dreamers: How the Left Changed a Nation* (2012), follows radicalism from the abolitionist movement of the antebellum period to the Occupy movement of the past decade. Chapter 29 Allen J. Matusow, *The*

Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s (1984) is a history of this turbulent decade. Robert Dallek, *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960* (1991), *Flawed Giant: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1960-1973* (1998), and *An Unfinished Life: John F. Kennedy, 1917-1963* (2003) are biographies. Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Justice* (2006) is a study of the civil rights movement. William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (1980) examines the southern civil rights movement. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1959-63* (1988), *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963-65*, and *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965-68* (2006) are good histories of the movement. Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (1991) is a study of the postwar African American migration to northern cities and of the Great Society's response to it. Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis* (1997) provides the annotated transcripts of the taped meetings of Kennedy's inner circle. Sheldon Stern, *The Cuban Missile Crisis in American Memory : Myths vs. Reality* (2012), exposes the misconceptions and outright lies that have influenced our understanding of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Robert D. Schulzinger, *A Time for War: The United States and Vietnam, 1945-1975* (1997) is a general history of the war. Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (1988) is a picture of the war as experienced by a significant military figure of the 1960s. Larry Berman, *Planning a Tragedy* (1982) and *Lyndon Johnson's War* (1989); and David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (1972) are interpretations of the American decision to intervene and stay in Vietnam. Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (1995) is a study of the career of George Wallace. Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year That Rocked the World* (2003) is a broader history of that turbulent year. Chapter 30 John Morton Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society, 1961-1974* (1991) is an overview. Margaret Cruikshank, *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* (1992) and David Eisenbach, *Gay Power: An American Revolution* (2006) recount another important struggle of the 1960s and

beyond. Stephen Ambrose, *Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972* (1989) and *Nixon, Ruin and Recovery, 1973-1990* (1992) provides a chronicle of this important presidency. Samuel Walker, *Presidents and Civil Liberties from Wilson to Obama* (2014), presents a history of the civil liberties records of American presidents from Wilson to Obama. Margaret MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao: The Week That Changed the World* (2007) examines Nixon's most famous diplomatic effort. David Greenberg, *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image* (2004), shows the complex nature of this influential president. David Greenberg, *Nixon's Shadow* (2003) is a perceptive examination of Nixon's place in American culture. Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990* (1991) provides. A full account of the last years of American involvement in Vietnam and of the conflicts in the region that followed the American withdrawal. Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (2014), shows how black power was established in higher education in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Chapter 31 Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (2001) and James T. Patterson,

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